











A N  
**Universal History,**  
FROM THE  
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.  
Compiled from  
**ORIGINAL AUTHORS;**  
A N D  
Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.  
WITH  
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

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Ισοπεδίας ἐξέρχεται μὴ κατανόειν αὐτᾶς γὰρ ευρίσκεις  
ἀκόπις, ἀπειρῶν τετραγώνων ἐγκόπις.  
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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V O L. XVIII.

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A N

# Universal History,

F R O M T H E

## Earliest Account of Time.

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V O L. XVIII.

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B O O K IV.

*The History of the Carthaginians.*

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C H A P. XIII. S E C T. VIII.

*The History of the Carthaginians, from the Taking of Capua by Hannibal, to the Destruction of Carthage by Aemilianus.*

**H**ANNIBAL had no sooner possessed himself of *Capua*, as we have related in the preceding volume, *actions in Italy immediately* than he attempted, both by promises and menaces, to make himself master of *Neapolis*. But the *Neapolitans* being proof against all his efforts, he advanced to *Nola*, and summoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmost extremities, if they did not immediately surrender. The senate, at least the leading men in it, were wholly in the *Roman* interest; but the *Carthaginians* being masters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was intirely at *Hannibal's* devotion. The former therefore, in order to carry their point,

B 2

*pretended*

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pretended to be in a disposition to surrender the city to *Hannibal*; but at the same time insinuated, that, before this could be done, it would be proper to come to some terms of agreement with him. By pretending to enter into a negotiation with the *Carthaginian*, the senate gained time to dispatch an express to *Marcellus*, the *Roman* prætor, who informed him of the absolute necessity of marching instantly to their relief. Here-upon *Marcellus*, leaving *Casilinum*, where he was then posted, advanced to *Calatia*; and having passed the *Vulturnus*, moved, with surprising celerity, through the districts of *Satricula* and *Trebia*, in order to succour *Nola*. *Hannibal* drew off upon his approach, and made a fresh attempt upon *Neapolis*; but without effect. After this, he laid siege to *Nuceria*, and starved it to a surrender. Then he again approached *Nola*, and encamped before it. But the town was kept out of his hands by *L. Bantius*, whom the *Romans* had brought over to their interest, by a present of a fine horse, and five hundred *bigati* (A). *Aceræ Hannibal* laid in ashes, the inhabitants abandoning it upon his approach. From thence he moved to *Casilinum*, which he caused first to be attacked by a body of *Gætulians* under the command of their captain *Isalca*. But they being repulsed, as well as a large *Carthaginian* detachment headed by *Maherbal*, *Hannibal* was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. After this, he left a small body of troops to guard his lines, and put his army into winter-quarters at *Capua* <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Vales. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 14—19.  
PLUT. in Marcel. PAUL. OROS. l. iv. c. 16.

(A) The *bigati*, or *nummi bigati*, were silver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horses stamped upon them; and the *quadrigati*, or *nummi quadrigatae*, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horses, as we learn from *Pliny*. According to the same author, the *Phrygians* invented the former kind of chariots, and *Erichthonius* the latter. Let this be admitted, and it will seem to follow, that the *Romans* had these chariots introduced amongst them

by their neighbours the *Etruscans*, who were descended from the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*, since they were used at *Rome* before that city had any intercourse with the *Greeks*. Many *Roman denarii*, particularly of those coined in the times of the republic, with such images on their reverses, are to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. *Tacitus*, and other *Roman* authors, as well as *Livy*, mention the coins we are now treating of (1).

(1) Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. &c. l. viii. c. 56. Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l. i. c. 4. Val. Max. l. ii. ex. 17. Plut. in prob. Roman. c. 52. Tacit. in cert. Asiat. urb. l. iv. Tertul. de pal. Vide etiam Joan. Meursium, de fort. Aten. apud Jacob. Cronw. in ant. Graec. thesayr. vol. v. p. 1707. Et de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. digest. edit. Oxon. 1738.

It is intimated by the *Roman* historians, that *Capua* proved *The pleasure* the destruction of *Hannibal*. Here it was, according to these *sures* of authors, that those soldiers, who had long been inured to the *Capua* greatest fatigues, and braved the most formidable dangers, were *prejudicial* vanquished by luxury, and a flow of pleasures, with which the <sup>to Hanni-</sup> minds of the *Capuans*, who were immersed in a profusion of <sup>bal.</sup> the most charming delights, had long been corrupted. *Livy* in particular intimates, that *Hannibal's* delicious abode at *Capua* was a reproach to his former conduct, and infinitely more prejudicial to his affairs, than the false step he was guilty of, in not marching directly to *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*. For this last error, according to that historian, might seem only to have retarded his victory; whereas the former rendered him absolutely incapable of conquering. This, we say, is the sentiment of *Livy*, and has been adopted by several later writers; but whether or no it is intirely agreeable to truth, will, if we consider things with due attention, perhaps admit of some dispute <sup>b</sup>.

FOR though we should allow, that the martial genius of the *Carthaginians* was impaired by the bewitching retirement at *Capua*, yet it cannot be reasonably supposed, that the bad success, which afterwards attended *Hannibal's* arms, ought to be ascribed to this, as its principal cause. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the *Romans*, the several towns he reduced in sight of the *Roman* armies, the bravery with which he maintained himself in *Italy* for fourteen years after this event, in spite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of such a supposition. But *Livy* himself puts this beyond dispute: that author points out to us a cause of the declension of the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy*, different from the delights of *Capua* <sup>c</sup>.

WE have before observed from him, that the senate and *The principal people of Carthage* ordered four thousand *Numidian* horse, *cipol cause* forty elephants, and a considerable body of *Spanish* infantry, <sup>of the decay</sup> with a proper sum of money, to be sent to *Italy*, in order to <sup>of Hanni-</sup> enable *Hannibal* to maintain and extend his conquests there. <sup>bal's af-</sup> Had this ample supply been sent him with an expedition equal <sup>fairs.</sup> to the spirit with which it was granted, the *Romans* would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon *Hannibal*, on account of his conduct at *Capua*. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty rival of the *Carthaginian* republic to have submitted to the superior force of

<sup>b</sup> LIV. ubi sup. VAL. MAX. I. ix. c. 1. FLOR. I. ii. c. 6. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. ZONAR. I. ix. c. 3. <sup>c</sup> LIV. I. xxiii. c. 13. & c. 32. Idem, I. xxvi. ZONAR. ubi sup.

his arms the next campaign. But, notwithstanding the influence of the *Barcinian* faction, *Hanno*, and his adherents, found means not only to retard the march of the intended succours, but even to diminish them. *Mago*, through the artifices of that infatuated party, could obtain an order for only twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse ; and even with this body of troops, inconsiderable as it was, he was sent to *Spain*. *Hannibal*, being thus deserted by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had come to a resolution to sacrifice the state, of which they were members, to their private resentment, found himself obliged to be on the defensive, his army being reduced to twenty-six thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. As the *Romans* therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties they were reduced to, sent every year two consular armies into the field, fully recruited, and in good order ; as neither the *Gauls* nor *Italians* were natural allies of the *Carthaginians*, and consequently would scarce fail of abandoning them, as soon as fortune began to declare against them ; there is no need to have recourse to the pleasures of *Capua*, in order to account for *Hannibal's* being driven out of *Italy*<sup>4</sup>.

AT the return of the spring, *Hannibal* drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and resumed the siege of *Casilinum*. He did not, however, push this on with vigour, as knowing, that the place must soon surrender through want of provisions. The famine raged so grievously amongst the citizens, that they were obliged, for some time, to feed upon the most loathsome animals. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one of them gave another an hundred *Roman* denarii for a single mouse : which supported him, till *Hannibal* granted the garrison a capitulation ; but the person who sold it, in the mean time, perished with hunger. *Pliny* and *Frontinus* affirm, that this mouse was purchased with two hundred *Roman* denarii ; and with these authors *Livy*, in the main, agrees. *Marcellus*, not being able to attempt raising the siege, by reason of an inundation of the *Vulturnus*, the troops in garrison were forced to have recourse to *Hannibal's* clemency ; who, induced thereto by their brave defence, permitted them to march out of the town, upon the freemens paying seven ounces of gold a head. *Hannibal* restored *Casilinum* to the *Campanians*, leaving there a *Carthaginian* garrison of seven hundred men, to defend the place against the *Romans*, in case they should think proper, after his departure, to attack it. Then, to complete the reduction of that part of *Italy*, in conjunction with the greatest part of

\* Vide Univers. hist. vol. xii. pass.

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the *Brutii*, he laid siege to *Petelia*, the only city of that nation, which held out against him. The *Peteliani* immediately applied to the *Romans* for succours in the most pressing manner; but the perplexed state of affairs would not permit the republic to assist them. Notwithstanding which, they defended themselves for several months against the reiterated attacks of the whole *Carthaginian* army, with incredible bravery and resolution <sup>c.</sup>.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the war was carried on *The state* with great vigour in *Spain*. For some time *Afdrubal*, the *of affairs* *Carthaginian* general there, kept himself upon the defensive, *in Spain*. not being in a condition to face either the *Roman* fleet under *Publius Scipio*, or the land-forces commanded by *Cneius*. However, at last receiving a reinforcement of four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from *Carthage*, he ventured to move out of the fastnesses, wherein he had before posted himself, and advanced towards the enemy's camp. He likewise gave orders to have his fleet refitted, to protect the maritim parts of the *Carthaginian* provinces, and the islands adjacent to them, from all insults of the enemy; but, before this was in a condition to put to sea, he received intelligence, that several captains of ships had gone over to the *Romans*. These captains, it seems, had been severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet upon the *Iberus*, through cowardice, the last year; which they not being able to brook, had, from that time, meditated a revolt from the *Carthaginians*. Not content with what they had already done, they endeavoured to excite the *Carthescians* to a defection; in which they so far succeeded, that several towns were drawn off from their obedience to the *Carthaginians*, and another, that refused to join them, reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to *Afdrubal*, and a seasonable diversion in favour of the *Romans*. For the *Carthaginian* general, leaving the *Romans* to themselves, advanced, at the head of his whole army, into the enemy's territories, with a design to attack *Galbus*, the *Carthescian* general, who lay encamped there under the walls of the town he had lately possessed himself of. He therefore first sent away his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels, and draw them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the straggling parties of the enemy, that should be found dispersed there. By which

<sup>c.</sup> LIV. l. xxiii. c. 20. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLIN. nat. hist. l. viii. c. 57. VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 6. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iv. c. 5. ex. 20. PLUT. in Marcel. & in Hannib.

means many of the *Carthaginians* were killed, others put to flight, and their camp alarmed at the same time. However, their forces being very numerous, they were so far from being terrified at this motion, that they instantly issued out of their camp in a body, dancing after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the *Carthaginians*. This sudden instance of courage so damped the spirits of *Afdrubal's* main body, with which he was advancing to attack *Galbus's* camp, that he thought proper to take post on an eminence, in itself of difficult access, but rendered more so by a river, which secured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the two above-mentioned detachments, equally struck with terror at the enemy's approach. Nay, under such terrible apprehensions were the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, that, notwithstanding their camp might have been looked upon as inaccessible, *Afdrubal* fortified it with an intrenchment, in order to cover it the more effectually from all attempts of the barbarians. Some skirmishes happened whilst the two armies lay so near one another; but without any considerable loss on either side. *Livy* tells us, that the *Numidian* cavalry were not so good as the *Carthaginian*; nor the *Mauritanian* dartmen as the *Carthaginian* targeteers; who, in activity, were equal to them, and in strength, as well as courage, excelled them. *Galbus*, finding it impossible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the intrenchment that covered it, seized upon *Ajina*, a town where *Afdrubal* had fixed his principal magazine, when he first entered upon the *Carthaginian* frontiers, and easily made himself master of the open country round about it. *Afdrubal*, finding that the enemy, not a little elated with their success, soon after dispersed themselves in small parties over the country, and laid aside all discipline, both in their detachments and their camp, advanced out of his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The *Carthaginians*, not expecting so sudden an attack, and having a good part of their forces then roving about the country, were easily routed by the *Carthaginians*, who continued the slaughter a great part of the day. In fine, the whole body of the barbarians in the camp, except a small party, that escaped, by a vigorous sally, to the mountains and woods, was put to the sword; which threw the *Carthaginians* into such a consternation, that the next day the whole nation submitted to *Afdrubal*. Soon after a courier arrived from *Carthage*, with orders to *Afdrubal* to begin his march for *Italy* without delay. This changed the face of affairs in *Spain*; for the *Spaniards*, upon the publication of this news, considered the *Carthaginians* as not in a condition to protect them; and

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and of course began to turn their eyes towards the *Romans*. *Afdrubal* therefore dispatched an express to *Carthage*, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of his departure had been to it; at the same time adding, that, if the late orders were put in execution, the *Romans* would be masters of *Spain*, before he had passed the *Iberus*. Notwithstanding which, the state of *Carthage* persisted in its former resolution, looking upon it as a matter of the utmost consequence to support *Hannibal*. However, it so far complied with *Afdrubal's* request, as to send *Himilco*, with a competent army, and a considerable naval reinforcement, into *Spain*, to watch the motions of both the natives and the *Romans*<sup>1</sup>.

*HIMILCO*, having transported his forces into *Spain*, took care immediately to put himself into a situation not to fear any insults from the *Spaniards*. He fortified his camp, drew his ships on shore, and surrounded them with an intrenchment. After this, he hastened with the utmost expedition through the territories of several cantons, either open enemies to the *Carthaginians*, or disposed to be so, to *Afdrubal's* camp, escorted by a choice detachment of horse. After he had imparted the orders of the senate to that general, and received from him instructions how to carry on the war in *Spain*, he returned to his own camp in safety, the extreme celerity, with which he passed through the territories of the aforesaid cantons, not giving any of them an opportunity of discovering him. Before *Afdrubal* began his march for *Italy*, he furnished himself with large sums of money, which he exacted from the *Spaniards* subject to, and in alliance with *Carthage*, being sensible that *Hannibal* could never have reached the *Alps*, had he not been powerfully supported by gold. At last, having got all things in readiness for the enterprize he was going upon, he assembled all his forces, and advanced to the *Iberus*. In the mean time he received intelligence, that the *Romans*, apprised of his approach, had laid siege to *Ibera*, a town deriving its name from the river on which it stood, and the richest in all that part of *Spain*. To oblige them therefore to raise that siege, he sat down before another town, which had lately submitted to the *Romans*. This had the desired effect; for the *Romans*, leaving *Ibera*, immediately moved towards him, and encamped upon a spot about five miles distant from him. The consequence of this action was a decisive battle; wherein *Afdrubal* gave proofs of an extraordinary military genius, though fortune declared against him. The *Spaniards* in

<sup>1</sup> POLYB. I. viii. LIV. I. xxiii. c. 26--29. FLOR. I. ii. c. 6.  
APPIAN. in Iberic. ZONAR. ubi supra.

his army, not relishing an *Italian* expedition, took to their heels at the first onset, the *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* horse made but a faint resistance; so that the rout was general, and the slaughter dreadful. *Afdrubal* did all that could be expected from the most consummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greatest presence of mind, and to animate his men by his example, till all things became desperate. But not being able to rally his troops, he found himself obliged to leave the field of battle and his camp to the enemy, together with the vast sums of money he had amassed for the *Italian* expedition. According to *Eutropius* and *Orosius*, the *Carthaginians* had twenty-five thousand men killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners, in the action. *Zonaras* intimates, that *Cneius* was so posted with a body of troops, that very few of the *Carthaginians* found it possible to make their escape. After this blow, all the *Spaniards*, who had before been wavering in their fidelity to *Carthage*, declared for the victors. *Afdrubal*, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his shattered army, was so far from being in a condition to attempt succouring *Hannibal*, that he found it difficult to maintain himself in *Spain* <sup>2</sup>.

*Livy* partial in his relation of the trans- actions in Spain.

OUR readers will easily conceive, that this account of the *Spanish* affairs, during the period we are now upon, is chiefly extracted from *Livy*; though they may at the same time discover, that we have inserted several circumstances not taken notice of by that historian, with which we have been supplied by other ancient writers. They are not therefore to be surprised, if they should meet with several improbabilities, and even inconsistencies, in the relation; since *Livy* must be allowed to have been most unreasonably prejudiced against the *Carthaginian* republic, as well as in favour of his own. *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, from whom he compiled his history, were of the same disposition with himself in this particular. What truth therefore can be expected from them in a description of any great transactions, wherein the *Carthaginians* bore a principal part? The improbabilities and inconsistencies just hinted at are so glaring, that they cannot escape the eye of any attentive reader; for which reason it is superfluous, would the nature of our design permit, to recite them. However, thus much is apparent from what the above-mentioned authors have transmitted to posterity in the point before us; to wit, that the defeat of *Afdrubal*, in a great measure, ruined *Hannibal's* affairs in *Italy*, though it was not

<sup>2</sup> *LIV.* ubi supra, c. 29. *DIOD.* *SIC.* I. xxvi. in excerpt. *Vales.* *APPIAN.* *FLOR.* *EUTROP.* *OROS.* *ZONAR.* &c. ubi supra.

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attended with such fatal consequences in *Spain*, as *Livy* suggests. That historian himself puts this last observation beyond dispute, in some subsequent parts of his work. How greatly then are we to regret the loss of that part of *Polybius*'s excellent history, treating of these campaigns in *Spain*! This, had it been extant, would undoubtedly have set us right in every important particular relating to them. But to return to the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy*<sup>b</sup>.

HIMILCO, who commanded the *Carthaginian* forces before *Tb. Car-Petelia*, carried on the siege of that place with great vigour, *Carthaginians* battering the walls with the utmost fury, and harassing the *reduce Petelia*. *garison* by continual assaults. However, the *Peteliani* defended themselves in a very gallant manner, destroying great numbers of the besiegers, though they were but an handful of men. But what not a little contributed to the defence of the place, was the bravery of the women, who distinguished themselves as much as the men on this occasion. They made frequent sallies, burnt the enemy's works, and then retired triumphantly into the town. Notwithstanding which, *Hannibal* having cut off all communication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they were so greatly pressed by famine, that they found themselves obliged to send all the useless people out of the city, who, according to *Appian*, were immediately butchered by the *Carthaginians* in the sight of the garison. At last, they resolved to make a sally with their whole force, which they accordingly did; but the greatest part of them, through hunger and fatigue, not having strength enough either to make use of their arms, or retire into the town, were put to the sword. However, eight hundred of them cut their way through the enemy, and escaped in a body to the *Romans*; who, after the conclusion of this war, reinstated them in their former possessions, and always took care to distinguish them by such marks of esteem, as their singular fidelity intitled them to<sup>1</sup>.

AFTER the reduction of *Petelia*, *Hannibal*, having been *As like-rejoined* by *Himilco*'s detachment, advanced to *Consentia*; *wise Consentia*, which soon surrendered to him. *Locri* opened its gates upon *sentia*, the first summons, the principal citizens having, for some time, kept a secret correspondence with the *Brutii*, who had united themselves with the *Carthaginian* army. *Croton*, which was, in a manner, deserted by its inhabitants, and several other cities of *Magna Græcia*, did the like. *Rhegium*, though attacked by *Hannibal* with all his forces, held out bravely, and

<sup>b</sup> *Liv. ubi supra, & alib.*      <sup>1</sup> *Liv. I. xxiii. c. 35. APPIAN.*  
in *Iberic.* *VAL. MAX. I. vi. c. 6. PLUT. ubi supra.*

baffled all the efforts of the *Carthaginians*. Sicily, in the mean time, wavered in its fidelity to the *Romans*, the defeat at *Cannæ* giving it such an idea of the *Carthaginian* power, that it could not avoid discovering an inclination to follow the example of the *Italians*. Even the family of *Hiero* was not intirely free from this disposition. For *Gelon*, the heir apparent to the crown of *Syracuse*, despising *Hiero's* old age, declared for *Hannibal*; and had not death taken him off so opportunely, that *Hiero* himself was suspected of hastening his fate, he might have made a powerful diversion in favour of the *Carthaginians*<sup>k</sup>.

*The Carthaginians* army in *Spain*, with letters from *Afdrubal*, importuning, that he had received an intire defeat, and that the greatest part of *Spain* had revolted to the *Romans*. The senate and people were thunder-struck at this melancholy advice; which, for the present, disconcerted all their measures. *Mago* was upon the point of setting out for *Italy*, with a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, twenty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver. But his departure, upon the reception of this mortifying news, was countermanded, and he ordered to hold himself in readiness to embark for *Spain* at a minute's warning. Whilst matters were in this ferment at *Carthage*, ambassadors arrived there from *Sardinia*, inviting the *Carthaginians*, in the name of *Hampsicora*, who, at that time, bore the chief sway there, and the other *Sardinian* prime nobility, to send over a body of troops, in order to take possession of that island. These ambassadors insinuated, *That the Romans had scarce any forces there; that the old praetor Cornelius had left the island; that a new one, unacquainted with the genius of the Sardi, was expected; that the Sardi were tired of the Roman government, and extremely incensed against their impious and avaricious masters, for their grievous exactions the last year; in fine, that nothing was wanting to induce them to shake off the Roman yoke, but an encouragement thereto from some powerful state, that would take them under its protection.* This embassy a little revived the drooping spirits of the *Carthaginians*, who thereupon immediately sent *Mago* to *Spain* with the aforesaid succours, and dispatched *Afdrubal*, surname *Calvus*<sup>l</sup>, with the like number of forces, to support the *Sardi*<sup>m</sup>.

*Hannibal* WHILST the two potent republics of *Carthage* and *Rome* concludes a were thus contending for superiority, the eyes of all the

<sup>k</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 30. Diod. Sic. I. xxvi. in excerpt. Vales.  
<sup>l</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 31. <sup>m</sup> LIV. ubi supra.

neighbouring states were fixed upon them. Amongst the rest, *treaty* *Philip* king of *Macedon* had observed, with great attention, *with* *Philip* the progress of this war. This, in point of prudence, he *lip king of* thought himself obliged to, as he was a neighbour to *Italy*, *Macedon*. being separated from it only by the *Ionian sea*. At first, he was equally inclined to both parties; but, finding *Hannibal* the favourite of fortune, he came to a resolution to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Carthaginians*. To this end he sent an embassy, with *Xenophanes*, one of his ministers, at the head of it, to *Hannibal's* camp in *Campania*. These ambassadors happened to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and were conducted to the *prætor Valerius Lævinus*, in his camp at *Nuceria*. But *Xenophanes*, by his address, pretending he came to propose a treaty of friendship to the *Romans*, found means to pursue his route; and, upon his arrival at *Hannibal's* head-quarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble to it, was couched in the following terms. “ Copy of the treaty concluded between  
“ *Hannibal*, general of the *Carthaginian* army, *Mago*, *Myr-*  
“ *can*, *Barmocar*, all the senators of *Carthage*, together with  
“ the whole body of forces then present, on the one side;  
“ and *Xenophanes* son of *Cleomachus*, an *Athenian*, minister  
“ plenipotentiary of *Philip* son of *Demetrius*, king of *Mace-*  
“ *don*, in his own name and that of the *Macedonian* nation,  
“ and their allies, on the other. The articles of this treaty  
“ are agreed upon in the most solemn manner by both the  
“ contracting powers, in the presence of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and  
“ *Apollo*; of the *Dæmon* of *Carthage*, *Hercules*, and *Iolaus*;  
“ of *Mars*, *Triton*, and *Neptune*; of those diviniti *s* who are  
“ confederates with *Carthage*; of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Earth*;  
“ of the *Rivers*, *Meadows*, and *Waters*; of the tutelary deiti-  
“ ties of *Carthage*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; and, lastly, of  
“ those deities, who, presiding in war, assist at, and super-  
“ intend, the signing of the present treaty. *Hannibal*, ge-  
“ neral of the *Carthaginian* forces, the senators above-men-  
“ tioned, and the whole *Carthaginian* army, declare this,  
“ according to the mutual intention of both parties, to be a  
“ treaty of amity, by virtue of which the contracting pow-  
“ ers are, from henceforth, obliged to treat each other as  
“ friends and brethren. In consequence therefore of this  
“ convention, king *Philip*, the *Macedonian* nation, and the  
“ *Greeks* their allies, engage themselves to defend and sup-  
“ port, to the utmost of their power, the lords the *Cartha-*  
“ *ginians*, *Hannibal* their general, all the senators and forces  
“ with him, all governors of provinces under the dominion  
“ of *Carthage*, who govern by the same laws, the people of  
“ *Utica*,

" Utica, and all other cities and nations subject to the *Carthaginian* empire; all who bear arms in their service; all cities in alliance with them in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*; and all that shall hereafter become their allies in those countries. On the other hand, the *Carthaginian* armies, the inhabitants of *Utica*, all the cities and states subject to *Carthage*, all the *Carthaginian* allies, and their troops, all the nations of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, that are in a state of amity with the *Carthaginians*, or that shall hereafter enter into an alliance with them, solemnly oblige themselves to preserve from all injuries and insults, and strenuously to support, *Philip* king of *Macedon*, the *Macedonian* nation, together with the *Greeks* their allies. No clandestine designs shall be formed by either party against the other. Both powers shall, with the utmost sincerity and alacrity, act against the enemies of *Carthage* and king *Philip*, except such kings, cities, or ports, as shall have contracted a friendship with either of them. The *Romans* shall be looked upon as a common enemy, till such time as the gods shall be pleased happily to terminate the war already commenced. King *Philip*, the *Macedonian* nation, and the *Greeks* their allies, shall supply the *Carthaginians* with all necessaries, in order to carry on this war, in such manner as shall be hereafter settled by a particular convention. If Heaven should not vouchsafe success to the arms of the high allies, but they should be obliged to enter into a negotiation with the enemy, and even conclude a peace with them, they shall all be comprehended in that treaty. The *Romans* shall never be permitted to have any footing in the island of *Corcyra*, nor to exercise any dominion over the inhabitants of *Apollonia*, *Epidamus*, *Pharus*, *Dimales*, *Parthenia*, with its territories, and *Atintania*. They shall be obliged to deliver up to *Demetrius Pharius* all his friends and relations, who shall be found in any part of their dominions. If the *Romans* shall hereafter declare war against either of the contracting powers, they shall mutually assist each other, as occasion shall require. The same thing shall be done by both parties, if any other power comes to a rupture with either of them, except it be a king, state, or city, with which the other was before in alliance. It shall be lawful either to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or add new ones to it, by the mutual consent of both parties, if it shall hereafter be judged expedient so to do."

<sup>n</sup> POLYB. I. vii.

THIS copy of the articles of the offensive and defensive alliance concluded betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, preserved to us by *Polybius*, is a most curious and valuable fragment of antiquity, as serving not only to give us a good idea of the most noted objects of the *Carthaginian* worship, but likewise to exhibit to our view the form and manner in which that nation drew up their treaties. For it appears pretty plain from *Polybius*, that the *Carthaginians* were looked upon as the chief party concerned in this engagement; and that the preparing of this instrument inserted here was, in a great measure, left to *Hannibal*. It likewise further appears, that *Livy* has not so much given us the articles of this treaty, as certain inferences and conclusions drawn from those articles, some of which were, in all probability, false. These he seems to have taken from *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, who have not paid the greatest regard to truth in many particulars relating to the *African* republic <sup>o</sup>.

WHEN the *Macedonian* ambassadors returned home, *Han-* Philip's *nibal* sent three ministers with them; to wit, *Gisco*, *Bostar*, *embassa-* and *Mago*, in order to bring him king *Philip*'s ratification of *dors inter-* the above-mentioned treaty. They had a vessel waiting for *cepted by* them, privately stationed near the temple of *Juno Lacinia* in *the Ro-* *Calabria*; but were scarce got out to sea, when they were *mams.* descried by the *Romans*. Some light frigates being detached from the *Roman* squadron, then cruising off the coasts of *Ca-* *labria*, soon came up with them, and obliged the vessel they were on board immediately to surrender. In this emergency, *Xenophanes* had recourse to another falsehood, asserting, *That all the passes and highways in Campania were so guarded by the Carthaginian parties, that he found it impossible to go to Rome, as he was ordered*; but without effect. For the *Carthaginian* ministers were betrayed by their language and habits, by which means the *Romans* discovered the whole secret, sent both the *Carthaginian* and *Macedonian* ambassadors prisoners to *Rome*, and diverted the impending storm this formidable league threatened them with, in the manner related by us in a former part of this history <sup>p</sup>.

ABOUT this time *Hannibal* received intelligence, that the *Car-* *Campanians*, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand *thaginian* men to act in favour of the *Carthaginians*, had been intirely *affairs go to decay both by sea and land.* defeated by *Gracchus* at *Hama*; to which place they had advanced, in order to seize upon *Cuma*. They lost on this oc-

<sup>o</sup> *POLYB. ubi sup. & LIV. l. xxiii. c. 33. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 12.*  
*OROS. l. iv. c. 16. JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. 4. LIV. ubi supra,*  
*c. 34. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 282.*

casion above two thousand men, together with *Marius Alcibiades* their commander, and thirty-four standards. He therefore, without loss of time, marched to *Hæmæ*; but, upon his arrival there, found only the carcases of the *Campanians*, who fell in the last action, with which the ground was strewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to *Cumæ*. For the present, *Hannibal* reoccupied his former camp upon mount *Tifata*; but, at the solicitation of the *Campanians*, after having ravaged all the country about *Cumæ*, he laid siege to that city. Having applied an huge wooden tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous assault. But the *Roman* consul, who had thrown himself into the town, erected one that was higher, and posted some men in it, who discharged a great number of flaming torches, besides a vast quantity of other combustible materials, upon the besiegers. This put the *Carthaginians* into disorder; which being observed by the garrison, a strong party sallied out of the town, put them to the rout, and pursued them as far as their camp, which was about a mile distant. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal* lost fourteen hundred men on this occasion upon the spot, besides forty taken prisoners. However, the next day the *Carthaginian* drew up his army in order of battle betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the *Romans* to an engagement; but the consul declining this, he immediately decamped, and took post again upon mount *Tifata*. Whilst these things happened, *Hanno* was defeated at *Grumentum* in *Lucania* by *T. Sempronius Longus*, and lost four thousand men upon the field of battle, besides forty-one military ensigns. After this blow, *Hanno* abandoned *Lucania* to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the *Brutii*. Upon these repeated instances of ill success, three towns of the *Hirpini* revolted from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*, who took a thousand prisoners there, and caused them all to be sold under the spear. A little before these disasters happened, *Ajdrubal*, surnamed *Calvus*, set sail from *Carthage*, with the armament under his command, for *Sardinia*; but received great damage from a storm he met with in his passage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the *Balearic* islands. Here he staid awhile, in order to refit his fleet; which gave the *Romans* time to make head against the *Carthaginians* in *Sardinia*, and consequently not a little contributed to the signal overthrow *Ajdrubal* soon after received in that island<sup>4</sup>.

*PHILIP*, king of *Macedon*, being informed, that his emissaries, together with the *Carthaginian* ministers sent by

<sup>4</sup> *Liv.* l. xxiii. c. 35, & seq. *Plut.* in *Hannib.*

*Hannibal*, had fallen into the hands of the *Romans*, sent *Heracitus Scotinus*, *Crito Berræus*, and *Sositheus Magnes*, three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a fresh treaty with that general. This they happily performed ; but, as the summer was spent in this negotiation, *Philip* could not put himself soon enough in motion to make any diversion in favour of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* therefore now began considerably to lose ground. *Fabius*, having passed the *Vulturnus*, in conjunction with his colleague, took the cities of *Combuleria*, *Trebla*, and *Saticula*, by assault, making the *Carthaginian* garrisons therein prisoners of war. In the mean time *Hannibal* kept a secret correspondence with the populace of *Nola*, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands. This being communicated to *Fabius*, he sent the proconsul *Marcellus* with a body of troops thither, to garrison the place, and protect the nobility, who were in the *Roman* interest ; and posted himself betwixt *Nola* and the *Carthaginian* camp upon mount *Tifata*, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. *Marcellus* likewise made frequent incursions into the territories of the *Hirpini*, and the *Sannites Caudini*, where he committed great <sup>other</sup> depredations. This induced the *Hirpini* and the *Sannites* to send deputies to *Hannibal*, reproaching him with his indolence, and telling him, That *Marcellus* seemed rather to be the conqueror at *Cannaæ* than *Hannibal*. To whom *Hannibal* replied, That as the blow given the *Romans* at *Cannaæ* had eclipsed all his other victories, so they should soon see the glory of that obscured by another more illustrious achievement. Then dismissing them with magnificent presents, he advanced towards *Nola*, after having left a sufficient body of troops to guard his camp on mount *Tifata*. Upon his approach, he sent *Hanno*, with a detachment of the forces, to persuade the *Nolans* to surrender their city to the *Carthaginians*. To which end, by *Marcellus's* permission, he had a conference with *Herennius Baffus*, and *Herius Petrius*, two persons of the first distinction in the place ; but without effect. *Hannibal* therefore, sitting down before the city, made the necessary dispositions for attacking it with the utmost vigour ; which *Marcellus* observing, sallied out upon his forces with such fury, that the action must have become general, had not the combatants on both sides been obliged to draw off by a violent storm. On this occasion the *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, lost thirty men ; but the *Romans* not one. Two days after, a bloody engagement happened within a mile of *Nola*, wherein the *Carthaginians* were driven out of the field. They lost, on this occasion, fifty thousand men killed upon the spot ; and had six hundred taken prisoners. A body of near thirteen hundred *Spanijs*

and Numidian horse, immediately after this defeat, deserted to the Romans ; which was a great loss to Hannibal, as these were some of his veteran troops, that had attended him in all his expeditions. Fabius, now laying aside his usual caution, penetrated into the very heart of Campania ; and hearing of Hannibal's retreat into Apulia, moved towards Capua, destroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and sword<sup>1</sup>.

*The Carthaginians once more driven out of Sardinia.* In the mean time, Asdrubal being detained in one of the ports of the Balearic islands by the accident above-mentioned,

Manlius landed his forces at Caralis ; and, upon taking a review of them, found them to consist of twenty-two thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy's territories, and encamped near Hampscora, the Sardinian general, who, being gone into the district of the Pelliti Sardi, to assemble all the youth there able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his son Hippius to command in his absence. Hippius, being an impetuous youth, ventured an engagement with Manlius, wherein he had the misfortune to be overthrown, having three thousand of his men killed upon the spot, and three hundred taken prisoners. The body assembled by Hampscora, upon this melancholy news, immediately dispersed itself over the fields and woods ; but, at last, retired to a city called Cornus, the capital of the aforesaid district. Sardinia now must have been totally lost, had not Asdrubal arrived in the critical moment with the forces sent from Carthage for the support of the Sardi. Hampscora soon joined him with all the Sardinian troops he could draw together ; and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the Roman allies, laying waste the whole country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched directly to Caralis, and seized upon that capital ; but Manlius came up with them before they could put their design in execution. After some slight skirmishes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action ensued, wherein the Sardi were soon put to the rout ; but the Carthaginians continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, insomuch that the victory hung long in suspense. However, they were at last intirely defeated, and dispersed beyond a possibility of rallying. Twelve thousand of the Sardi and Carthaginians fell in this battle ; and seven hundred of both nations were taken prisoners. Mago,

<sup>1</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 38---48. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLUT. in Hannib. in Fab. & in Marcel. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. LUC. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46.

a near relation of *Hannibal*; *Hanno*, another *Carthaginian* nobleman, the chief fomenter of all these troubles in *Sardinia*; and *Asdrubal* the general; were in the number of the latter. But *Hipstus*, the son of *Hampsicora*, in that of the former, which threw his father into such an excess of grief, that he laid violent hands on himself. The shattered remains of the *Carthaginian* and *Sardinian* army fled to *Cornus*, and, almost upon the first summons of the conqueror, surrendered at discretion. All the cities and fortresses likewise, either in the *Carthaginian* jurisdiction, or that of *Hampsicora*, in a few days made their submission to *Manlius*; who soon set sail from *Caralis* for the coast of *Italy*, with the prisoners, as well as vast booty, he had acquired in this successful expedition <sup>4</sup>.

*ASDRUBAL* had no sooner landed his troops in *Sardinia*, as *The Carthaginians* already related, than he sent the fleet back to *Africa*, the admiral of which, in his passage, was attacked by a *Roman* squadron of fifty sail, under the command of *T. Otacilius the praetor*; who, having ravaged the maritime part of the territory of *Carthage*, was steering his course towards *Sardinia*, in quest of this very fleet. The *Romans* took seven *Carthaginian* galleys, with their crews, the rest escaping by sheering off in time. About this time *Bomilcar* arrived at *Locri* with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a considerable supply of provisions and military stores, from *Carthage*. After a short stay here, he joined *Hanno*, who, at that time, lay encamped in the country of the *Brutii*, having narrowly escaped being taken by *Appius*, who suddenly passed the straits of *Reggio*, and advanced to the gates of *Locri*, in order to have surprised him. *Appius* took post in the neighbourhood of *Locri*, immediately after *Bomilcar's* departure; so that the city, being abandoned by the *Carthaginians*, opened its gates to him. However, he missed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, soon after returned to *Messana* <sup>5</sup>.

*THE Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, sustained this year *State of affairs in Spain*. *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Hasdrubal*, the son of *Bomilcar*, three *Carthaginian* generals, laid siege to *Iliturgis*, which had revolted to the *Romans*. The *Romans*, with no small difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and supplied their allies with all things necessary, when they were upon the point of surrendering for want of such a supply. This encouraged the *Scipios* to venture a battle with the *Carthaginians*, whose army

<sup>4</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 40-42. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. OROS. l. iv. c. 16. SIL. ITAL. l. xii. EUTROP. l. iii. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 5.

<sup>5</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 41.

consisted of sixty thousand men, though theirs did not amount to above sixteen thousand. *Asdrubal's* camp, being by far the most considerable, was first attacked by the *Romans*; which being observed by *Mago* and *Samilcar*, they advanced, each of them at the head of his respective corps, to support him. But, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, according to the same author, all the *Carthaginian* camps were forced, and their army overthrown, with the loss of above sixteen thousand men upon the spot, three thousand made prisoners, five elephants slain, besides a thousand horses, sixty military ensigns, and five elephants taken. The consequence of this defeat was the raising the siege of *Iliturgis*, from whence the *Carthaginians* retired with great precipitation to *Indibilis*, and in a short time found means so to recruit their forces out of the *Spanish* provinces, that they ventured another engagement with the *Scipios*. But their unhappy fate still attending them, they were routed again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loss of thirteen thousand men killed in the action and the pursuit. Three thousand prisoners, above forty standards, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds *Livy*, almost all the different nations of *Spain* revolted to the *Romans*<sup>u</sup>.

OUR readers will be beforehand with us in observing with what improbabilities, not to say absurdities, this narration of *Livy* is clogged. How can it be supposed possible for *Asdrubal*, after the complete defeat he met with in *Spain* only the last year, to assemble another army of sixty thousand men so soon in the same country, especially since the *Carthaginians* had reinforced their troops in *Italy*, and sent a very considerable body of forces to invade *Sardinia*? If *Asdrubal*, after the terrible blow he received last year, could scarce maintain himself in any part of *Spain*, as this author himself expressly asserts, what probability is there, that, in the space of a very few months only, he should have become so prodigiously superior in strength to his conquerors the *Romans*, especially since the *Spaniards* in general had declared against him? Lastly, admitting all this to be true, can it be imagined, that immediately after the second fatal overthrow mentioned here by our author, the *Carthaginian* general could form so numerous an army out of the *Spanish* nations, who had before espoused the *Roman* interest? The inconsistencies couched in these queries are certainly so glaring, that it would be intirely needless to expa-

<sup>u</sup> Idem ibid. Vide & FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. & ZONAR. ubi supra, ut & in not. OUDENDORP. in S. Jul: Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 1.

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tate upon them ; and therefore we shall content ourselves with having barely hinted at them here, as thinking this sufficient to confirm what we have elsewhere observed of the partiality of this historian, or at least of those he extracted his materials from <sup>w</sup>.

No considerable movements happened during the time the *troops* troops on both sides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of *in Italy on Croton* however was abandoned to the people of *Locris*, allies of *both sides* the *Carthaginians*, after the conclusion of the campaign. *Hannibal* took up his winter-quarters at *Arpi*, and the consul *Sempronius* his at *Luceria*. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagonist, and endeavoured to animate his men, the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* parties frequently skirmishing with one another <sup>winter-quarters</sup>.

ABOUT this time *Hannibal* found means to raise commotions in *Sicily*, which turned out not a little to his advantage. After the death of *Hiero*, by several artful steps, he fixed his *motions in* grandson *Hieronymus*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Sicily*. *Syracuse*, in the interest of the *Carthaginians*. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen months ; that, after he came to the crown, he shewed a most abandoned disposition ; and that many prodigies at *Syracuse* preceded his accession. *Polybius* however differs from these authors, in relation to his character ; tho' he allows, that he was a weak and unjust prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with *Hannibal*, and the state of *Carthage*, he was assassinated by the direction of *Indigimines*, one of the officers of his guards. But, for the particulars of this horrid action, as well as the effect it had upon the affairs of *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, we must refer our readers to a former part of this history <sup>x</sup>.

THE *Capuans*, hearing of the vast preparations made in all *The Roman provinces* for the vigorous prosecution of this war, *mans gain* no less than eighteen legions being destined for the service of *some ad-* the current year, were thrown into a great consternation, *vantages* especially as they knew themselves to be, above all others, *over Han-* *nibal*. *noxious* to the *Romans*. They therefore, in the most pressing terms, intreated *Hannibal* to move immediately to their assistance, and prevent the *Romans* from taking post before their city. *Hannibal*, in compliance with their request, advanced with all expedition to mount *Tifata* near *Capua*, where the former year he had encamped. Here he left a body of *Spaniards* and *Numidians* to defend the advantageous spot of

<sup>w</sup> Vide LIV. 1. xxiii. c. 29. & c. 49. <sup>x</sup> LIV. 1. xxiv. c. 1—4. <sup>y</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 4—8. POLYB. 1. viii. in excerpt. Yalef. Univers. hist. vol. viii. p. 109—112.

sufficient for us to have hinted to our readers, that the affairs of *Sicily*, however interwoven with those of other nations, do not properly belong to the history of *Syracuse* <sup>c</sup>.

*The trans-  
actions in  
Spain.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the losses the *Carthaginians* sustained the last year in *Spain*, *Ajdrubal* and *Mago*, the beginning of this campaign, defeated a strong body of *Spaniards*; which might have been of bad consequence to the *Romans*, had not *Publius* advanced with all expedition to the *Iberus*, in order to support his confederates. The *Romans* encamped at *Castrum Altum*, a place famous for the death of the great *Hamilcar*. Though this was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly stored with provisions, *Publius*, finding all the adjacent country possessed by the enemy, and his troops greatly harassed by their hosts, soon decamped, and posted himself on a spot not so much exposed to their insults. The *Carthaginians* cut off above two thousand *Romans*, in various encounters, during *Publius's* short stay at *Castrum Altum*. *Publius*, soon after his arrival in his new camp, which he immediately fortified with a retrenchment, went, with a detachment of his light-armed troops, to reconnoitre some of the neighbouring places. This being observed by the *Carthaginian* general, he advanced, at the head of his forces, to attack him; and had surprised him in a plain, had he not had the precaution to retire in time to an eminence, where he defended himself, till his brother *Cneius* came to his relief. *Castulo*, a strong and noble city of *Spain*, and so strictly allied with the *Carthaginians*, that *Ajdrubal* had taken him a wife from thence, now revolted to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, not discouraged at this, laid siege to *Iliturgis*, wherein was a *Roman* garrison, which was in great danger of surrendering to them for want of provisions. *Cneius* hearing of this, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, supplied it plentifully with every thing needful, and the next day fellied out upon the enemy. In the two actions, the *Carthaginians* had twelve thousand men killed upon the spot, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Being thus obliged to abandon the siege of *Iliturgis*, they marched from thence to attack *Bigerra*, another city in alliance with *Rome*; but *Cneius* forced them to raise this likewise, without striking a stroke. Afterwards the *Carthaginian* general moved to *Munda*, whither he was followed by the *Romans*. Here both armies engaged for four hours, when the *Romans* would have been victorious, had not *Scipio* been wounded in the thigh by a javelin; which so disheartened his troops, that he

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. c. 21--40. POLYB. l. viii. PLUT. in *Marcel.* Univers. hist. vol. viii.

was obliged to sound a retreat. In this action the *Carthaginian* troops, according to *Livy*, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their retrenchment, where thirty-nine of those huge animals perished by the enemy's darts. Twelve thousand *Carthaginians* lost their lives on the field of battle, and three thousand of them, with fifty-seven military ensigns, fell into the enemy's hands. Then the *Carthaginians* retreated with great precipitation to *Aurinx*, and were pursued by the *Romans*. There *Cneius*, being carried in a litter, again attacked *Afdrubal*, and intirely routed him; but did not make such a carnage as in the former engagements, because the *Carthaginian* forces were not at that time so numerous. Notwithstanding all these disasters, *Mago* speedily raised such a number of recruits, as enabled his brother to look the *Romans* again in the face. Another battle ensued, wherein the *Romans* met with their usual success. Above eight thousand *Carthaginians*, with eight elephants, were slain, and about one thousand, with fifty-eight military ensigns, and three elephants, taken. *Mænicapo* and *Civismaro*, two famous kings of the *Gauls*, who came to assist their allies the *Carthaginians*, likewise fell in this battle. A vast number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other *Gallie* spoils, also came into the possession of the victors. The *Romans*, having now driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to *Saguntum*, forced the *Carthaginian* garrison to abandon it, and then restored it to the antient inhabitants, that had survived the calamities of their country. As for the *Turdetani*, who had been the occasion of this bloody war, *Cneius* caused them to be sold by auction, and afterwards razed their city. Such is the account *Livy* has given us of the military operations this year in *Spain*; which is just as consistent with itself, as that extraordinary relation of the action near *Syracuse*, in the beginning of the first *Punic* war, *Philinus* vouchsafed his countrymen, according to which, the conquered were victors, and the conquerors vanquished; or, as the conduct of some of our neighbours in a late war, when they sung *Te Deum* for a defeat. In short, our readers will, from a cursory view of this account, be fully convinced, that consistency and impartiality are qualifications not essential even to those, who are reputed the best *Roman* historians<sup>4</sup>.

THE following spring *Hannibal* received intelligence, that *The camone Caius Alinius*, who abandoned the *Roman* interest after *prægn in* the battle of *Canne*, had offered to deliver up *Arpi* into the Italy. *hands of the Romans* for a sum of money. This news did not

<sup>4</sup> *PHILINUS* apud *Polyb.* l. i. sub init. *LIV.* ubi supra, c. 41 ---43. Vide & *Univers. hist.* vol. xii.

at all displease the *Carthaginian*, who had long suspected *Altinius* of holding a correspondence with the enemy ; since such a conduct could not fail of giving him an opportunity of seizing upon the immense treasures that wealthy citizen of *Arpi* possessed. But, that he might seem not so much influenced by avarice as resentment, as soon as he got *Altinius's* riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. This story depends upon the authority of *Livy*, and is as probable as some of the preceding. *Appian* calls this traitor *Dafsius*, and tells us, that he was descended from *Diomedes* of *Argos*, the founder of *Arpi*. *Hannibal* immediately put a garrison of five thousand *Carthaginians* into the city above-mentioned, who were joined by a body of three thousand citizens, in order to secure it against any attack of the *Romans*. However, the *Fabii*, having guarded all the avenues to it, surprised it in the manner already related. About a thousand *Spaniards*, at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the *Romans*, and prevailed upon them to permit the *Carthaginian* garrison to retire. In pursuance of the capitulation, those troops were conducted by a *Roman* escorte to *Hannibal's* camp at *Salapia*, without the least injury offered them. This is *Livy's* account. But *Appian* relates, that the *Fabii* did not reduce *Arpi* by force, but, by means of some traitors, had it delivered to them ; and that they put all the *Carthaginians* found therein to the sword. Nothing further very material, except what has been already taken notice of in the *Roman* history, happened this campaign in *Italy*.

*Some mo-  
tions in  
Africa.*

THE *Romans* this year entered into an alliance with *Syphax*, a *Numidian* prince, who had suddenly conceived an aversion to the *Carthaginians*. In consequence of the treaty concluded betwixt the two powers, the *Romans* sent Q. *Statorius* into *Africa*, to train up a body of *Numidian* infantry after the *Roman* manner. This, above all things, *Syphax* desired, the *Numidians* having, till that time, brought only cavalry into the field ; which rendered them incapable of coping with the *Carthaginians*. *Statorius*, upon his arrival in *Numidia*, soon inrolled a considerable body of foot out of *Syphax's* youth. These he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and swiftness, and, in fine, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art after the *Roman* model ; so that in a short time *Syphax* had a body of infantry, which he could intirely depend upon. The *Carthaginians*, finding their *Numidian* forces beginning to desert in

\* LIV. ubi supra, c. 45-47. APPIAN. in Hannib. Univers. hist. ubi supra.

great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects such a formidable union might produce, dispatched ambassadors to *Gala*, king of the *Massyli*, another *Numidian* prince, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to him. They insinuated, “that, out of regard to his own safety, he ought to join them without loss of time, before either *Syphax* could transport any troops into *Spain*, or the *Romans* into *Africa*; that *Syphax* was, at present, void of all support from the *Romans*, and might therefore be easily crushed.” *Gala*, at the instigation of his son *Masnissa*, then but seventeen years of age, closed with the proposal, and sent an army to assist his new allies. *Masnissa*, to whose conduct that army was committed, gave *Syphax* two such total overthrows, the first in conjunction with the *Carthaginians*, and the second with the *Massylian* forces only, that he found it impossible to make a diversion afterwards in favour of the *Romans*<sup>f</sup>.

THE transactions in *Spain* this year are scarce worth relating. Nothing of the least moment passed there, except *mans take* that the *Romans* took a body of *Celtiberians* into their service, *a body of Celibe-* and sent three hundred persons of the most distinguished families in *Spain* to *Italy*, to encourage a desertion amongst their *Romans into countrymen in Hannibal's army*. *Appian* relates, that this *their ser-* scheme took some effect; but at the same time intimates, that *Hannibal himself made use of the same method of acting, in order to draw off the Spaniards incorporated with the Roman forces, with equal success*. The *Celtiberians*, who took on in the *Roman* service, were allowed the same pay that their countrymen received from the *Carthaginians*<sup>g</sup>.

THOUGH *Hannibal* stood upon the defensive the last campaign, towards the close of it, some inconsiderable cities of *has Tarentines* surrendered to him. However, to compensate *rentum* this, the *Thurians* and *Consentini* revolted from him to the *Roman* forces under the command of *L. Pomponius Veientanus* in *Lucania*, after they had made dreadful incursions into the country of the *Brutii*, pillaging and laying waste all before them. The commander himself was taken prisoner in the action, and a great part of his men cut off; which prevented several petty states from abandoning the *Carthaginian* interest, though a few small towns of *Lucania*, after that defeat, opened their gates to *Sempronius*. In the mean time *Phileas*, who had a long time resided at *Rome* as minister from *Tarentum*, a man of a

<sup>f</sup> *APPIAN*. in *Iberic.* *LIV.* ubi supra, c. 48, 49. <sup>g</sup> *LIV.* 1. xxiv. sub fin. *APPIAN*. in *Hannib.* *OROS.* l. iv. c. 16. turbulent

Year of  
the flood

2149.

Bef. Christ

199.

Of Rome

549.

turbulent and restless disposition, retired privately from *Rome*, with some *Tarentine* hostages, whom he had assisted to make their escape. But being closely pursued, they were all taken near *Tarracina*, brought back to *Rome*, whipped publicly there in the *comitium*, and afterwards thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. This barbarity extremely incensed the *Tarentines*. Some of their young nobility therefore, the principal of whom were *Nicon* and *Philemenus*, formed a design to massacre the *Roman* troops in garison, and deliver the city up to the *Carthaginians*. These two young noblemen, therefore, with a party that they could confide in, went privately by night out of the city, under the pretext of being engaged in a hunting-match. *Nicon* and *Philemenus*, as had been before concerted, rode up so near *Hannibal's* lines, that they were seized by one of his advanced guards, their associates having taken care before to disperse themselves in the neighbouring woods. At first they refused to give any account of themselves; but only intimated, that they had something of moment to impart to the general. Being therefore conducted to him, they desired to have a private conference with him; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the disposition of the *Tarentines*, exclaiming bitterly at the same time against the *Romans*. *Hannibal* received them with great kindness, loaded them with promises, and then dismissed them. At the second conference, *Nicon* and *Philemenus* concluded a treaty with *Hannibal* on the part of the *Tarentines*, upon the following terms. 1. When the *Carthaginians* shall have possessed themselves of *Tarentum*, the citizens shall enjoy their laws, liberties, and estates, without infringement. 2. They shall not be obliged to pay any tribute, or receive a *Carthaginian* garison, without their own consent. 3. All the effects of the *Romans* in *Tarentum* shall be given up as free booty to the *Carthaginian* troops. Soon after, *Hannibal*, by the assistance of the conspirators, and the indolence of *Livius*, the *Roman* governor, made himself master of the town; and the *Roman* garison retired into the citadel. In order to cover the town from the insults of this garison, he guarded that side of it next to the citadel with walls. A strong party of the *Roman* troops made a sally upon the workmen; but *Hannibal* drawing them into an ambuscade, put most of them to the sword. Then he built several works, that rendered the city impregnable on the side of the citadel; and at last laid siege to that place. But, after he had advanced his military machines, and his line of circumvallation was formed, the *Romans* received a reinforcement by sea from *Metapontum*; which so raised their courage, that the next night they made a sally, ruined the works

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works of the besiegers, and burnt their machines. This repulse forced *Hannibal* to abandon the siege ; but, by making carriages of several carts joined together, upon which he raised ships, he drew gallies with their rigging from one part of the sea to another. This secured the *Tarentines* a free passage to the sea, of all communication with which they had before been deprived by the garrison in the citadel. After which he returned to the banks of the *Galesus*, where he had before encamped ; and left the citadel blocked up, both by sea and land <sup>b</sup>.

WHILST *Hannibal* lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Hanno Tarentum*, the consuls threatened *Capua* with a siege. This <sup>defeated</sup> greatly alarmed the *Capuans*, who were under dreadful apprehensions of a famine, as the *Romans* had prevented them from cultivating their lands the preceding year. They therefore intreated *Hannibal* to send them a supply of provisions, before the *Romans* had cut off the communication betwixt their city and the places, where the *Carthaginians*, and their allies, had erected magazines. Whereupon *Hanno*, in pursuance of an order received from *Hannibal*, moving out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped upon an eminence about three miles from *Beneventum* ; and, having amassed a vast quantity of corn, appointed a day for the *Capuans* to send a proper number of waggons thither to carry it off. The consuls being informed of this, *Fulvius* marched with all expedition to *Beneventum*, and from thence to the *Carthaginian* camp, which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of *Vibius*, a centurion of the *Pelignian* troops, *Valerius Flaccus*, tribune of the third legion, and *T. Pedanius*, a centurion, carried, after an obstinate resistance. Of the *Carthaginians*, above six thousand were slain, and seven thousand taken prisoners. A great number of *Campanian* peasants, together with their waggons, and the corn *Hanno* had collected for the use of the *Capuans*, as well as an immense quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the *Romans*. *Hanno* himself was not in the action, but at some distance from the camp, when it happened ; but, being informed of it at *Cominium Ceritum*, he retired, with great precipitation, into *Brutium*. This blow so terrified the *Capuans*, that the principal of them seemed afraid the enemy would as easily possess themselves of *Capua*, as they had before done of *Arpi*. However, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and protect their territory from the incursions of the *Roman* parties, *Hannibal* sent the garrison a reinforce-

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. I. viii. LIV. I. xxv. c. 7--12. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. I. iii. c. 3. ex. 6.

ment of two thousand men. In the mean time the *Carthaginian* garrison at *Tarentum*, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the blockade of the citadel there, *Hannibal*, with his army, pursuing all the measures, that he thought necessary to facilitate the reduction of that place<sup>1</sup>.

THE body of troops left to defend *Metapontum* being so weakened by the large detachment sent to the citadel of *Tarentum*, that the *Romans* there were not in a condition to make head against the citizens, who were well affected to the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* found means to make himself master of that city. *Appian* tells us, that the *Metapontini* put all the *Romans* to the sword; and that *Heraclea*, a town situated between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, followed the example of those two cities. The *Thurians* likewise, being nearly related to the people of the two last-mentioned cities, as descended from the *Achaeans*, and highly resenting the cruel treatment of the *Tarentine* hostages, meditated a revolt from the *Romans*. They therefore sent a deputation to *Hanno* and *Mago*, who then commanded a *Carthaginian* army in *Brutium*, inviting them to come and take possession of *Thurium*. *Atinius*, the commandant, had but a small garrison, his chief dependence being upon the townsmen, whom he had armed and disciplined, that they might be the better enabled to support him, in case of a visit from the enemy. *Hanno* first presented himself before the town with a body of infantry, whilst *Mago*, with the cavalry, lay in ambuscade by favour of some eminences, which concealed him from the enemy's parties, that were sent to reconnoitre the *Carthaginians*. *Atinius* therefore, imagining that he should be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conspiracy the *Thurians* had entered into, did not in the least doubt but that he should easily repulse the enemy. *Hanno*, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the *Romans*, drawing both them and the *Thurians* insensibly to the foot of the eminences possessed by the *Carthaginian* horse; who immediately rushing down upon them with a great shout, the *Thurians*, according to agreement, took to their heels, and were received by the conspirators into the city. The *Romans* in the mean time, notwithstanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, behaved with great bravery; but, being at last likewise put to flight, upon their arrival at the town, they found themselves denied admission, the conspirators on the walls crying out, *That the Carthaginians, being mixed with the Romans, would certainly enter, unless the gates were immedi-*

*The Car-  
thaginians admit-  
ted into  
Thurium.*

<sup>1</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 13-15. APPIAN. in Hannib.

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*ately shut.* They were all therefore cut to pieces, except *Atinius*, with a few of his principal officers, whom the *Thurians* saved from the general carnage, out of the great personal regard they had for that commandant, on account of his mild and just government. After they had sent these, on board some gallies prepared for that purpose, to the next port belonging to the *Romans*, the conspirators delivered *Thurium* into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time the consuls moved towards *Capua*, in order to form the siege of that important place <sup>k</sup>.

WHILST the *Romans* were thus preparing to attack *Hannibal* in the most sensible part, they sustained an almost irreparable loss by the death of *Sempronius Gracchus*. That excellent commander, having made the necessary dispositions for marching out of *Lucania* into the neighbourhood of *Capua*, with a body of *Volones*, to prevent the enemy from throwing any succours into the place, was, by the treachery of *Flavius Lucanus*, drawn into an ambuscade, and cut off, with all the small party that attended him. *Livy* tells us, that authors do not intirely agree in their accounts of that general's death, some affirming, that he was massacred by two troops of *Numidians*, as he repeated a sacrifice, which had been attended by a very bad omen, at some distance from the camp, before he left *Lucania*; others, that a *Carthaginian* detachment put him, and a few lictors, with three slaves attending them, to the sword, near the river *Calor*, in the territory of *Beneventum*, as they were going to bathe themselves; and lastly, others, that he fell in the manner first related. The *Roman* writers differ likewise as much in the accounts they give us of his interment; some intimating, that *Hannibal* celebrated his funeral obsequies with great pomp and magnificence; and others, that he sent the body to the *Roman* camp, to be interred there. Be that as it will, *Hannibal* probably reaped considerable advantage from this accident, since it, for some time, seems to have retarded the attack of *Capua*<sup>1</sup>.

HOWEVER, the consuls at last approached that city, with an intention to invest it; of which the *Capuans* being informed, they ordered a detachment of foot out of the town, to make a sally upon the enemy. As the *Romans* plundered all the country, through which they moved, that detachment, supported by a body of *Carthaginian* cavalry, under the command of *Mago*, fell in with a numerous party of them, ra-

<sup>k</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 15. APPIAN. in Hannib. ubi supra, c. 16-18. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. APPIAN. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 17.

<sup>1</sup> LIV.  
in Hannib.

vaging the adjacent territory without any order or discipline. These troops *Mago* routed at the first onset, laid fifteen hundred of them dead upon the spot, recovered a vast quantity of booty, and dispersed the rest. This action so dejected the consuls, that, for the present, they thought proper to stand upon the defensive, and so encouraged the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans*, that they harassed the enemy. *Hannibal*, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to *Capua*, and attacked the *Romans*. Soon after the beginning of the engagement, the quæstor *Cornelius* appeared with the body of troops formerly commanded by *Sempronius*, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehension, both armies drew off from the field of battle to their respective camps. The consuls, after the action, in which the *Romans* suffered most, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige *Hannibal* to leave the territory of *Capua*. *Fulvius*, with one of them, retreated into the district of *Cuma*, whilst *Claudius* took his march into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* pursued the latter; but was not able to come up with him. However, he met with a *Roman* corps of sixteen thousand men, under the conduct of *M. Centenius Penula*, who had signalized himself on many occasions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the senate by *P. Cornelius Sulla* the prætor, had the assurance to tell the conscript fathers, that, if they would trust him with only a body of five thousand men, he would turn the tables upon the *Carthaginians*, and give a good account of *Hannibal*. Instead of five thousand, they assigned him eight thousand, which, by the accession of volunteers in his march to *Lucania*, and many of the natives on his arrival there, he increased to double the number. Being a man of wonderful resolution, he engaged the *Carthaginians* upon *Hannibal*'s first offering him battle; but not being able to cope with that general, after a fight of two hours, he was intirely defeated. As *Hannibal*, by blocking up all the passes with detachments of his cavalry, had taken care to cut off their retreat, all the *Romans*, except a thousand men, together with their general, were slain. Notwithstanding which, *Claudius*, having taken a large compass, in order to get clear of *Hannibal*, arrived once more before *Capua*, and, in conjunction with his colleague, blocked up that city <sup>m</sup>.

*As like-  
wife the  
prætor  
Fulvius.* HANNIBAL, ever intent upon taking advantage of the foibles of the *Roman* generals, receiving intelligence from his emissaries in *Apulia*, that *Cn. Fulvius* the prætor, being elated with some late instances of success, despised the enemy, and per-

<sup>m</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 18---22.

mitted

mitted a total relaxation of discipline to take place amongst his troops, advanced to *Herdonia*, where the *Romans* lay encamped. Upon his arrival here, he posted three thousand light-armed troops in the neighbouring houses, and amongst the shrubs and bushes, which concealed them from the enemy, and detached *Mago*, with two thousand horse, to secure all the avenues through which it was probable the routed enemy would attempt to make their escape. The prætor, being a man of a fiery temper, was easily drawn by *Hannibal* into the ambuscade; where being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and the retreat cut off, the whole *Roman* corps, consisting of eighteen thousand men, except the prætor, and two hundred horse, who fled as soon as they saw victory incline to the *Carthaginians*, was almost entirely put to the sword. The two last blows coming, as it were, one upon the neck of the other, threw the *Roman* senate into a consternation, and obliged them to send *M. Metilius* and *C. Lætorius* to the consuls, with fresh instructions <sup>n</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING these misfortunes, the consuls, pursuant to an order received from the senate, made the necessary dispositions for forming the siège of *Capua*. *Hannibal*, after the defeat of the enemy at *Herdonia*, returned to *Tarentum*, where he attempted, both by force and persuasion, to bring the *Roman* garrison in the citadel to a capitulation. But, all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he turned off to *Brundusium*, to excite the citizens there to a revolt. Being disappointed in this view, he entertained some thoughts of moving towards *Capua*, at the earnest desire of the citizens, who now sent a deputation to him. At this time the transactions in the island of *Sicily* were very considerable, and the *Carthaginians* exerted themselves there; notwithstanding the numerous armies they employed in *Italy* and *Spain*. However, as the particulars of these transactions do not fall under our province, we must refer our readers for them to the history of *Syracuse*, to which they properly belong <sup>o</sup>.

ABOUT the time of the reduction of *Syracuse*, *Otacilius Otacilius* sailed with eighty quinqueremes from *Lilybæum* to *Utica*; ravaging where, entering the port in the night, he took a great number of vessels laden with corn. After which he landed a body of forces, that ravaged all the adjacent territory; and then returned on board with a very considerable booty. The *Carthaginians* giving him no obstruction in this excursion, either by sea or land, he arrived safe at *Lilybæum*, three days after he

<sup>n</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 22. PLUT. in Hannib. c. 23. Univers. hist. vol. viii. p. 106 — 157.

<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.

left the harbour of *Utica*, with an hundred and thirty transports, that conveyed the corn, and other spoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By such a seasonable supply, he was enabled to relieve the people of *Syracuse*, who, as well as the *Romans* there, were, at that time, threatened with a famine <sup>P.</sup>.

*The trans-  
actions in  
Spain.*

THE *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*; one commanded by *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, another by *Mago*, and the third by *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*. The two former generals encamped close together, about five days' march from the *Romans*; and the latter posted himself at *Anitorgis*, a city much nearer the enemy. This obliged the *Romans* to divide likewise their forces. *Cneius*, with one third of the *Roman* troops, and a body of thirty thousand *Celtiberian* auxiliaries, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Anitorgis*, to observe the motions of *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*. The two armies encamped on opposite banks of the same river, with an intention soon to come to an engagement. *Asdrubal*, having a perfect knowledge of the *Spanish* perfidy, and being besides well skilled in the *Celtiberian* tongue, easily found means to bribe the *Celtiberian* troops to a desertion; which obliged *Cneius* to retire with great precipitation before the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time *Mago*, and the other *Asdrubal*, by the assistance of *Masinissa*, and *Indibilis* regulus of the *Lacetani*, gave the *Romans* a complete overthrow, and killed *Publius*. The same generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards going in quest of *Cneius*, met with him on the top of an eminence, where, after a bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the sword, with a great number of his legionaries, and forced the rest to fly to *Publius*'s camp, which was guarded by a small body, under the command of one of his lieutenants called *T. Fonteius*. However, the *Carthaginians*, towards the close of the campaign, were unexpectedly overthrown by a young *Roman* knight named *C. Martius*, who had collected the remains of the *Roman* army, as we have elsewhere related. According to *Claudius*, who translated the *Annales Aciliani* out of *Greek* into *Latin*, two *Carthaginian* camps were forced in twenty-four hours time by *Martius*, thirty-seven thousand *Carthaginians* killed, eighteen hundred made prisoners, besides many spoils taken; amongst which was a silver shield, weighing an hundred and thirty-eight pounds, with the effigies of *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, upon it. *Valerius Antias* relates, that, when *Mago*'s camp was taken, seven thousand of the enemy were put to the sword; and that, in a pitched battle, *Martius* defeated *Asdrubal*, killing ten

<sup>P</sup> *Liv.* ubi supra;

thousand

thousand of his men, and making four thousand three hundred and thirty prisoners. *Piso* affirms, that the *Romans* drew the *Carthaginians* into an ambuscade, and by that means cut off five thousand of them. In short, from this specimen, we may form a true idea of the authors *Livy* followed; which is the reason of our inserting these last particulars here. Their relations, in the point before us, are plainly refuted both by the preceding and the subsequent operations of the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* armies in *Spain*, as may be collected even from *Livy* himself. Nay, that historian, partial as he is, seems to allow some of these to have greatly exceeded the truth in their accounts of the numbers of the slain in the battles they have described. Which looks like a tacit acknowledgement of his own partiality, and consequently a confirmation of what, in relation to the affairs of *Spain* during this period, we have so frequently observed.<sup>a</sup>

In the mean time the *Romans* pushed on the siege of *Capua*. The *Romans* with the utmost vigour. The *Capuans* made several sallies, with tolerable success. But *Hannibal* was at last informed by a *Numidian* horseman, who had passed thro' the *Roman* camp undiscovered in the night, that *Capua* was reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions; and then, tho' not without regret, he moved from his camp upon the *Gulfus* near *Tarentum*, to the relief of his beloved city. Tho' for some time, after the arrival of the *Numidian*, he remained in a state of suspense, not knowing whether the reduction of the citadel of *Tarentum*, or the relief of *Capua*, would turn out most to his advantage; yet, out of the singular affection he bore the *Capuans*, he at last came to a resolution to succour them. It is probable likewise, that he took this step, in order to preserve his reputation amongst his allies; which, he imagined, could not be more effectually done, than by a vigorous support of those, who had so eminently distinguished themselves in his favour. Leaving therefore his baggage in *Brutium*, he advanced, with a strong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards *Capua*, taking post in a valley behind mount *Tifata*. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he first took a fort called *Calatia*, and then, without loss of time, attacked the *Roman* lines, the *Capuans* at the same instant, as had been before concerted betwixt them and *Hannibal*, making a vigorous sally with their whole garrison; but, after a warm dispute, both the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans* were repulsed, with considerable loss. *Livy* tells us, that, in

<sup>a</sup> CLAUD. VAL. ANTIAS, & PISO apud LIV. l. xxv. sub fin. ut & ipse LIV. ibid. Vide & APPIAN. in Iberic.

the heat of the action, the *Spaniards* and *Numidians*, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp; that those huge animals, by overturning the *Roman* tents, and frightening the beasts of burden there, scattered terror where-ever they moved; and that *Hannibal*, taking advantage of this confusion, ordered some of his men, who could speak *Latin*, to cry out, "That, since the *Roman* camp was taken, every soldier was at liberty to shift for himself as well as he could, and to fly to the neighbouring mountains." However, the elephants being soon driven out of the camp by fire brought thither for that purpose, and *Hannibal*'s artifice defeated, the *Romans* recovered themselves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action, *Hannibal*, not being able either to draw the enemy to a battle, or force a passage thro' their camp into the town, laid aside all thoughts for the present of relieving *Capua*.

*Hannibal advances to Rome.* HOWEVER, that general, ever active in forming of schemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at last hit upon an expedient, which, he doubted not, would infallibly answer his purpose. He proposed to march with such expedition to *Rome*, as to present himself at the walls of that metropolis, before the *Romans* could have any notice or suspicion of his design. In order to facilitate the execution of this project, *Hannibal* ordered his troops to supply themselves with provisions for ten days, and to get ready as many transports, as would waft them over the *Vulturinus* in one night. But, notwithstanding the privacy with which this whole affair was transacted, *Fulvius*, by means of *Carthaginian* deserters, received intelligence of *Hannibal*'s intended motion, and dispatched a courier to *Rome*, to give the senate early notice of his approach. As the *Carthaginian* did not march directly to *Rome*, but took a compass, and staid to ravage the countries, through which he moved, the *Romans* had time to make proper dispositions for the defence of their capital. However, many, even of the senators themselves, were struck with incredible terror at the appearance of the *Carthaginian* forces. *Hannibal*, having marched by *Sucula*, *Allifæ*, *Aquinum*, *Interamna*, *Fregellæ*, *Labitum*, *Tusculum*, and *Gabii*, encamped on a commodious spot of ground within eight miles of *Rome*. The *Numidian* cavalry, in the advanced-guard, filled all places with slaughter, and took many prisoners. After a short stay here, he moved to the banks of the *Anio*, about three miles from the enemy's capital; from whence, escorted by a choice detachment of two thousand horse, he advanced to the very gates of *Rome*, in

order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the situation of the city. But, not meeting with the desired success, either in this excursion, or the attempts he afterwards made, *Hannibal* retired six miles from *Rome*, and posted himself upon the *Tutia*. From hence he went to the grove of the goddess *Feronia*, where stood a temple sacred to her; enriched with the valuable oblations and presents of the *Capenates*, a people inhabiting that particular district; which he plundered. *Livy* affirms, that, after *Hannibal's* departure, great heaps of brafs were found in this grove, which his soldiers had left there, in the room of the treasure they had carried off, out of a religious motive. According to *Strabo*, a sacrifice was offered annually to the goddess *Feronia*, in the grove where she was worshiped, at the foot of the mountain *Soracte*, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. On several *Roman* denarii, preserved in the cabinets of the curious, she is represented with a crown on her head. *Hannibal*, finding himself disappointed in his views, is said to have cried out, " That " at one time his own will, and at another fortune, would " not permit him to take *Rome*." *Livy* seems to intimate, that the routes *Hannibal* took in his passage to *Rome*, and retreat from it, could not be ascertained, some authors confounding them, though one of these, he believes, in his time, was certainly known. We shall not further expatiate upon this remarkable expedition, since all the particulars of moment relating to it, omitted by us here, will be found in a proper place<sup>o</sup>.

**HANNIBAL**, finding that he could not relieve *Capua*, moved with such expedition to *Rhegium*, that he had like to have surprised that city. This little pleased the *Capuans*, who pre-<sup>surrenders</sup> vailed upon *Bostrar* and *Hanno*, the commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Capua*, to press *Hannibal*, in the strongest and most moving terms, to attempt raising the siege of that city. Their letters, however, had no effect; for, *Hannibal* either being not able or willing to relieve the place, it was obliged to surrender to the *Romans*, *Seppius Læsus* being at that time the *mediastuticus*, or chief magistrate, there. *Vibius Virsus*, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poison, as did twenty-seven other senators. In what a shocking and inhuman manner *Fulvius* treated the *Capuan* senators, both before, and even after, the conscript fathers at *Rome* had granted them mercy, may be seen in a

\* *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 7---12. *POLYB.* l. ix. *STRAB.* l. v. *SIL.* *ITAL.* *C. FLOR.* *EUTROP.* *OROS.* *ZONAR.* omnesque fere al. hist. *Roman.* Vide & *Univers. hist.* vol. xii. p. 297 — 301.

former part of this work. Nothing can give us a more lively idea of the cruelties and enormities a thirst after power may make a state capable of, than what even the partial *Livy* himself has transmitted down to posterity on this occasion, except the late villainous and unchristian behaviour of a *Most Christian* prince, as famous for his observation of solemn treaties, as either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* were. The success of this siege gave the *Romans* a visible superiority over the *Carthaginians*, and disposed the *Italian* states in general to declare for their former masters <sup>t</sup>.

*State of affairs in Spain.*

SOME time after the reduction of *Capua*, *Afdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*, being encamped at a place called *Lapides Atri*, in the country of the *Ausetani*, between *Illiturgis* and *Mentissa*, was informed, that *Claudius Nero*, who had been employed before *Capua*, was arrived in *Spain* with a strong reinforcement. That general had taken upon him the command of the army destined to act against the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, in the room of *L. Marcius* and *T. Fonteius*. *Afdrubal* soon after, by a false point of conduct, suffered himself to be shut up on an isthmus in such a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However, he found means to extricate himself out of the difficulties, in which that error had involved him, though by none of the most honourable methods. This event so changed the face of affairs in *Spain*, that no person of distinction, except *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Publius*, who had lately lost his life in *Spain*, offered himself a candidate for the proconsulate there. He was therefore chosen proconsul for *Spain*, and sent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival there, he received deputations from most of the *Spanish* nations, who discovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a close union with the *Romans*. When *Scipio*, amidst the applause and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at *Rome*, took upon himself the command of the army in *Spain*, he was scarce twenty-four years of age <sup>u</sup>.

*Hannibal's affairs go to decay in Italy, Sicily, and Spain.*

NOTHING of moment, except what has been already related, happened further this year in *Spain*. At the end of it, *Afdrubal* the son of *Gisco* extended his winter-quarters as far as *Gades*, and the ocean. *Mago* took up his above the *Salutus Castulonenensis*; and *Afdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar* cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Saguntum*. About this time the *Carthaginians* sent a squadron to *Tarentum*, to cut off all supplies from the *Roman* garrison in the citadel there; but

<sup>t</sup> *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 12--17. *POLYB.* ubi supra. Vide & *Univ. hist.* ubi supra. <sup>u</sup> *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 20, &c. *POLYB.* l. x.

they

they incommoded their allies the *Tarentines* more than the enemy. For it was found impossible to convey, either by sea or land, a quantity of provisions, sufficient to support both the people of *Tarentum*, and the forces on board the *Carthaginian* gallies. Though the latter therefore for some time blocked up the citadel by sea, they could not carry their point, the *Romans* being provided with all things necessary, and having a large train of military engines, wherewith to annoy the enemy. *Hannibal*, now finding the *Carthaginian* affairs going swiftly to decay in *Italy*, as well as *Sicily* and *Spain*, could not forbear exclaiming against *Hanno*, and his faction, for the detention of those succours, which had so long been promised him. This, which was effected by their artifice, did not only prevent the conquest of *Italy*, but proved the total ruin of the *African* republic, as will more clearly appear in the sequel of this history <sup>w</sup>.

THE next campaign the *Romans* made themselves masters *The Ro-*  
*of Salapia*, by the assistance of one *Blasius*, a *Salapian*, who ~~had~~ <sup>was taken</sup> always been a secret well-wisher to the *Romans*. As the *Salapia*; particulars of this action have been already related at large, we <sup>but are de-</sup>  
~~shall~~ not dwell upon them here; but only observe, that *Han-* <sup>feated at</sup> ~~zial~~ lost a body of his best horse in it, which proved much <sup>seen by the</sup> more fatal to him, than the loss of *Salapia*. For his cavalry <sup>time</sup> could never, after this blow, if *Livy* may be credited, make head against that of the *Romans*, to which it had always been before superior. About this time a *Tarentine* squadron de-  
~~feated~~ a *Roman* fleet sent to supply the citadel with provisions, under the conduct of *Decimus Quintius*, who was killed in the action. But, to make amends for this disaster, a *Roman* detachment, consisting of two thousand men, fell upon four thousand *Tarentine* foragers, and, through the conduct and bravery of their leader *C. Persius*, <sup>\*intirly</sup> defeated them, putting the greatest part of them to the sword <sup>x</sup>.

SCIPIO, having taken care to get his naval forces in readiness to put to sea early in the spring, appointed *Tarraco* the <sup>tokis New</sup> place of rendezvous for the forces of his *Spanish* allies. Upon Carthage: their assembling here, he ordered the main body of the army to defile from thence towards the *Iberus*, himself following at the head of five thousand *Spaniards*. Here he harangued the soldiery, insisting largely upon those topics, that, he thought, would be the most apt to inspire them with resolution. After this, leaving *M. Silanus*, with three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to prevent all disorders in those parts of *Spain*,

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

ZONAR. l. ix. c. 7.

<sup>x</sup> LIV. l. xxvi. c. 39. PLUT. in MARCI.

he passed the *Illerus*, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. As almost all the riches of *Spain* were deposited in *New Carthage*, a city situated, like *Old Carthage*, upon a peninsula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which last served as a fence to the western and northern parts of the wall, he formed a design upon it. To the attack of this place he was likewise further excited by the commodiousness of its harbour, which was spacious enough to receive any fleet, and so near the coast of *Africa*, that the *Romans*, when in possession of it, might easily make a descent on the *Carthaginian* territories there. *Mago*, who, according to some authors, commanded in the town, or, as *Valerius Antias* will have it, *Arme*, upon *Scipio's* approach, made the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. He posted two thousand of the citizens in that part of the town, which fronted the *Roman* camp, five hundred *Carthaginians* in the citadel, and five hundred more upon an eminence in the eastern part of the city. He likewise ordered another body to be ready to move, where-ever the efforts of the enemy should render their assistance necessary, at a moment's warning. The *Romans* did not only repulse the enemy in a sally they made; but likewise pursued them with such ardour, that, had not *Scipio* caused a retreat to be sounded, they had entered mingled with the *Carthaginians* into the town. This so intimidated the troops in garrison, that they abandoned many of their posts, and, in a manner, deserted the ramparts. *Scipio*, therefore, immediately ordered a vigorous attack to be made on those parts of the wall, which were most exposed; his fleet at the same time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by assaulting the town on the sea-side. After a bloody and obstinate dispute, the *Romans* carried the place sword in hand, *Scipio* greatly animating his men, and some fishermen of *Tarraco* enabling one of his detachments to enter the town on the side of the *stagnum* or morass; which seemed almost inaccessible. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was so vigorously pressed by the *Romans*, that he soon found himself obliged to surrender at discretion. Till the surrender of the citadel, the slaughter was general; but afterwards quarter was given, the soldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The *Romans* made ten thousand freemen, besides a prodigious number of women, children, and slaves, prisoners; together with three hundred, or, according to others, seven hundred twenty-five *Spaniard* hostages, whom the *Roman* general immediately dismissed. They found in the place an hundred and twenty of the greater catapults, two hundred eighty-one of the lesser sort; twenty-three of the larger balistæ, fifty-two of the smaller;

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smaller; an inconceivable number of scorpions, arms, and darts of all kinds, together with seventy-four military ensigns. An immense quantity of gold and silver, both in money and plate, fell into *Scipio's* hands. But as the authors *Livy* followed, particularly *Silenus* and *Valerius Antias*, greatly differed in this point, as well as with regard to the strength of the *Carthaginian* garrison, the number of captives, the quantity of shipping seized in the port, and the provisions, naval stores, &c. found on board, we shall beg leave to refer our readers, for their further satisfaction on those heads, to that writer himself, and to the circumstantial account we have already given of this glorious action in a former part of our history<sup>y</sup>.

*THE Carthaginians*, for some time, endeavoured to suppress the news of the blow they had received in *Spain* by the reduction of *New Carthage*, being apprehensive, that, as soon as the *Spaniards* obtained intelligence of that unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the *Romans*. But, not being able long to conceal so remarkable a disgrace, they were obliged at last to own it. However, they put as good a face upon the matter as they well could, in the present melancholy situation of affairs, in order to palliate their own shameful behaviour at the late attack. They gave out, "That *Scipio* had stolen the town by surprize; that the conquest was of little importance, notwithstanding the young commander affected to cry it up as equivalent to a signal victory; and that, upon the approach of three *Carthaginian* generals, at the head of three victorious armies, he would presently be thrown into a panic, and have his mind intirely occupied by the frightful idea of the havock lately made in his family." Notwithstanding which suggestions, they were perfectly sensible of the great loss they had sustained, and of the fatal influence the reduction of so important a fortress must necessarily have upon their affairs. The polite as well as generous treatment the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, regulus of the *Ilergetes*, all the daughters of *Indibilis*, those of the principal *Spanish* nobility, a young lady of most attractive charms betrothed to *Ailucius*, prince of the *Celtiberians*, and *Allucius* himself, met with from *Scipio*, will more naturally fall under our observation, when we come

<sup>y</sup> POLYB. l. x. sub init. LIV. ubi supra, c. 43, & seq. APPIAN. in Iberic. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 15. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 1. SIL. ITAL. l. xv. OROS. l. iv. c. 18. ZONAR. ubi supra, c. 8. Vide SERV. in Virg. Aen. i. & Univerf. hist. vol. xii. p. 304--307. SILEN. & VALER. ANT. apud LIV. ubi supra, c. 49.

to the history of Spain. For which reason we shall content ourselves with having barely mentioned it in this place <sup>z</sup>.

Hannibal  
defeats the  
proconsul  
Cn. Ful-  
vius at  
Herdon-  
ea.

MARCELLUS, after the taking of Salapia, advancing into Samnium, made himself master of Maronea and Melæ, two cities of that country, by assault. Three thousand Carthaginian soldiers, left there by Hannibal, were all put to the sword. He found there two hundred and forty thousand bushels of wheat, together with an hundred and ten thousand of barley. The plunder he distributed among the troops. But this could by no means be deemed a sufficient compensation for the great defeat Hannibal gave the proconsul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea about the same time. The Roman general, being apprised, that the citizens of Herdonea shewed a disposition to abandon the Carthaginian interest, moved that way, to encourage them to declare themselves. Hannibal, by his spies, receiving intelligence of this motion, as well as the reason of it, advanced likewise into the neighbourhood of that city, with such celerity, that Fulvius had no notice of his approach. However, upon Hannibal's offering battle to the Romans, an engagement ensued, wherein the legionaries behaved with great bravery, till the Carthaginian found means to overpower them with his horse. Then they were soon thrown into confusion, and driven out of the field, with the loss of thirteen thousand men, the rest flying to Marcellus in Samnium by different routes. After this victory, Hannibal burnt the city of Herdonea, put to death as many of the nobility, who had kept a secret correspondence with Fulvius, as he could discover, and transported the body of the citizens to Metapontum and Thurii. Upon the first news of Fulvius's overthrow, Marcellus moved out of Samnium into Lucania, to give a check to the progress of the Carthaginian arms, and came up with Hannibal near the town of Numistro. Both sides immediately shewed a disposition to fight, and drew up their armics in order of battle without delay. Hannibal posted his right wing on an eminence, and Marcellus his left close by the town. The action was very sharp, but not decisive, the night obliging both sides to retire. Hannibal, not judging it expedient to renew the attack the next morning, decamped in the night, bending his march for Venusia, where, in a few days, the Roman army arrived. Some slight skirmishes happened here betwixt the advanced-guards of both parties; but nothing of moment was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conspiracy, formed against the Roman troops in Capua, being detected,

<sup>z</sup> POLYB. LIV. & APPIAN. ubi supra.

the conspirators received condign punishment. *Syphax*, about this time, sent an embassy to *Rome*, notifying to the senate certain advantages he had lately gained over the *Carthaginians*, with a declaration, that no power was considered by him in a more hostile light, than the state of *Carthage*, nor in a more friendly one, than that of *Rome*. Towards the close of this campaign, *Hannibal*, with a *Carthaginian* squadron, consisting of forty gallies, hovered upon the coasts of *Sardinia*, and, not meeting with any *Roman* fleet to oppose him, ravaged all the country about *Olbia* and *Caralis*. The *Sicilian* banditti, about this time, did not only destroy with fire and sword a good part of *Brutium*, but likewise laid siege to the city of *Caulonia*<sup>a</sup>.

HANNIBAL, having taken up his winter-quarters near *Canusium*, used all possible means to excite the people of that city to a revolt from the *Romans*. This reaching the ears of *Marcellus*, he advanced to *Canusium*, encamped over-against *Hannibal*, and soon found means to draw him to a battle. The two armies, being separated by the night, at first parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, *Hannibal* worsted the *Romans*. This extremely chagrined *Marcellus*, who hitherto had never received any disgrace from the *Carthaginians*. But now, besides the field of battle, he lost near three thousand men, amongst whom were four centurions, and two military tribunes, together with six standards, that were taken by the enemy. Being therefore filled with indignation and resentment, he resolved to venture another engagement with *Hannibal*, who, on his part, seemed determined not to decline the challenge. *Marcellus* posted the left wing, and those cohorts, that, in the last action, had lost their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed to the right; and appointed *Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Claudius Nero* to command both wings, whilst the main body was committed to his conduct. *Hannibal* posted the *Spaniards* in front, and disposed his other forces in the usual manner. The fight was obstinate and bloody, the *Carthaginian* elephants overthrowing many of the *Roman* standards, breaking the enemy's ranks, and treading under foot a vast number of them. But, by the bravery of *Decimus Flavus*, a military tribune, these boisterous animals were repulsed; which enabled the *Romans* to drive *Hannibal* to his camp, after they had laid eight thousand *Carthaginians* dead upon the spot. *Marcellus*, however, lost above three thousand men in the action, and had almost all

<sup>a</sup> POLYB. l. x. LIV. l. xxvii. sub init. APPIAN. in Hannib.  
PLUT. in Marcell. OROS. l. iv. c. 18.

the rest wounded ; insomuch that he found himself not capable of pursuing *Hannibal*, when his spies informed him, that he was retreating into *Brutium*. During these transactions, the *Harpini*, *Lucani*, and *Volscentes*, submitted to the consul *Fulvius*, delivering all the troops *Hannibal* had left in their cities for garrisons, into his hands. *Paelius* and *Vibius* likewise, two of the principal noblemen amongst the *Brutii*, endeavoured to procure for their countrymen the same terms that had been granted to their neighbours. *Q. Fabius*, the other consul, about the same time, took by storm *Manduria*, a city of the *Salentines*, making four thousand men therein prisoners of war. After this, *Fabius* sat down before *Tarentum*. As the *Carthaginians* had then no fleet in those seas, having sent all their gallies to the island *Corcyra*, in order to assist king *Philip*, then at war with the *Aetolians*, he found no difficulty in making his approaches by sea as well as by land. Whilst these things happened, *Hannibal* advanced with a strong body of troops to *Caulonia* ; which obliged the *Sicilian* robbers to retire to an eminence at some distance from the town <sup>b</sup>.

*Fabius takes Tarentum.*

**FABIUS** had no occasion to push on long the siege of *Tarentum*. An accident, that could not be foreseen, threw that place into his hands. It happened, that the commandant of the *Brutian* garrison, which *Hannibal* left for the defence of the place, fell desperately in love with a girl, whose brother was a soldier in the *Roman* army. This person being informed by his sister, in a letter, of the great interest she had with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to *Fabius*, who ordered him to go into the city as a deserter, and to try whether he could not, by his sister's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the *Romans* into the town. This was happily effected, the *Tarentines* not being able to make head against the *Romans*, after they had been deserted by the *Brutians*. *Nico* and *Democrates*, two of the *Tarentine* leaders, died gloriously, fighting for the liberties of their country ; and *Phormenus*, by whose agency *Tarentum* had been betrayed to *Hannibal*, was supposed to have thrown himself headlong from off his horse into a well, after the end of the action. *Carthalo*, who commanded the body of native *Carthaginians* in the place, was put to the sword, together with a good number of his men, as well as the greatest part of the *Tarentines*, and many even of the *Brutians* themselves, who, one would have thought, had merited better treatment. All authors agree, that the plunder taken here was immense, and even equal to what *Marellus* found in *Syracuse*. The number of slaves

<sup>b</sup> POLYE. LIV. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi supra.

made prisoners amounted to thirty thousand. *Fabius* took care to dismantle *Tarentum*, and to demolish the wall, that separated the town from the citadel. About this time *Hannibal*, having, for a considerable term, surrounded the body of *Sicilian* banditti posted on the eminence near *Caulonia* above-mentioned, forced them to surrender at discretion <sup>c</sup>.

THE *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*, *Asdrubal* commanded by three of their best generals, to wit, *Asdrubal* defeated by the son of *Hamilcar*, *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, and *Mago*. *Ede-* Scipio in *Spain*. *eo*, or *Edesco*, a general of great fame amongst the *Spaniards*, abandoning the *Carthaginian* interest about the beginning of the summer, came over to *Scipio*. His wife and children had been, for some time, in the *Roman* camp; but a regard to their safety did not so much induce him to act the part he had done, according to *Livy*, as that sincere affection for the *Romans*, with which *Scipio* had inspired all the *Spaniards*, by his great humanity, politeness, and condescension. *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, and most of the other *Spanish* reguli, charmed with the same amiable qualities, joined *Scipio* with all their forces. By this accession of strength, that general found himself enabled to hazard an engagement with *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*, who lay encamped near the city of *Bætula*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Bæcula*. *Scipio* was impatient of delay, as fearing the junction of *Asdrubal* and his colleagues. The *Carthaginian* discovered the same eagerness for a battle on his part, as finding the *Roman* army to be daily reinforced by the accession of *Spanish* troops. *Scipio*, upon his approach towards the *Carthaginian* camp, detached some parties of his *velites* to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with some of their advanced-guards, defeated them, pursued them to their camp, and then returned, without any loss. Animated by this event, *Scipio*, the next day, attacked the *Carthaginians*, who, for some time, defended themselves with great bravery; but were at last totally routed, and forced to fly. According to *Livy*, they had eight thousand men killed upon the spot, besides ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, taken prisoners. *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginian* camp up to his soldiers to be plundered, and released all the *Spanish* prisoners found there without ransom; but ordered the *Africans* to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal*, rallying the remains of his shattered army, pursued his march towards the *Pyrenees*, having sent his elephants that way before. The *Spanish* princes, who had entered into an alliance with *Scipio*, received considerable presents, for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; *Indibilis*, in particular,

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. PLUT. in Fab. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. ubi sup.

being ordered by the *Roman* general to choose three hundred horses out of those taken from the enemy, for his own use. Notwithstanding the glorious victory *Scipio* had gained, he thought proper to return to *Tarraco*; which gave the other two *Carthaginian* commanders an opportunity of joining *Afdrubal*. At a consultation held for that purpose, each of these generals had his particular province assigned him. *Afdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, was to march into *Italy*, to assist *Hannibal*, with all the *Spanish* forces he could draw together; *Afdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, was to take upon himself the command of the corps lately committed to *Mago's* conduct, and to retire into *Lusitania*, in order to avoid an engagement; and *Mago* was sent to the *Balearic* islands, with a large sum of money, to make new levies there. *Masnissa* had likewise a choice detachment of three thousand horse, being the flower of the cavalry, assigned him, in order to support the *Carthaginian* allies in *Hispania Citerior*, as well as to destroy the enemy's country there with fire and sword. As *Scipio*, by his generous and affable deportment, seemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the *Spaniards*, it was judged necessary to make these dispositions, that the *Spanish* soldiery, in the *Carthaginian* service, might be drawn immediately either into *Gaul*, or the remotest part of *Spain*, where the *Romans* had not, as yet, got any footing. This, it was hoped, would put an effectual stop to that general desertion, which then prevailed amongst those troops<sup>4</sup>.

*I party of Jumidi-*  
*ns cut off Sardinia,*  
*be famous Marcel-*  
*is, and if perse the Cort that ttended im.*

THE next year, being the eleventh of the second *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians* threatened to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, of which *Scipio* being apprised, he detached fifty gallies to cruise off the ports of *Sardinia*, and protect that island from all insults of the enemy. The consul *T. Quintius Crispinus* sent for a large train of battering-engines from *Sicily*, intending soon to form the siege of *Locri*, his fleet having already blocked that city up on the sea-side. But he laid aside that design on *Hannibal's* approach to *Lacinium*, and on receiving advice, that his colleague *Marcellus* had drawn his forces from *Venusia*, in order to join him. *Hannibal*, being apprised, that both the consuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt *Bantia* and *Venusia*, moved that way, pitching his camp at a small distance from them. Notwithstanding the summer was far advanced, the consuls wrote to *L. Cincius*, ordering him to come with a fleet from *Sicily* to *Locri*, a body of *Romans* from *Tarentum* being commanded to in-

<sup>4</sup> POLYB. I. x. LIV. ubi supra, c. 19---23. APPIAN. in Iberic. vest

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vest that city by land at the same time. This being discovered to *Hannibal* by some *Thurians*, he placed an ambuscade for that corps; into which having drawn them, he put two thousand of them to the sword, took twelve hundred prisoners, and dispersed the rest. He afterwards decoyed the two consuls into another ambuscade of *Numidian* horse, together with *M. Marcellus*, son to one of them, and *A. Manlius*, both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an escort of two hundred and twenty horse, of which forty were *Fregellani*, and the rest *Etruscans*. The brave *Marcellus*, one of them, who had acquired such renown by the several advantages he got over *Hannibal*, lost his life, through the cowardice of the *Etruscans*, who fled at the first onset. But *Crispinus*, his colleague, and *M. Marcellus*, his son, made their escape in the manner we have already related <sup>c</sup>.

*MAGO*, the *Carthaginian* commandant at *Locris*, found *Hannibal* himself so pressed by *Cincius*, that he was upon the point of *obliges the* surrendering; but, receiving advice of the blow *Hannibal* had *Romanos* given the *Romans* by the slaughter of *Marcellus*, he resolved *raise the* to defend the place to the last drop of blood. Soon after, an *siege of* express arrived from *Hannibal*, with an account, that the *Numidian* cavalry had already begun their march for *Locris*; and that he himself, with the grefs of the army, would follow them with all possible expedition. Upon the approach of the *Numidians*, *Mago* made a sally with his whole force upon the besiegers, and, after an obstinate dispute, the *Numidians* coming up in the point of time, forced them to abandon their works, and leave all their battering-engines, and other military machines, behind them. So that *Hannibal*, upon his arrival at *Locris*, found no enemy to oppose him there. About this time, *Valerius*, the *Roman* admiral, after having ravaged the coast of *Africa*, attacked a *Carthaginian* squadron of eighty-three gallies off *Clupea*. The *Carthaginians*, not being able to withstand the efforts of the *Romans*, were soon obliged to sheer off, with the loss of eighteen ships; which *Valerius* carried off in triumph. From thence steering for *Sicily*, he arrived in a short time, with an immense booty, at *Lilybæum* <sup>f</sup>.

*ASDRUBAL*, as we have lately observed, being obliged to abandon his camp near *Bæcula*, had afterwards a conference <sup>bisigis</sup> with the other two *Carthaginian* generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were settled. In pursuance of the plan then formed, *Asdrubal* advanced towards the *Pyrenees*, at the

<sup>e</sup> POLYB. ubi supra. LIV. l. xxvii. c. 23--30. PLUT. in Marcell. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 16, 17. SEX. AUREL. VITR. in Marcell. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1.

<sup>f</sup> LIV. & PLUT. ubi supra.

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B. IV.

head of the forces assigned him, with all possible expedition. The Pyrenees, as far as we can collect from history, he crossed, without any great difficulty, though, if *Livy* may be credited, *Scipio* had detached a body of troops to dispute the passage of that ridge of mountains with him. As the silver-mines (B) near *Bæcula* had supplied him with a very considerable quantity of treasure, upon his arrival in *Gaul*, he not only prevailed upon the *Gauls* to grant him a passage through their territories, but likewise to furnish him with a proper number of recruits. The *Ligurians* received him in the same manner, as would also the *Etruscans*, could he have advanced to their frontiers. *Ajdrubal* therefore, meeting with as little opposition, and as many favourable circumstances, to facilitate and expedite his march, as he could hope for, arrived at *Placentia* sooner than either the *Romans*, or even his brother *Hannibal* himself, expected. But, sitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of sound policy, and continuing the siege of it, he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of assembling all their forces to attack him. At the same time, by his too great security, as well as the enterprize he had undertaken, he prevented *Hannibal* from joining him, as he had proposed to do, upon the first news of his having passed the *Alps*. Thus *Ajdrubal* not only lost all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendship of the *Arverni*, and other *Gallic* nations, who had so greatly expedited his passage to *Italy*, by this single step, but likewise totally ruined the *Carthaginian* affairs in that country; as will soon most evidently appear.

*Hannibal receives several blows.* As soon as *Hannibal* moved out of his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the *Sagellentes*, with an intention to ravage it, before the consul

*Liv. ubi supra, c. 41—43.*

(B) *Polybius* tells us, that, near *New Carthage*, there was a silver-mine so rich, that the *Carthaginians* extracted out of it every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver. *Aletes*, the discoverer of this mine, was, according to the same author, deified by the *Spaniards* after his death, for the service he thereby did his country. *Aristotle* and *Posidonius* intimate, that *Spain*, in the most early ages, abounded with sil-

ver; insomuch that the *Phænicians* exported vast quantities of that metal from thence, which they purchased for oil, and other trifles. Nay, the first author assures us, that the *Phænicians*, by this means, had not only immense quantities of plate, but that even the very anchors of their ships were made of silver. But of this more, when we come to the history of *Spain* (2).

(2) *Polyb. l. x. c. 10. Posidon. apud Diod. Sic. l. v. Arijat. in mirab. auscult.*

*Claudius* could take the field. But this was prevented by the conduct and bravery of *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, who attacked the *Carthaginians* with a body of light-armed troops, and entirely defeated them, killing four thousand of their men upon the spot. After this disaster, *Hannibal* retired into *Brutium*, to prevent his being hemmed in by the enemy, who began now to advance against him from several parts. In the mean time *Tubulus*, with his forces, joined the consular army under *Claudius* at *Venusia*. *Hannibal*, having drawn all his garrisons out of *Brutium*, and by this means reinforced his army, marched to *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, in order to recover some towns, that, through fear, had revolted to the *Romans*. As, immediately after the late junction, *Claudius* had sent a detachment, under the command of *Tubulus*, to reinforce the proconsul *Fulvius* at *Capua*, and, with the remaining corps, consisting of forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, had himself gone in quest of *Hannibal*, he arrived at *Grumentum* soon after the *Carthaginian*, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. *Claudius*, by the stratagem formerly mentioned, and the bravery of *C. Ayrunculus*, tribune of the third legion, gave *Hannibal* another defeat here, cutting off eight thousand of his men, and taking seven hundred prisoners. Four elephants were likewise killed, and two taken, in the action. Nine military ensigns, and some plunder, also fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who, according to *Livy*, lost only five hundred men on this occasion. *Hannibal*, soon after this blow, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few *Numidian* horse in his intrenchments to amuse the enemy, made good his retreat to *Venusia*; but here the consul came up again with him. At this place, in another encounter, the *Carthaginians* lost two thousand men; upon which *Hannibal* retired, with great precipitation, to *Metapontum*, where he was joined by *Hanno*, and from thence made the best of his way to *Canusium*<sup>b</sup>.

DURING these transactions, *Afdrubal*, being obliged to raise the siege of *Placentia*, began his march for *Umbria*. Of this the consul *Claudius* being informed by a letter sent from that general to his brother *Hannibal*, which was intercepted near *Tarentum*, he put himself at the head of a detachment of seven thousand men, the very flower of his troops, and posted with incredible celerity to join his colleague *Livius*. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another, by the *Roman* laws; yet in a conjuncture of so delicate and important a nature as this, when the safety,

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. c. 43-45.

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and even the very being, of *Rome* lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no sooner received the letter above-mentioned from *L. Virginius*, a legionary tribune, who had escorted the *Carthaginian* couriers with a *Sannite* detachment to him, and read it, than he sent it to the senate, at the same time dispatching his orders to the *Larinates*, *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, *Prætutiani*, &c. through whose territories he was to pass, to procure a sufficient quantity of provisions and carriages for his troops, that he might pursue his march without the least interruption. As nothing could save *Rome*, after the junction of the two *Carthaginian* armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to strike such a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy ; which, he imagined, might be done, could he and his colleague vigorously charge *Afdrubal* with their united forces. This reflection determined him to make the movement mentioned here, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to *Q. Catius*, one of his lieutenants<sup>i</sup>.

*and j  
him.* CLAUDIUS gave not the least hint of his design to any of his officers, till he was got so far from *Hannibal*, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill consequence to him. He then only in general told them, “ That “ he was leading them to certain victory ; that his colleague “ wanted a reinforcement ; that the bare rumour of their “ arrival would disconcert all the measures of the *Carthaginians* ; and that the whole honour of the day would fall “ upon them.” He marched with incredible expedition, and arrived at *Sena*, where *Livius* lay encamped within half a mile of the *Carthaginians*. Soon after his arrival, *Afdrubal*, taking a view of the *Roman* army, discovered several shields of an ancient make, that he had never seen before, many thin, lean horses, which had been greatly fatigued, and that the *Roman* army was apparently more numerous than the day before. By these, and several other circumstances, that able general suspected *Claudius* to have joined his colleague with a body of troops. This threw him into a sort of melancholy, as imagining, that *Hannibal* had been overthrown, and consequently that he came too late to support him<sup>k</sup>.

*The Romans de-  
feat Af-  
drubal’* BEFORE the arrival of *Claudius*, the prætor *L. Portius Licinus* was encamped, with some forces, at a small distance from the consul *Livius*. Immediately after that important

<sup>i</sup> POLYB. l. xi. sub init. LIV. ubi supra, c. 45---49. S. JUZ. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 9 <sup>k</sup> Idem ibid. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 9.

event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders presided. *Livius* gave his opinion, that an action, for some days, should be deferred, that *Claudius's* troops might have time to refresh themselves, after so tedious and fatiguing a march. *Claudius* himself entertained different sentiments, imagining, that nothing could prove more fatal to the republic, than the least delay to give the enemy battle at this critical juncture. His advice was complied with, and the signal of battle accordingly given. However, *Afdrubal*, under the apprehensions above-mentioned, caused a retreat to be sounded, and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting him, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the *Metaurus*, now the *Metaro*, and was preparing to cross it, when the united forces of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did all things which could be expected from the presence of mind and courage of a consummate warrior. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing, composed of *Gauls*, and the weakest part of his army, in such a manner, that it neither could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving his main battle, and right wing, consisting of *Spaniards*, all veteran troops, a greater depth than front. After this hasty disposition of his forces, he posted himself in the centre, and set moved to attack the enemy's left wing, commanded by the consul *Livius*, well knowing, that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer or die. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed by both parties. *Afdrubal* especially signalized himself in this engagement, and quite completed the glory he had acquired by a series of shining actions. He led on his soldiers, who were trembling, and quite despirited, against an enemy superior to them both in numbers and resolution. He animated them by his words, supported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces intermixed, endeavoured to bring back those who fled. But at last, seeing that victory declared for the *Romans*, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a *Roman* cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of *Hamilcar*, and brother of *Hannibal*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Iidem ibid. FLOR. ubi supra. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 18. SIL. ITAL. l. xv. APPIAN. in Hannib. SUETON. in Tiber. CIC. in Brut. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Claud. & Afdr. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1. HORAT. l. iv. od. 4.*

Year of  
the flood  
2154.  
Bef. Christ  
194.  
Of Rome  
554.

*The victory chiefly was almost intirely owing to the bravery and activity of Claudio-*  
*the conduct and bra-*  
*very of*  
*Claudius.*

THIS victory, which *Livy* makes equal to that of *Cannæ*, was almost intirely owing to the bravery and activity of *Claudius*. That general, finding that his men did not exert themselves, cried out to them in an angry tone, *To what purpose then have we made so long a march with such expedition?* Then he made an effort to possess himself of an eminence, that covered the *Gauls*, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that side: but, finding this impossible, he drew out a detachment of some cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to sustain *Livius*, he charged the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* in front, in flank, and in rear, almost at the same time. This changed the face of affairs, especially as such an attack was unexpected, and made with the utmost fury. The *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* therefore, not being able to sustain so violent a shock, were soon put to the rout, and almost all cut to pieces; after which the *Gauls* were, for the most part, massacred without opposition. The leaders themselves destroyed most of the elephants, to prevent the destruction they would have occasioned amongst their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to *Livy*, fifty-six thousand of *Asdrubal's* men fell in this bloody action, and near six thousand were taken prisoners; though *Polybius* makes the whole loss of the *Carthaginians* not to have exceeded ten thousand men. Be that as it will, the *Romans* seemed to have been weary of killing, since when a person told *Livius*, after the battle, that it would be an easy matter to cut off a body of *Cisalpine Gauls* and *Ligurians*, who had either not been in the fight, or escaped out of it, then flying in great confusion, with a small detachment of horse, he answered, *It is fit that some should survive, to carry the news of their defeat, and our bravery.* *Livy* affirms, that the *Romans* carried off an immense quantity of gold and silver, as well as plunder of other kinds; but *Polybius* is silent on that head. This action proved decisive, since we may justly esteem it to have determined the fate of *Italy*, as the battle of *Zama* a few years afterwards did that of *Africa*<sup>m</sup>.

*The inhu-*  
*mity of*  
*Claudius*  
*censured.*

HANNIBAL received no intelligence of this blow, till *Claudius* advertised him of it, by throwing his brother *Asdrubal's* head into his trenches, immediately after he arrived at the *Roman* camp near *Canusium*. This inhumanity was the more inexcuseable, as *Hannibal* had given the *Romans* recent instances of a generous and noble disposition, by treating with the utmost decency, not to say tenderness and respect, the

<sup>m</sup> POLYB. & LIV. ubi supra. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iv. c. 7.  
ex. 15. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 7. ex. 4.

bodies of *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*. That treatment, in our opinion, demonstrates the great humanity of *Hannibal*, if not of the *Carthaginians* in general, on such occasions; as the savage barbarity of *Claudius* does that of the *Romans*. As *Claudius* sent two captives in chains, which, one should have imagined would have been mortifying enough, to inform *Hannibal* of his brother's fatal overthrow, nothing can equal, vindicate, or even palliate, the ferity of that barbarian. All the glory he had acquired by his late conduct in the battle of *Metturus*, which certainly ought not to be denied, served only to render him more hateful and detestable, since nothing can be more monstrous, than such a contrast of qualities in the same person. That the fact, here alleged against him, was real, is allowed by the most prejudiced *Roman* historians themselves, who seem to relate it with pleasure, and thereby reflect an eternal dishonour both upon themselves and their republic, as intimating that they were pleased with it, and consequently of the same disposition with *Claudius*. The justness of this reflection is confirmed by the high encomium *Valerius Maximus* passes upon the noble and humane behaviour of *Hannibal* hinted at, which ought to be looked upon as a severe reprobation of the conduct of *Claudius*. In short, we think, a more lively instance of the *Roman* disposition at this juncture, with regard to humanity and greatness of soul, than that just hinted at, does not occur in history. It is pity but we had the *Carthaginian* annals for this particular period; they would doubtless have set the *Romans* in their true and proper light<sup>n</sup>.

THE melancholy news, imparted to him by *Claudius*, filled *Hannibal* *Hannibal* with horror and sadness. He perceived, by this greatly affected stroke, the fortune of *Carthage*: *It is done*, said he, <sup>settled at</sup> according to *Horace*, in that beautiful ode, where this defeat <sup>the news</sup> is described: *I will no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage!* *In losing Aesdrubal, I have lost at once all my hope, all* <sup>of his bro-</sup> *my good fortune!* After this fatal event, *Hannibal* retired to <sup>feat and</sup> *Brutium*, where, assembling all his forces, <sup>death.</sup> he remained, for a considerable time, in a state of inaction, the *Romans* not daring to disturb him, so formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck, and the *Carthaginian* affairs seemed not far from the verge of destruction. *Livy* tells us, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in prosperity or adversity. Notwithstanding which, *Brutium* being at best but a small province, and many of its inhabitants being either

<sup>n</sup> POLYB. LIV. FLOR. VAL. MAX. ZONAR. &c. ubi supra. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 9. ex. 2.

forced into the service, or forming themselves into parties of banditti, so that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found it a difficult matter to subsist there, especially as no manner of supplies were sent him from *Carthage*. The people there were as solicitous of preserving their possessions in *Spain*, and as little concerned at the situation of affairs in *Italy*, as if *Hannibal* had met with an uninterrupted course of success, and not the least disaster had befallen them since his first arrival in that country<sup>o</sup>.

*The Carthaginians succeed him in Spain.* AFTER *Asdrubal's* departure for *Italy*, *Hanno* was sent to *Spain* to succeed him in *Spain*. The body of troops this general brought

worsted in from *Africa*, in conjunction with that commanded by *Mago*, formed a considerable army. These forces encamped at some distance from a spot where nine thousand *Celtiberians* had posted themselves. *Scipio* sent a detachment of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of *M. Silanus* the proprætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity offered. The proprætor, receiving ample intelligence of the situation and disposition of both camps from some *Celtiberian* deserters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was thereby enabled to gain a signal advantage over the enemy. He surprised the *Celtiberians*, being, for the most part, new-raised men, putting many of them to the sword, and obliging the rest to disperse in the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their respective habitations. *Hanno* and *Mago*, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewise defeated, and *Hanno* taken prisoner. *Mago*, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his escape, and, ten days afterwards, joined *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*. These two commanders, with their united forces, continued, for some time, in the neighbourhood of *Gades*<sup>p</sup>.

*The Carthaginian affairs go to decay in Spain.*

ACCORDING to some authors, *Scipio*, being apprised of *Asdrubal's* march for *Italy*, had sent before a considerable reinforcement to the consul *Livius*, to enable him to make head against the *Carthaginian* forces under *Asdrubal* and *Hannibal*, provided neither of the consular armies could hinder their junction. But the greatest part of the *Roman* historians have omitted this circumstance; which seems to invalidate the authority of those writers in this particular. Be that as it will, *Scipio* had no sooner received intelligence of the enemy's defeat in *Italy*, than he put himself in motion, and began to meditate the intire conquest of *Spain*. His brother, *L. Scipio*,

<sup>o</sup> POLYB. I. x. LIV. I. xxviii c. 12. APPIAN. in Hannib.  
HOR. ubi supra. <sup>p</sup> LIV. I. xxviii. sub init. APPIAN. in Iberic. EUTROP. I. iii. c. 20. OROS. I. iv. c. 18.

being detached with a body of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to take the city of *Aurinx*, on the confines of *Lower Batica*, executed his orders with great bravery, making the *Carthaginian* garrison, and three hundred of the inhabitants, who shut the gates against him, prisoners of war, with the loss only of ninety men. *Livy* says, that the *Roman* detachment killed two thousand of the enemy in the attack; and that *Lucius*, in order to ingratiate himself with the *Spaniards*, left the citizens in possession of the town, and all their effects. The territory of *Aurinx* was extremely fruitful, and abounded with silver-mines. In the city itself, *Asdrubal* had long had a good number of troops, who had not a little harassed the *Romans* and their allies, by their frequent incursions into the mediterranean parts of the country. The *Carthaginians* therefore sustained a considerable loss by the reduction of that place. *Scipio* is said to have complimented his brother highly upon this conquest, telling him, that it was equal to the taking of *New Carthage*. That general, finding the season far advanced, and that he could make no impression upon the province in which *Gades* was seated, since *Asdrubal* had placed numerous garrisons in all the fortresses there, suspended the military operations till the following spring. However, *M. Valerius Lævinus* the proconsul, who commanded in *Sicily*, committed great ravages on the coasts of *Africa*, where he made a descent about this time. Having destroyed with fire and sword all the country about *Carthage* and *Utica*, he returned to *Lilybaeum*, defeating, in his passage, a *Carthaginian* squadron of seventy gallies. Of these he took seventeen, sunk four, and dispersed the rest. Thus were the *Romans* victorious every-where this campaign, the *Carthaginians* not being able to cope with them either by sea or land <sup>a</sup>.

THE next year, *Hannibal* sent a detachment of *Numidians* *Lucania* to observe the motions of the *Roman* army, under the command of the consuls *Q. Caecilius* and *L. Veturius*, in the territory of *Consentia*. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a short dispute, routed it, and carried off the booty to *Hannibal's* camp. But this small advantage did not make amends for the loss of *Lucania*, which submitted to the *Romans*. Nothing further worth relating happened this campaign betwixt the forces of the two contending republics in *Italy*<sup>b</sup>.

THE *Carthaginian* generals, that commanded this year in *The Car-Spain*, were *Mago* the son of *Hamilcar*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Thaginian* *generals*

<sup>a</sup> *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 3. ex. 5. <sup>b</sup> *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 11.

and Masi- of *Gisco*. These two commanders, in the spring, moved from *nissa over- Gades*, where, it is probable, they had fixed their winter-  
*thrown in* quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it, Spain by seventy thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse. Scipio.

Advancing with all expedition towards the *Romans*, whom they were determined to engage, they at last took post in the plains of *Silpia*, at no great distance from them. *Scipio*, being extremely alarmed at the approach of so formidable a power, dispatched in all haste *Silanus* to *Colcos*, a neighbouring prince, who had promised *Scipio* a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy's motions. In the mean time he drew his forces out of *Tarraco*, and, being joined by some of his allies, advanced to *Castulo*, where he was soon met by *Silanus*, with a reinforcement of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from *Colcas*. From thence he marched to *Bætula*, or *Bæcula*, with an army of forty-five thousand men. *Mago* and *Masnissa*, at the head of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, fell upon the *Romans* as they were encamping, and had put them into disorder, had not *Scipio* placed some troops of his horse in ambuscade behind an eminence, near the spot upon which he intended to encamp. These, sallying out upon the *Carthaginians*, obliged them at first to retire with precipitation; but, being afterwards duly supported, so pushed them, that they betook themselves to a downright flight. The light-armed troops on both sides, for some time after this, skirmished with one another; but without any considerable loss. Both *Azdrubal* and *Scipio*, for several days together, drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though *Azdrubal* appeared first in the morning, and retired the last in the evening. At length *Scipio*, resolving to give the *Carthaginians* battle, ordered his men to refresh themselves before day-break; and then sent his horse and light-armed troops to brave the enemy. *Azdrubal* posted the *Spaniards* in the wings, the elephants in front, and the *Carthaginians*, intermixed with the other *Africans*, in the centre. After having made this disposition, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping their horse in play. *Scipio* took care to protract the fight till towards noon, imagining that the *Carthaginians* must grow faint by that time, as being intirely void of sustenance, and consequently that he should break them without much difficulty. Accordingly, then ordering his wings to advance, he attacked *Azdrubal's* *Spanish* auxiliaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the same time with the *veliti*; sustained by several cohorts, which were commanded to wheel about for that purpose. The *Spaniards*, after some resistance, were routed, the *Carthaginian* and *African* forces

forces not being able to support them, since the *Spaniards*, that formed *Scipio's* main body, kept them in awe by moving towards them. The elephants, as had frequently happened of late, occasioned greater confusion in the *Carthaginian* army, than in that of the enemy. Notwithstanding therefore *Afdrubal* did his utmost to animate his men, they were defeated, and pursued by the *Romans* to their camp, which had then been taken, had not a violent storm cooled the ardour of the victors, and put an end to the action<sup>1</sup>.

THE night after the battle, *Afdrubal* caused his camp to be strengthened by some additional works, as expecting the next day another visit from the enemy. In the mean time *Attanes*, regulus of the *Turdetani*, with a considerable body of troops, went over to the *Romans*. Many other reguli followed this example; and two fortresses of note surrendered to *Scipio*, who made their garrisons prisoners of war. As the victory lately gained by *Scipio* had intirely alienated the minds of the *Spaniards* from the *Carthaginians*, *Afdrubal* thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had just before so harassed his wearied and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inaccessible to the enemy. *Scipio*, being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the *Carthaginian* general, who so galled him in his retreat, that the legionaries at last came up with him, and, after a faint resistance, put all his men, except seven thousand, to the sword. However, these, with *Afdrubal* at their head, gained an advantageous post; where, for some time, they defended themselves, till at last *Afdrubal*, finding them to desert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his escape to *Gades*. In the mean time *Silanus*, whom *Scipio* *Mafinissa* had left, with a detachment of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to block up the enemy's troops in the post above-mentioned, found means to draw *Mafinissa* their commander thaginian off from the *Carthaginian* interest. *Mago*, after the example of *Afdrubal*, flying to *Gades*, the remainder of the *African* forces either gradually dispersed themselves in the neighbouring provinces, or deserted to the *Romans*. *Mafinissa*, after his late conference with *Silanus*, by the connivance of that general, passed over into *Africa*, with some of the leading men of the *Maffili*, in order to dispose that nation to second his views. However, this was done in such a manner, as not to give any umbrage to the *Carthaginians*, nor induce that

<sup>1</sup> POLYB. 1. xi. LIV. 1. xxviii. c. 12---16. APPIAN. in Iberic. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. 1. ii. c. 1. ex. 1. & 1. ii. c. 3. ex. 4. aliiq; auctor. sup. laudat.

crafty people to entertain the least suspicion of the measures he was going to pursue<sup>t</sup>.

MASINISSA, to serve more effectually the party he intended soon to declare himself in favour of, made but a short stay in *Africa*. Having prevailed on his subjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he hastened to *Gades*, to confer with *Mago* and *Afdrubal* about the future operations. *Silanus* likewise retired with his body of forces to *Tarraco*, where *Scipio* had fixed his head quarters.

*Scipio* *Scipio*, soon afterwards passing into *Africa* with two quinqueremes, persuaded *Syphax* king of the *Masælyli* to abandon the *Syphax* to *Carthaginians*, and enter into an alliance with *Rome*. *Afdrubal* the Roman was then at *Syphax*'s court, and did his utmost to traverse the interest. The negotiation carried on betwixt the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of *Spain*, besides *Gades*, in alliance with, or subject to, *Carthage*, were *Illiturgis*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*. *Illiturgis* the Romans took by storm, leveled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. *Castulo*, in which was a *Carthaginian* garrison, composed of the fugitives that escaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one *Cerdubellus* to *Marcius*, and *Himilco* the commandant, with his whole corps, made prisoners of war. *Marcius* then passing the *Bætis*, which the *Spaniards* called *Cirtius*, possessed himself of two opulent towns, which surrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to *Astapa*; and, after a warm dispute, made himself master of it in the manner already related. In the mean time *Mago*, having received a reinforcement from *Africa*, as well as some *Spanish* troops levied by *Hanno*, made the proper dispositions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithstanding the melancholy situation of his affairs. A body of *Roman* forces, encamped upon the *Sucro*, during these transactions, mutinied; a report of *Scipio*'s death, that was industriously propagated, occasioning that commotion. But the mutineers being, by a seasonable punishment inflicted upon some of their ringleaders, brought back to a sense of their duty, *Marcius* attacked four thousand of the enemy encamped upon the *Bætis*, under the command of *Hanno*, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greatest part of them. The alliance with *Syphax* was a point of great consequence to *Rome*; though it was not effected without some difficulty. *Scipio* first sent *Lælius*, with five quinqueremes, to make proposals to that prince, which

<sup>t</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 15, 16. POLYB. I. xi. c. 21. APPIAN. in Libyc. FLOR. I. ii. c. 6. sub fin. VAL. MAX. I. vi. c. 9. ex. 7. POLYÆN. strat. I. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. ZONAR. I. ix. c. 10.

he ordered him to back with magnificent presents. *Lælius* executed his commission with great dexterity, putting *Syphax* in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the *Romans*. Notwithstanding which, *Scipio*, as we have just observed, found himself obliged to visit in person that prince's court; where, by his uncommon address, if we will believe *Livy*, he defeated the intrigues of *Afdrubal*, and put the last hand to the treaty<sup>u</sup>.

SOON after the reduction of *Astapa*, some deserters arrived *Scipio* at *Gades* from *Scipio*'s camp. These fugitives promised that *Lælius* general, not only to deliver the city, together with the *Carthaginian* garrison and commandant, into his hands, but likewise to make him master of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. *Scipio* therefore detached *Lælius* with a body of light-armed troops, assisted by a naval force of one quinquereme, and seven triremes, to put the conspirators in motion. In the mean time, the conspiracy being discovered to *Mago*, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to seize the principals of it, and sent them on board a quinquereme, in order to transport them to *Carthage*. *Afdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, ordered the captain of this vessel to precede the rest of the fleet, he himself following at a small distance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to *Carteia*, he descried *Lælius*'s squadron coming out of that port. The *Carthaginian* could not, for some time, determine whether or no it would be proper for him to attack the *Romans*. But this state of suspense gave *Lælius* an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worsted, he made the best of his way towards the coasts of *Africa*, with only five triremes. However, *Lælius* missed his aim, since *Mago* had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to *Gades*; of which being apprised by the prisoners, he returned to *Carteia*. From thence he dispatched an express to *Marcius*, who was moving with a powerful corps to support him, to inform him of what had happened. Both these commanders therefore, judging the siege of *Gades* too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at present, laid aside that design, and, in a short time, rejoined *Scipio* at *New Carthage*<sup>v</sup>.

THE disappointment the *Romans* had met with in their design upon *Gades*, together with the rebellion of the *Ilergetes*, Spanish and revolt of the legionaries above-mentioned, gave *Mago* hopes, that he should still be in a condition to make head reguli a great over. throw.

<sup>u</sup> *Iidem ibid.* Vide & *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 17—31.  
POLYB. & APPIAN. ubi supra.

<sup>w</sup> *Liv.*

against

against the enemy. He therefore wrote to *Carthage* for a speedy reinforcement, assuring the senate, that, if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had lost in *Spain*. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the *Romans*, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, being offended at the *Romans* for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of *Scipio's* death, pillaged the territories of the *Sedetani* and *Sueffetani*, allies of *Rome*. Hearing afterwards of *Scipio's* severity to the ringleaders of the revolting legionaries, who were *Romans*, they concluded, that *Spanish* revolters must be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by despair, they assembled a numerous army of *Celtiberians*, and advanced against *Scipio*. That general, moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at last found them posted in a plain surrounded on all sides by mountains, and scarce capable of containing such a number of men. Having secured the defile leading into this valley, he detached *Lælius*, with the cavalry, to take a compass round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilst he charged them in front with the legionaries. This disposition being made, *Scipio* attacked the reguli, and gave them a total overthrow, putting almost their whole army to the sword. What became of them afterwards, our readers will find in a former part of this history <sup>x</sup>.

*Scipio  
olds a  
mference  
with Ma-  
niflisa.* THOUGH *Silanus* and *Maslinissa* had settled the preliminaries, yet, by several intervening accidents, the conclusion of a treaty betwixt the *Numidian* and the *Romans*, was deferred to this time. The chief obstacle to the signing of it was, that *Maslinissa* could find no opportunity of having an interview with *Scipio*, which he ardently desired. *Scipio*, being informed of this, and that *Maslinissa* was at *Gades*, took a journey thither, with a good escort, purely out of a desire to have a conference with him. *Maslinissa*, receiving intelligence of this from *Marcius*, prevailed upon *Mago* to send him, with a detachment from the island of *Gades*, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with *Scipio*. Every thing being afterwards settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, *Maslinissa*, in order to blind *Aesdrubal*, plundered some part of the adjacent country, and then returned to *Gades* <sup>y</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid. ZONAR. I. ix. c. 10. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 318---320. <sup>y</sup> LIV. POLYB. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi supra.

THE *Carthaginians*, being disappointed in the diversion *Gades*<sup>sus-</sup> they expected from the mutiny of the legionaries, and the re-<sup>renders to</sup> bellion of the *Spaniards*, ordered *Mago* to abandon *Spain*, and the Ro-<sup>fail</sup> with all possible expedition to *Italy*. That he might be mans. enabled the more effectually to succour *Hannibal*, he received a large sum of money to make levies in *Gaul* and *Liguria*. Before he left *Gades*, he not only obliged the citizens to bring all their gold and silver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his passage to *Italy*, he made an attempt upon *New Carthage*; but was repulsed with great loss. From thence he failed to the island *Pityusa*, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful supply of provisions, and a good number of recruits. Then he steered his course to the largest of the *Balearic* islands, that had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in so violent a manner with their slings, that he found himself obliged to sheer off with considerable los. However, proceeding to the lesser one near it, that was extremely fertile, though not so populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great strength, and possessed himself of the whole island without opposition. As the season was far advanced, he wintered here; to which he was the more strongly induced by the good disposition of the natives, who expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for the *Carthaginians*, supplying him, during his stay amongst them, with a body of two thousand men. We must not omit observing, that the people of *Gades* shut their gates upon *Mago* after his repulse at *New Carthage*; for which affront he whipped and crucified their suffetes, who were sent to excuse that conduct to him; nor that they surrendered to the *Romans* soon after he had abandoned them<sup>z</sup>.

THE next summer, *Mago*, landing in *Liguria* with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, surprised *Genoa*. From thence he failed to the coasts of the *Liguria*. *Alpini*, to try whether he could not raise some commo-  
tions amongst them. The *Ingauni*, one of their cantons, were then at war with the *Epanterii*, a sort of highlanders, who likewise belonged to them. This gave *Mago* an opportunity of seizing upon the town and port of *Savo*, and stationing ten of his long ships there. The rest of his fleet he sent to *Carthage*, upon a rumour, that *Scipio* was going to transport a body of troops to *Africa*, in order to attack that capital. The *Romans* were at this year in *Bruium*,

<sup>z</sup> *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 10. *Caes.* ix. c. 10.

and made great havock there; in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* armies<sup>a</sup>.

*the Spanish reguli receive a reward for it.*

THE following year, advice was brought to *Carthage*, that an army formed of the *Ausetani*, *Ilergetes*, and several other Spanish nations, under the command of *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, &c. had been intirely overthrown by the *Romans*. *Indibilis*, it seems, being encouraged by *Scipio's* departure out of *Spain*, had excited the people above-mentioned to a second revolt, imagining, that now an opportunity offered of rendering himself, with all the other reguli, independent both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. To that end he assembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he advanced into the country of the *Sedetani*. Here the *Roman* generals, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thousand of them to the sword, in which number was *Indibilis* himself, and taking eight thousand prisoners. *Mandonius*, and the other authors of this revolt, being delivered up to the *Romans*, received capital punishment, after a confiscation of all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the *Spaniards* upon reasonable terms. The particulars of the last action, as well as a more circumstantial account of the transactions this year in *Spain*, our readers will find in *Livy*, to whom, for their further satisfaction, we refer them<sup>b</sup>.

*as a mt in ica. ear of flood 156. 56.* AFFAIRS were scarce settled in *Spain*, when *Lælius* made a descent in *Africa* at *Hippo Regius*, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This so alarmed the inhabitants, that they dispatched messengers in all haste to *Carthage*, with advice, that *Scipio*, with the *Roman* fleet, was arrived on their coasts, and had landed at *Hippo* a strong body of forces. As a rumour Christ had, for some time, prevailed at *Carthage*, that *Scipio* had already passed into *Sicily*, the people and senate were thrown into the utmost consternation by this melancholy news. The great revolution, that had happened in their affairs, the destruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of *Syphax*, *Masinissa*, and all their other allies, together with the fickleness and inconstancy of the *Africans*, from whom their auxiliary forces were to be drawn, afforded them a most dismal prospect, now their metropolis was threatened with a siege. However, when they received intelligence, that only *Lælius*, with an inconsiderable

<sup>a</sup> POLYB. I. xi. LIV. ubi supra, c. 46. CÆLIUS & VAL. ANT. apud Liv. ibid. ZONAR. ubi supra, c. 11. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univers. hist. vol. xii. ubi supra. <sup>b</sup> LIV. I. xxix. c. 2, 3. APPIAN. in Iberic. Univers. hist. ubi supra.

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force, had put in at *Hippo*, in order to make an incursion upon their territories on that side, their fears began to subside. As soon therefore as they had recovered themselves from the panic they were thrown into, they began to make the necessary dispositions for their defence. They sent an embassy to *Syphax*, to attempt recovering that prince, as well as to several other *African* reguli, who shewed an inclination to side with the *Romans*. They remitted a sum of two hundred talents of silver to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in order to engage him to make a diversion either in *Italy* or *Sicily*. They dispatched orders to their generals in *Italy* to make all possible efforts to keep *Scipio* at home. And they sent *Mago* a reinforcement of six thousand foot, eight hundred horse, seven elephants, and twenty-five long ships, together with a large sum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer *Rome*, and join *Hannibal*. *Lælius*, having had a conference with *Masinissa*, wherein that prince gave fresh assurances of his sincere attachment to the *Romans*, and expressed an ardent desire to see *Scipio* in *Africa*, set sail for *Sicily*, where he safely arrived, with the immense booty acquired in this expedition <sup>c</sup>.

In the mean time the vessels, with the body of troops destined for *Italy* to reinforce *Mago*, sailed from *Carthage*, and, after an happy voyage, put into the port of *Savo*, where they re-joined the other *Carthaginian* squadron. *Mago*, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* with the reinforcement and welcome dispatches he had received from *Carthage*. Whereupon the *Gaul* sent him provisions, and the new levies for him went on briskly in *Liguria*. But, notwithstanding these happy beginnings, *Mago* met with the same fate in *Italy*, that *Afdrubal* had done before in *Spain*, as will in a short time appear <sup>d</sup>.

BOTH *Scipio*, and the *Roman* soldiery, expressed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. *Scipio* takes *Locri*. The intelligence *Lælius* brought from *Masinissa*, excited the general to this, as the plunder he carried off with him from *Africa* did the troops. However, they were prevented from undertaking this expedition for the present, by a successful attempt upon the city of *Locri*. Some workmen, who had served in the *Carthaginian* garrison of one of the citadels there, being taken by a *Roman* party, and brought to *Rhegium*, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they should expose themselves. This being agreed to, the *Romans*, by the assistance

<sup>c</sup> *Liv. ubi supra*, c. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>d</sup> *Idem ibid.*

of these traitors, made themselves masters of that citadel, in which they were employed. But the *Carthaginian* garrison in the other, commanded by one *Hamilcar*, defended itself with great bravery, till *Hannibal* advanced to its relief. Upon his approach, a warm action ensued, and the *Romans* would have been totally routed, notwithstanding *Scipio* came to their assistance, had not the people of *Locri* supported them. But this happening, and *Hannibal* being wounded by a scorpion, the *Carthaginians* thought proper to draw off. *Scipio*, after the action, finding both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed garrisons in them ; and then immediately made the proper dispositions for carrying the war into *Africa*<sup>c</sup>.

*Scipio lands in Africa.*

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the *Carthaginians* were under continual apprehensions of *Scipio's* making a descent in *Africa*. They had posted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the sea, to give them notice of the first appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every express, for fear he should bring news of the enemy's landing. In this distress, it was the general opinion, that all possible attempts should be made to detach *Syphax* from the *Roman* interest. For both the senate and people thought, that a prospect of assistance from him would be the chief inducement to the *Romans* to invade their dominions in *Africa*. In order to accomplish this, a lucky incident intervened. *Afdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, who was at *Syphax's* court with *Scipio*, in order to negotiate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquisite charms, named *Sophonisba*. At that time *Afdrubal* offered this young lady in marriage to *Syphax*, thinking this would be a means of uniting him with the *Carthaginians*. He therefore now, with the same view, waited again upon *Syphax* ; and, having inflamed him with a description of the beauty he was to have for his consort, sent for her thither from *Carthage*, to hasten the marriage. Amongst other things, it was stipulated on this occasion, that an offensive and defensive league should be concluded betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, in consequence of which he should assist them with all his forces. *Afdrubal*, not satisfied with this, as being no stranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with *Rome*, nor to the variable temper of the *African* barbarians, thought proper to put him upon a measure, which would prevent *Scipio's* landing in *Africa*, and consequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the *Romans*. Whilst therefore he was in his first amorous transports, the *Carthagi-*

<sup>c</sup> POLYB. I. iii. LIV. I. xxix. c. 6--9. APPIAN. in Hannib.

nian, by means of his daughter's soothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a threatening letter to *Scipio*. But this not having the desired effect, that general set sail with a formidable force for *Africa*, and landed at the *Fair Promontory* without opposition<sup>f</sup>.

IT is intimated by *Appian*, that *Sophonisba* was betrothed to *Masinissa*, who was educated at *Carthage*, and a prince of the finest accomplishments. Animated by the passion he nourished for a lady of such attractive charms, according to the same author, he eminently distinguished himself on all occasions in *Spain* against the *Romans*. But this poor prince being stripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition, as was apprehended, to give any considerable assistance to the *Carthaginians*, *Sophonisba*, for the reason hinted at above, though in defiance of justice, honour, and public faith, was given to *Syphax*. *Livy* is silent as to this particular, though that seems to us no sufficient argument against the probability of it ; since *Masinissa*'s future long uninterrupted fidelity to the *Romans* is a proof, that he was of a noble disposition, and therefore could not abandon his first friends the *Carthaginians* without some grievous provocation. Possibly the *Roman* historian's great regard for his hero *Scipio*, whose character, he might think, would a little suffer by a true relation of this fact, prevailed upon him to omit it. Be that as it will, *Masinissa* ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and contributed not a little to the destruction of their republic, as will most evidently appear in the sequel of this history. But to proceed to the war in *Africa*<sup>g</sup> :

As the *Carthaginians* had seen no *Roman* army in *Africa* *The Car-* for fifty years past, the alarm that *Scipio*'s descent occasioned *thaginians* over the whole country, was inexpressible. Where-ever that *general moved*, he scattered terror. The inhabitants of the open country retired into the towns with their effects ; and *Carthage*, in particular, was extremely crowded on this melancholy occasion. The gates there were shut in the utmost hurry, detachments posted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city, to prevent a surprize ; in short, the same dispositions were made, as would have been proper in case of an immediate siege. They had no commander of any repute, but *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, who had been defeated by *Scipio* in *Spain*, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw,

<sup>f</sup> POLYB. l. xiv. LIV. l. xxix. c. 23. APPIAN. in Libyc. EU-TROP. l. iii. c. 20. POLYAN. ubi supra. <sup>g</sup> APPIAN. ubi supra. VID. & VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 13. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 11. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 11.

undisciplined troops were incapable of opposing the *Roman* legionaries. Being apprised of *Scipio's* arrival at *Utica*, with his fleet and land-forces, they detached *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* nobleman, to reconnoitre the enemy, with a body of five hundred horse ; who, falling in with a detachment of the *Roman* cavalry, sent by *Scipio* out to plunder, immediately attacked them ; but, after a short dispute, he was cut off, with a considerable number of his men, and the rest dispersed. After this action, *Scipio* laid the country waste to the very gates of *Carthage* ; and possessed himself of an opulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thousand of its principal citizens prisoners. These first instances of success greatly heightened the confusion, that had before begun to reign in *Carthage*, especially when it was known there, that *Masiniissa* had joined *Scipio* with a body of two hundred, or, as others say, two thousand *Numidian* horse. We might here give our readers an account of the family of *Masiniissa*, as well as of the principal events that had happened to him before this period, together with a description of the kingdom his father governed ; but all this we choose to reserve for the history of *Numidia*<sup>b</sup>.

*Masiniissa  
defeats  
Hanno.*

In the room of the horse lately cut to pieces, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raised with all possible expedition, and the command of it given to another *Hanno*, the son of *Hamilcar*, who advanced towards *Utica*, to observe the enemy's motions. But, being too weak to undertake any thing against them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he thought proper to remain inactive, till he was reinforced by some new levies, that his officers were making both in the *Carthaginian* territories, and those of the neighbouring princes independent of them. At last, finding his troops to amount to four thousand men, he took post in a town called *Salera*, fifteen miles from the *Roman* camp. Out of this place, *Masiniissa*, who was sent to *Salera*, with a detachment of horse, by *Scipio*, for that purpose, found means to draw him ; and then, in conjunction with a choice body of *Roman* cavalry, commanded by *Scipio* himself, that lay in ambuscade, charged him with such vigour, that he was put to flight, a thousand of his men falling in the action, and two thousand being either killed or taken prisoners in the pursuit. Most authors relate, that *Hanno* was slain ; but *Cælius* and *Valerius Antias* affirm, that he fell into the enemy's hands. After this, *Scipio* put a garrison into *Salera*, and pushed on the

<sup>b</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 28. POLYB. l. xxiv. APPIAN. ubi supra. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 11. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. ubi supra.

siege of *Utica*. In the mean time *Aesdrubal* assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse ; but durst not approach the enemy, till the arrival of *Syphax*, who soon joined him with an army of fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. *Scipio*, being informed of this junction, raised the siege of *Utica*, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the space of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in such a manner, as to fear no insults of the enemy. This a little revived the drooping spirits of the *Carthaginians*, who now saw their own forces, in conjunction with those of *Syphax* their ally, superior to the *Romans* in the field<sup>1</sup>.

IN Italy this year, *Hannibal* gained an advantage over the *State of consul Sempronius* ; but was himself soon after defeated by that *affairs in general*. The loss the *Carthaginians* sustained on this occasion was, above four thousand of their men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken prisoners, besides forty horses, and seven standards, that fell into the victors hands. *Hannibal*, upon this disaster, retired with his army to *Croton*. The other consul *Cethagus* in the mean time kept *Etruria* in awe, and prevented *Mago* from approaching his brother *Hannibal*. As the *Etruscans* were generally disposed to a revolt, and kept a close correspondence with *Mago*, *Cethagus* found it a difficult matter to execute the province assigned him. The *Brutians*, hearing of the great success of *Scipio* in *Africa*, for the most part abandoned the *Carthaginian* interest. Some of *Hannibal's* garrisons amongst them they put to the sword, others they expelled ; and, in many places, where they could not openly declare for the *Romans*, they found means to inform the senate of their aversion to the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time *Hannibal* came to *Petelia*, and expostulated with the citizens upon their sending ministers to *Rome* ; but pretended to be satisfied with their conduct, when they strenuously denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of suspicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arrest, committing them to the care of a guard of *Numidians* ; and, disarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the slaves. He treated other cities likewise with equal severity. *Thurii* in particular, with its district, which he gave up to his soldiers to be plundered, sparing only three thousand of the citizens, and five hundred peasants, whom he knew to be closely attached to the *Carthaginians*. These he transplanted to *Croton*, where he fixed his head-quarters, erected his principal magazine, and took care effectually to cover it from all attempts of the *Romans*<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 34, 35. APPIAN. ubi supra.

ubi supra, c. 36. APPIAN. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 18.

<sup>k</sup> LIV.

SCIPIO

Scipio SCIPIO having fortified his camp, the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding their superiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him ; so that both sides continued in a state of inaction, till the return of the spring. During the winter, *Scipio* attempted to draw off *Syphax* from the *Carthaginians*, but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator between the contending powers, provided *Scipio* would agree to this preliminary, to wit, that both parties should recall their armies home ; which, he intimated, would serve as a basis for a future treaty, and effectually secure the repose of their respective dominions. This proposal the *Roman* general, at first, rejected ; but afterwards seemed to listen to it, in order to amuse the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, *Scipio* was informed, that the *Carthaginian* camp, which consisted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very slightly fortified ; and that the *Numidian* quarters, which were at some distance from the other, were entirely defenceless, the soldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other such-like combustible materials. To which his spies added, that the troops observed no order or discipline, but lay in a careless manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt forcing their camp by some stratagem, since he found himself too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, especially as the spot they were encamped upon was a smooth and open plain, extremely proper for their cavalry, much superior to that of the *Romans*, to act in. Having maturely weighed these particulars, he sent ambassadors to the camp, to renew, as was given out, the conferences, but, in reality, to make such discoveries as would favour the execution of his scheme. These ambassadors were attended by some of his veteran soldiers, disguised like slaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and observe all the avenues leading to and from it, its form and situation, how far *Asdrubal* was from *Syphax*, how all the posts were occupied, and whether it would be easier to surprise it in the day-time, or by night. Having informed himself of all these particulars, he immediately broke off the conferences, letting *Syphax* know, “ That as his officers had, in a council of war, declared themselves averse to all pacific measures, and pressed him to push on the war with vigour, he found himself obliged, in compliance with their desire, to pursue the military operations.” Such a declaration could not but extremely mortify both *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, who looked upon the treaty to be as good as concluded. However, they soon recovered themselves, and resolved to draw, if possible, the enemy

enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they should be able to give a good account of them ; or, if they should fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to besiege their camp both by sea and land ; which they imagined themselves capable of doing. But *Scipio* took his measures so well, that he surprised them in the manner already related. *Lælius* and *Masnissa* burnt *Syphax*'s camp, as *Scipio* himself did that of *Afdrubal*. Their army was entirely ruined, only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with the two commanders, escaping out of so great a multitude. According to *Livy*, this complete victory was, in a great measure, owing to the wise dispositions of *Masnissa*. The scene exhibited on this melancholy occasion, *Polybius* tells us, was inconceivably dreadful ; which indeed may easily be admitted, if we consider the terrible havock made of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* troops. *Appian* relates, that *Syphax*, having, some time before, shamefully abandoned the *Carthaginians*, when he had advanced as far as *Utica* to their assistance, under the pretext of repelling a foreign invasion, returned soon after to succour them, and endeavoured to bring over *Masnissa*, by promising to give him which of his three daughters he pleased, and to fix him on the throne of the *Massælyi*. The same author tells us, that *Scipio* offered sacrifices to the deities *Audacia* and *Pavor*, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be struck with any panic terrors in the night, since they were then to begin the attack. *Afdrubal* made his escape to *Anda*, where he rallied the remains of his shattered army, consisting chiefly of mercenaries and *Numidians* ; and, having, by his own authority, presented a good number of slaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a considerable corps. *Syphax* retired to an advantageous post, about eight miles from the field of battle, which he possessed himself of. *Appian* relates, that *Afdrubal* was condemned to be crucified for his ill success ; which is improbable, if what *Livy* says be true ; to wit, that, soon after the last disaster, he went to *Carthage*, in order to prevent the senate and suffetes from coming into any pacific measures. Be that as it will, the suffetes having convened the senate, three motions were made : first, that ambassadors should be sent to *Scipio*, to treat of a peace with that general ; secondly, that *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* ; thirdly, that, in imitation of the *Roman* resolution in adversity, they should depend upon themselves, and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to *Syphax* for further succours. This last, being backed by *Afdrubal*, and the *Barcinian* faction, was carried ;

in consequence of which, the new levies went on briskly, and ministers were dispatched in all haste to *Syphax*, who was prevailed upon, by the intreaties and endearments of his beloved *Sophonisba*, to join *Afdrubal* with a large body of forces. In the mean time *Scipio* advanced to the walls of *Carthage*, and offered the citizens battle; which they thought proper to decline. As soon as *Afdrubal* had left *Anda*, it surrendered to the *Romans*. Two other towns of note likewise in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make resistance, *Scipio* carried by assault, and gave them up to his soldiers to be plundered. After this, he sat down again before *Utica*, and pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. In the mean time *Afdrubal* and *Syphax*, being joined by a good number of *Celtiberian* troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thousand strong, with which they moved towards *Scipio*, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend his lines, rose from before *Utica*, and advanced to meet them. The *Roman* army was disposed in the usual manner. On the other side, *Afdrubal* posted his *Carthaginian* forces in the right wing; *Syphax*, with his *Numidians*, in the left; and the *Celtiberians* in the centre. The *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were routed at the first onset; but the *Celtiberians*, being animated by despair, fought with such resolution, that they were almost all to a man killed upon the spot. As *Scipio* had treated them with the utmost lenity after their late revolt, they were sensible the black ingratitude to him, they were now guilty of, deserved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and, finding it impossible to escape by flight, they resolved to die in the field. The obstinacy with which they, for some time, maintained the dispute, gave many of the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* an opportunity of saving themselves, who must otherwise have been inevitably cut off. The day after the battle, *Scipio* detached *Lælius* and *Masnissa*, with the horse and light-armed troops, to pursue *Syphax* and *Afdrubal*; whilst he himself, with the main body, reduced most of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*!<sup>1</sup>

*be Car-*  
*nagini-*  
*ns sue to*  
*scipio for*  
*peace.* IMMEDIATELY after this defeat, the senate and suffetes of *Carthage* came to a resolution to recal *Hannibal* from *Italy*, upon whose veteran troops, and their fleet, together with the powerful assistance of *Syphax*, they were convinced, their pre-

<sup>1</sup> LIV. l. xxx. c. 4----10. POLYB. l. xiv. APPIAN. in Libyc. DIO CASS. in excerpt. Vales. OROS. l. iv. c. 18. S. JUL. FRONT. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 3. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 12.

servation did absolutely depend. Their fleet therefore having, in the main, failed in the important enterprize above-mentioned, *Syphax* being taken prisoner, his country conquered, and *Hannibal* as yet at a great distance, they had no other resource left, than to sue to *Scipio* for peace. To this they were farther excited, by that general's encamping again at *Tunes*, within sight of their capital. They therefore deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected for that purpose out of the centumvirate, to wait upon *Scipio*. Being introduced into the *Roman* general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate on the earth, kissed his feet (in conformity, as *Livy* observes, to the practice of their ancestors the *Tyrians*), and spoke to him in the most submissive terms. They accused *Hannibal*, and the *Barchinian* faction, as the authors of all their calamities ; they confessed themselves to have broken the peace concluded betwixt them and the *Romans*, and that they deserved whatever punishment that nation should think proper to inflict upon them. They begged, however, that their city, which had twice merited destruction by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the *Roman* clemency, promising at the same time an implicit obedience to his commands. *Scipio* replied, “ That though he “ had come into *Africa*, not for peace, but conquest, which “ he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all nations might “ see the strict justice of the *Romans*, both in undertaking “ and concluding their wars, he would grant them a peace “ upon the following terms.” 1. They shall deliver up all the *Roman* prisoners and deserters to him. 2. They shall recall their armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*. 3. They shall never set foot again in *Spain*. 4. They shall retire out of all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*. 5. They shall put the victors in possession of all their ships, twenty only excepted, which they shall be allowed to keep for their own use. 6. They shall give to the *Romans* five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay five thousand talents, or, as others will have it, five thousand pound weight of silver. He gave them three days to consider of these conditions ; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till *Hannibal*'s arrival. A truce being granted the *Carthaginians*, they immediately sent deputies to *Rome*, and at the same time dispatched an express to *Hannibal*, to hasten his return to *Africa*. *Appian* intimates, that, besides the articles above-mentioned, *Scipio* insisted upon a compliance with the two following : That *Masinissa* should not only keep possession of his own kingdom, but as many of *Syphax*'s territories, as he should be able to conquer ; and

that the *Carthaginians* should not extend their dominions beyond the *Fossa Punica*. But these, and other points, wherein that author differs from *Livy* and *Polybius*, seem not so agreeable to truth, as what has been transmitted to posterity by those two celebrated historians <sup>m</sup>.

*Mago*

*over-thrown in Insubria.*

DURING these transactions, *Mago* advanced into *Insubria*, where he met with the *Roman* forces under the command of *M. Cornelius* and *P. Quintilius Varus*. A general action soon happened between the two armies, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated. However, *Mago* performed the part of a consummate general, distinguishing himself greatly throughout the whole action; but, being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, which threw his troops into such confusion, that a good part of them betook themselves to flight. Five thousand *Carthaginians* fell on the field of battle, and eighteen of their standards were taken. But this victory cost the *Romans* dear; for they lost two thousand three hundred men, besides the best part of the twelfth legion. *Mago*, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of the night, returned into the country of the *Ingauni*, which was one of the maritim parts of *Liguria*, where he met a courier bringing him orders to return directly to *Carthage*<sup>n</sup>.

*Hannibal recalled from Italy.* THE *Romans* being thus every-where victorious, *Consentia*, *Uffugium*, *Vergæ*, *Besidæ*, *Hetriculum*, *Syphæum*, *Argentanum*, *Dampetia*, and other towns of less note in *Brutium*, opened

*Year of Bef. Christ 2158.* their gates to the consul *Cn. Servilius*. This was the situation of affairs, when *Hannibal* was commanded to return to *Africa*. *Valerius Antias* wrote, that, just before his departure,

*Of Rome 190.* *Hannibal* was defeated by *Servilius* not far from *Croton*; and

*558.* that, on this occasion, he lost five thousand men. But *Livy*,

partial as he is, looks upon this as little better than a downright fiction. When the messengers from *Africa* informed *Hannibal* of the senate's pleasure, he expressed the utmost concern and indignation, groaning, gnashing his teeth, and being scarce able to refrain from tears. "Now, said he, "those persons, who have long endeavoured to drag me out of *Italy* by denying me proper supplies, send me direct and explicit orders to return home. *Hannibal* is not vanquished by the *Romans*, but by the senate of *Carthage*. " *Scipio* has not so much reason to exult and plume himself at my being forced from *Italy*, as *Hannibal*, who, for want of other means of effecting it, has completed the ruin of my family by the destruction of *Carthage*." As he had

<sup>m</sup> POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi supra.  
& APPIAN. ubi supra. LIV. I. xxx. c. 18.

<sup>n</sup> POLYB.

foreseen

foreseen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of vessels to transport his forces to *Africa*; which he did, after having massacred a body of *Italian* troops, that refused to accompany him, in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*. Such an instance of cruelty, at that time, was not so much to be wondered at, since *Hannibal* must have been exasperated almost to madness to see himself thus forced to quit a country he had been so long contending for. Never banished man, according to *Livy*, shewed so much regret in leaving his native country, as *Hannibal* did in going out of that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to *Italy*, accusing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, if we will credit the same author, upon himself, for his not having, after the battle of *Cannæ*, advanced to the walls of *Rome* at the head of his army, still reeking with the blood of its citizens. *Appian* writes, that *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general, committed unparalleled cruelties in all the cities allied with *Carthage*, before *Hannibal*'s departure, permitting his men to ravish their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all respects to them, as the most inhuman enemy does to the inhabitants of all towns carried by assault. But as *Livy*, whose authority, in the main, we prefer to that of *Appian*, is silent as to this particular, we own ourselves inclined to pay no great regard to it<sup>o</sup>.

THE *Carthaginian* ambassadors, about this time, arrived at *The Car-Rome*, where they met with but a very indifferent reception. *Carthagini-*  
*The conscript fathers*, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by these ambassadors in vindication of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of *Lutatius*, thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to *Scipio*, who, being upon the spot, could best judge what suited the welfare of the state. However, the *Romans* plainly discovered, from the conduct of their ministers on this occasion, as well as the recalling of their troops home, that, notwithstanding their pretended desire of peace, the *Carthaginians* would be averse to an accommodation, as soon as they received intelligence of *Hannibal*'s landing in *Africa*. They were confirmed in the sentiments they had entertained, by the news, which, in a few days, arrived at *Rome*; to wit, that the *Carthaginians*, in violation of the truce which they themselves had so earnestly desired, had seized a great number of ships on the coast of *Africa*, near the island *Egimurus*. Nay, they received advice, that the enemy had even attacked the gally, which carried the *Roman* ambassadors to *Carthage*, in

<sup>e</sup> POLYB. I. xv. LIV. ubi sup. c. 20. & seq. APPIAN. in Hannib.  
the

the river *Bagrada*, within sight of *Scipio's* camp. Such a procedure could not but exasperate the two nations one against the other more than ever ; the *Romans*, from the strong desire they must have had to revenge so black a perfidy ; and the *Carthaginians*, from a persuasion that they were not now to expect a peace. For the particulars of those infamous actions, as well as *Scipio's* great generosity and politeness to the *Carthaginian* embassadois, notwithstanding such a flagrant violation of the law of nations, we must refer our readers to the *Roman* history <sup>P</sup>.

**Hannibal makes proposals of** HANNIBAL had no sooner landed in *Africa*, than he sent out parties to get provisions for the army, and buy horses to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league with the regulus of the *Areacidae*, a *Numidian* tribe not far from *Adrumetum*.

Four thousand of *Syphax's* horse, then in the service of *Masinissa*, came over in a body to him ; but as he did not think it proper to repose any confidence in them, he put them all to the sword, and distributed their horses amongst his troops. *Vermina*, one of *Syphax's* sons, and *Masetulus*, another *Numidian* prince, likewise joined him with a very considerable body of horse. Most of the fortresses in *Masinissa's* kingdom either surrendered to him upon the first summons, or were taken by storm. *Narce*, a city of considerable note there, he made himself master of by a stratagem. *Tychæus*, a *Numidian* regulus, and faithful ally of *Syphax*, whose territories were famous for an excellent breed of horses, reinforcing him also much about the same time with two thousand of his best cavalry, Hannibal advanced to *Zama*, a town about five days march from *Carthage*, where he encamped. He thence sent out spies to observe the posture of the *Romans*. These being brought to *Scipio*, he was so far from inflicting any punishment upon them, which he might have done by the rules of war, that he commanded them to be led about the *Roman* camp, in order to take an exact survey of it, and then dismissed them. Hannibal, admiring the noble assurance of his rival, sent a messenger to desire an interview with him ; which by means of *Masinissa* he obtained. The two generals therefore, escorted by equal detachments of horse, met at *Nadaraga*, where, by the assistance of two interpreters, they held a private conference. Hannibal flattered *Scipio* in the most refined and artful manner, and expatiated upon all those topics, that, he thought, could influence that general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms : amongst other things, that the *Carthaginians* would willingly confine themselves to

<sup>P</sup> LIV. I. xxx. c. 24, 25. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univers. hist. vol. xii. ubi supra.

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*Africa*, since such was the will of the gods, in order to procure a lasting peace, whilst the *Romans* would be at liberty to extend their conquests to the remotest nations. *Scipio* answered, 'That the *Romans* were not prompted by ambition, or any sinister views, to undertake either the former or present war against the *Carthaginians*, but by justice, and a proper regard for their allies. He also observed, that the *Carthaginians* had, before his arrival in *Africa*, not only made him the same proposals, but likewise agreed to pay the *Romans* five thousand talents of silver, restore all the *Roman* prisoners without ransom, and deliver up all their galley-slaves. To which he added, that the late perfidious actions of the *Carthaginians* ought to be so far from procuring them more favourable terms, that the *Romans* thought themselves authorized from thence to impose more rigorous conditions upon them; which if he would submit to, a peace would ensue; if not, the decision of the dispute betwixt them must be left entirely to the sword'.<sup>9</sup>

THIS conference, betwixt two of the greatest generals the world ever produced, thus ending without success, they both retired to their respective camps, where they informed their Roman troops, that not only the fate of *Rome* and *Carthage*, but that of the whole world, was to be determined by them the next day. Accordingly in the morning both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle; and, after endeavouring to animate their men to make their utmost efforts, by all the motives to bravery that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great resolution in the plains of *Zama*. *Scipio* posted the *haftati*, divided into small battalions, with proper spaces between them, in front; after them, the *principes* divided in the same manner; and the rear was brought up by the *triarii*. The *Italian* horse, under the conduct of *Lælius*, he placed in the left wing; and the *Numidian*, commanded by *Masinissa*, in the right. By this disposition, which differed something from that which the *Romans* usually made, a proper precaution was taken against the violence of the enemy's elephants, which would otherwise have undoubtedly borne down the *principes*. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire into the void spaces between the battalions, if they found themselves overcharged by the enemy, or pushed by their elephants, the most expeditious part of them continuing their retreat, till they came behind the army. This he thought an opportunity to their wounded, or more slow companions, of saving themselves in the interval between the *haftati* and *principes*, or that between the *principes* and *triarii*. *Hannibal*, on the other side, posted

<sup>9</sup> POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29--32. APPIAN. in Libyc.

eighty elephants in front. Behind them he placed his vanguard, consisting of *Ligurian*, *Gallic*, *Balearic*, and *Mauritanian* mercenaries. Then followed the main battle, composed of four thousand *Africans* and native *Carthaginians*, supported by a body of four thousand *Macedonian* veterans, sent him by king *Philip*. And, at a furlong's distance from them, moved those brave troops, that had served under him in *Italy*, forming his rear, in whom he reposed his greatest confidence. The *Carthaginian* cavalry were opposed to *Lælius*; and the *Numidian*, under *Tychæus*, *Mesetulus*, &c. to *Masinissa*<sup>1</sup>.

*The battle of Zama.* SOME time before the beginning of the action, the *Numidian* horse on both sides skirmished with inconsiderable loss. After which, pursuant to *Hannibal*'s orders, the elephants advanced against the enemy; but those distributed in the left wing, being frightened by the sound of the trumpets, and the other martial music, fell foul upon the *Numidian* horse, and put them into disorder. *Masinissa* immediately took advantage of this confusion, and, without giving them time to recover themselves, charged them with such fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants, that attacked the *Roman* light-armed troops, being likewise repulsed, and many of them wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the *Carthaginian* horse posted in the right wing, and made such an impression upon them, that they met with the same rough treatment from *Lælius*, that the *Numidians* had before done from *Masinissa*. In the mean time the infantry on both sides engaged with unparalleled bravery. *Hannibal*'s mercenaries at first repulsed the legionaries. But these last, being duly supported by the principes, not only recovered themselves, but routed the mercenaries, and pushed them on the *Carthaginians*; which occasioned the defeat of both bodies, and, in a great measure, determined victory to declare for the *Romans*. The *corps de reserve*, formed of *Hannibal*'s veterans, that had served under him in *Italy*, behaved with inexpressible intrepidity and resolution; but *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, returning from the defeat of the enemy's horse, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx, which before seemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore put to the rout, and the ground strewed with their dead bodies, most of them being killed either in the battle or the pursuit. *Appian* relates, that, during the heat of the action, *Hannibal* first engaged *Scipio*, and afterwards *Masinissa*, in single combat, wherein he had the advantage. According to the same author, the *Carthaginians* had twenty-five thousand men slain, and eight thousand taken prisoners. *Livy* and *Polybius* affirm, that twenty thousand of *Hannibal*'s

<sup>1</sup> *Iudem ibid.*

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men were killed, and as many taken prisoners ; as likewise, that an hundred and thirty standards fell into the enemy's hands. Some say, the *Romans* lost only two thousand men ; others, that two thousand five hundred *Romans*, and a greater number of *Masinissa's* soldiers, fell in this engagement. Be that as it will, *Scipio* got a complete victory, and made himself master of *Hannibal's* camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thousand five hundred of silver, and an immense quantity of other booty. All the remarkable particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this work<sup>a</sup>.

**HANNIBAL**, having escaped to *Thon*, was soon joined by some *Brutian* and *Spanish* fugitives, who had been too swift for their pursuers ; but, not caring to trust himself in their hands, he fled privately to *Adrumetum*. The surprising military genius of that most renowned general never more eminently displayed itself than at the battle of *Zama*, as we learn from *Polybius*, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occasion. *Scipio* himself likewise, according to *Livy*, passed an high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent arrangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement. But, being vastly inferior to the enemy in horse, and the state of *Carthage* obliging him, at no small disadvantage, to hazard a battle with the *Romans*, he met with the fate above-mentioned. Some consolation, however, it must have been to him to hear, that *Scipio* not only approved of his conduct, but openly declared, that he outshined himself in this glorious, though unfortunate, action<sup>b</sup>.

THE senate of *Carthage*, hearing of *Hannibal's* arrival at *Apice Adrumetum*, dispatched messengers to him, with orders to return to *Carthage*. He obeyed these orders, and advised his countrymen to conclude a peace with the *Romans* upon the terms they should think proper to prescribe them. To this they were the more strongly excited by the news they received of a defeat given *Vermina*, the son of *Syphax*, their ally. This blow was very considerable, fifteen thousand of that prince's men being laid dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made prisoners, and fifteen hundred *Numidian* horses, together with seventy-two military ensigns, taken. After this overthrow, the *Carthaginians* sent ten of their principal citizens, as ambassadors, to implore *Scipio's* clemency, who told them, with a haughty air, That they might meet with him at *Apice* between the mans and the Carthaginians. Year of the flood 2160. Bef. Christ 188. Of Rome 560.

<sup>a</sup> POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. FLOR. AUR. VICT. CORN. NEP. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi supra, c. 14. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 23. PLUT. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 19. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 332, 333. <sup>b</sup> POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 35. APPIAN. in Libyc.

*Tunes.* However, thirty *Carthaginian* senators, selected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon *Scipio*, and suing for peace in the most submissive terms, that general thought proper to dictate to them the following conditions: 1. The *Carthaginians* shall be governed by their own laws, and remain in possession of all their *African* dominions. 2. The *Carthaginians* shall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deserters, fugitive slaves, prisoners of war, and all the *Italians*, whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. This shall be done within thirty days after the treaty is signed. 4. They shall also deliver up all their ships of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and shall train up no more of those animals for the service. 5. The senate and people of *Carthage* shall not engage in any war without the consent of the *Romans*. 6. They shall supply the *Roman* troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors they shall send to *Rome*. 7. They shall pay the *Romans*, in the space of fifty years, ten thousand *Euboic* talents, at equal payments, at equal payments. 8. They shall deliver up to *Scipio* an hundred such hostages as he shall chuse, the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen, and the oldest above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor truce shall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have restored to the *Romans* the ships and effects taken from them during the last truce. 10. The *Roman* armies shall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the conclusion of the treaty. 11. The *Carthaginians* shall restore to *Masinissa* all they have usurped from him and his ancestors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 12. They shall never for the future make any levies in *Gaul* or *Liguria*. 13. They shall assist the *Romans* both by sea and land, whenever they are called upon so to do. These terms, which *Scipio* thought proper to grant the *Carthaginians*, in case the senate and people of *Rome* would ratify them, appeared so intolerable to the populace of *Carthage*, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houses of the nobility. But *Hannibal*, having assembled a body of six thousand foot, and five hundred horse, at *Marthama*, prevented an insurrection, and, by his influence, completed the accommodation. However, *Gisco*, an enemy to the *Bachinian* faction, made a speech to the senators, in order to dissuade them from accepting such a shameful peace. *Hannibal*, being highly incensed at his presumption, dragged him from his seat; which giving great offence, in order to vindicate, or, at least, to palliate, so precipitate an action, *Hannibal* made an apology for it to the following effect: “ As I left your “ city at nine years of age, and did not return till after thirty- “ six years absence, I had full leisure to learn the military art,

“ and

“ and flatter myself, that I have made good improvement in  
“ it ; but, with regard to your constitution, it is no wonder  
“ that I am a stranger to it, and therefore I must desire you  
“ to instruct me in every branch of it.” He then insisted upon  
on the necessity of concluding a peace ; adding, “ that they  
“ ought to return the gods thanks for having disposed the *Ro-*  
“ *mans* to grant them such favourable conditions.” He like-  
wise represented to the senators the importance of uniting in  
their suffrages ; intimating, that it might be of fatal conse-  
quence to the state, if, by their divisions, they should throw  
more weight into the popular scale, which already did but too  
much preponderate. That whole venerable assembly therefore,  
in order to prevent the people from taking such an affair under  
their cognizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms  
proposed by *Scipio* were accepted. Ample satisfaction having  
been made the *Romans* for the outrages offered their ministers,  
and the infraction of the late truce, the *Carthaginians* dis-  
patched an embassy, at the head of which was *Asdrubal*, sur-  
named *Hædus*, or *The Kid*, to *Rome*. As he was an irreconcileable  
enemy to *Hannibal* and his family, he endeavoured  
to excuse the people of *Carthage*, by imputing the late rupture  
to the ambition of the *Barchinian* faction, and extolled his own  
conduct, as well as that of *Hanno*, towards the *Romans*. He  
likewise expatiated upon the generosity, magnanimity, wis-  
dom, and humanity of the *Romans* ; whilst his companions  
endeavoured to move the senate to compassion, by exhibiting  
to their view the calamitous state of *Carthage* in the most lively  
colours. By these methods of persuasion, they not only pre-  
vailed upon the conscript fathers to grant them their request,  
but likewise to send two hundred of their prisoners then at  
*Rome* to *Scipio*, with orders that they should be restored, with-  
out any pecuniary consideration, as soon as he should receive  
from the *Carthaginians* their ratification of the treaty. The  
late truce for three months, which the *Carthaginians* obtained  
of *Scipio*, upon the return of their ambassadors, was changed  
into a perpetual peace, upon the terms that general had pre-  
scribed. They then, in pursuance of the treaty, delivered  
up to *Scipio* above five hundred ships, all which he burnt in  
sight of *Carthage*, to the inexpressible mortification of the in-  
habitants of that unfortunate city. They likewise delivered  
up into the hands of the *Romans* all their elephants, all the  
slaves, deserters, and prisoners of war. The number of these  
last amounted to above four thousand men. *Scipio* treated both  
the *Latin* and *Roman* deserters with extreme severity, ordering  
all the heads of the former to be struck off, and the latter to  
be crucified. The public funds at *Carthage* being exhausted  
by

by so long and expensive a war, the senate found it vastly difficult to raise a sum sufficient for the payment of the first tax imposed by the treaty. This threw them into a melancholy silence, and many could not even refrain from tears. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, laughing on this occasion, was reproved by *Afdrubal Hædus*, for insulting his country in the time of its affliction, which, he insinuated, was owing to his conduct. *Hannibal*, in reply, apologized for his behaviour to that august assembly. Thus ended the second Punic war. *Zonaras*, from some authors not now extant, tells us, it lasted only sixteen years; but *Livy* and *Polybius*, whose authority is more to be depended upon, make it to have included eighteen campaigns, and intimate it to have been terminated eighteen years after *Hannibal* came to a rupture with the *Romans*<sup>4</sup>.

*The Romans* force a Carthaginian captain, left in those parts either by *Afdrubal* or *Mago*, excited the *Insubres*, *Cœnomanis*, and the *Boii*, together with the *Sallyi*, *Ilvates*, and other cantons of *Liguria*, ans to clap up a disbosurable threatening at the same time to renew the war, if that infringer peace with *Masinissa*. Of this the senate immediately informed the state of *Carthage*, threatening at the same time to renew the war, if that infringer peace with *Masinissa*. What answer the *Carthaginians* returned to this menace, we no-where find; but the death of *Hamilcar*, who was soon after killed in a battle he fought with *Fulvius Purpureo* the prætor, put an end to all farther dispute betwixt the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans* on this head. The peace betwixt *Carthage* and *Rome* was scarce signed, when *Masinissa*, at the instigation of the *Romans*, unjustly made himself master of part of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Africa*, under pretence, that those territories formerly belonged to his family. The *Carthaginians*, through the villainous mediation of the *Romans*, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourse, found themselves under a necessity of ceding those countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good understanding afterwards betwixt these two powers continued many years; but at last *Masinissa*, through the intrigues and dark cabals of the *Romans*, as there is great reason to believe, violated the treaties subsisting betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, and not a little contributed to the subversion of the *African* republic, as will soon most evidently appear<sup>w</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> LIV. I. XXX. C. 36. & seq. POLYB. APPIAN. FLOR. EUTROP.  
OROS. ZONAR. &c. ubi supra. <sup>w</sup> LIV. I. XXXI. C. 10, 11,  
32. & I. XI. C. 34. ZONAR. I. IX. C. 15. APPIAN. in Libyc.

THE following year, in the consulate of *Cornelius Lentulus* *The Car-*  
*and P. Villius Tappulus*, the *Carthaginians* sent fifty *Euboic talents* *thaginiars*  
*of silver* to *Rome*, in pursuance of the late treaty. But the silver <sup>find fifty</sup> *Euboic*  
*not being good*, the *quaestors* refused it; and, upon examination, *Carthaginian talents to*  
*ministers were obliged to borrow a sum of money at Rome, in* <sup>of the late</sup> *pursuance*  
*make up the deficiency*. At their request, an hundred of their <sup>treaty.</sup> *hostages* were released, and hopes given them, that the other  
*hundred* should soon be returned, provided they inviolably ad-  
*hered* to their late engagements. In the mean time, the re-  
*mainning* *hostages* desiring leave to be removed from *Norba*,  
*which* they represented as a place very inconvenient for them to  
*reside* in, the senate immediately sent them to *Signia* and *Fe-*  
*rentinum*. From hence they were removed to *Setia*, where  
*their domestics* occasioned a commotion, which had like to have  
*proved* of ill consequence to the *Romans*; but how this accident  
*affected* the state of *Carthage*, is no-where said. According to  
*Appian*, the trade of the *Carthaginians* began, even at this time,  
*to flourish*, notwithstanding all their shipping had so lately been,  
*in a manner*, destroyed. A glaring instance this of the surprising  
*genius* of that people for commerce, even in their most depressed  
*and miserable condition* <sup>x</sup>!

NOT long after the transactions just hinted at, *Livy* tells us, Hannibal  
*that one Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* general, commanded an army <sup>reforms</sup> *Gauls*, that was defeated by *Cethegus*; and that this general <sup>some abuses</sup> himself was taken prisoner in the action. But whether any, or <sup>at Car-</sup>  
*how many*, *Carthaginian* troops assisted the *Gauls* on this oc-<sup>thage, and</sup> *after-*  
*casion*, or what influence that event had upon the *Carthaginian* <sup>wards</sup> *affairs*, history informs us not. In the mean time Hannibal kept to *Anti-*  
*up* his credit at *Carthage*. Notwithstanding he had failed in the <sup>ochus king</sup> *execution* of his grand and favourite scheme, the republic gave of *Syria*,  
*him* the command of an army destined to act against some neig-  
*bouring African powers*; and from *Cornelius Neros* it seems  
*probable*, that he made some campaigns after the conclusion of  
*the second Punic war*. This gave such umbrage to the *Romans*,  
*that*, notwithstanding the *Carthaginians* made them a present of  
*a golden crown*, and thanked them in a most polite manner for  
*the peace* they had granted them, they refused to release the  
*Carthaginian* prisoners still detained in *Italy*. The senate indeed,  
*at the request of the embassadors*, who came with the compliment  
*to Rome*, gave leave to the *Carthaginian* hostages still with  
*them* to reside in what city of *Italy* they pleased; and assured the  
*embassadors*, that this instance of their republic's friendship was  
*very acceptable* to them. But, with regard to the prisoner,

\* LIV. I. xxxii. c. 2, 26. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 16. APPIAN. ubi sup.

the conscript fathers declared, that they could not dismiss them, as long as *Hannibal*, their most avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in *Africa*. Upon this remonstrance, the *Carthaginians* recalled *Hannibal* home, and conferred upon him the office of *praetor*; which seems to have been an employment of great consideration and authority. In this post *Hannibal* behaved so as to gain universal applause. He regulated the finances in such a manner, that, notwithstanding the deplorable state to which *Carthage* was reduced, considerable sums were laid up yearly for the public service, after the payment of the tax to the *Romans* imposed by the last treaty, and all other deductions made. As such a laudable conduct must have been founded upon a reformation of many abuses, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many persons concerned therein. But neither this, nor the animosity of the old *Hannonian* faction, which was far from being extinguished, prevented him from pursuing the measures he thought necessary for the service of the republic with zeal and resolution. But he was not satisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a good footing. He was equally impatient of rectifying the irregularities, which had crept into the administration of justice. As the judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impunity, disposing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and reputations of the citizens, without the least controul, since they held their offices for life, and mutually supported one another, *Hannibal* resolved to redress so crying an evil. He therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity acquired thereby, effected the passing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond their year. This step greatly irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleased the populace, of *Carthage*. His reputation and authority amongst the latter were raised to a higher pitch by the method he made use of to complete the regulation of the finances. The public revenues had been embezzled by those, who had the management of them, and some of the leading men in the city. This obliged the senate and suffetes to think of levying the annual tribute due to the *Romans* upon the people; which scheme *Hannibal* prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the collusions of those possessed of the other lucrative posts. It is no wonder therefore, that persons of this complexion should exert their utmost malice to ruin a man, however laudably disposed to the public, who, they had the assurance to pretend, deprived them of their lawful property; for in that light they considered their long-continued peculation. In order to gratify their resentment, they excited the *Romans* to pursue *Hannibal* to destruction. Accordingly

cordingly *G. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culeo* were sent to *Carthage*, as was pretended, to accommodate all differences betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Masnissa*, but, in reality, to ruin *Hannibal*, who, they asserted, carried on a secret intelligence with king *Antiochus*, in order to concert with him the proper measures for prosecuting the war against the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, upon their arrival, notwithstanding their specious pretexts, knew the subject of their commission, and thought it prudent to submit to the necessity of the times. Having therefore made all the proper dispositions for his departure, in order to blind his countrymen, in the dusk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dress, attended only by two companions, ignorant of his design. That he might travel with the greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the assistance of which, passing the *Vocanian* district, he arrived at a castle, or palace, of his own between *Ackolla* and *Thapsus*. From hence he was wafted over in a vessel, that waited for him, to the island *Cercina*. Here he had recourse to a stratagem, to conceal his retreat from *Carthage*; which had the desired effect. The populace of *Carthage*, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city. Some thought he was fled, others, that he had been assassinated by the *Roman* faction. However, at last time discovered the truth, the senate receiving certain intelligence, that he was seen in the island *Cercina*. No sooner did this news come to hand, than the *Roman* ambassadors insisted upon the *Carthaginians* making a public declaration of their dislike of the project he was gone upon. In order to impose upon the masters of ships at that time in the island *Cercina*, he gave out, that the republic of *Carthage* had sent him their ambassador to *Tyre*. *Livy* tells us, that he was not so much affected with the prospect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities, which threatened his country. From *Cercina* he steered his course for *Tyre*, where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of distinction due to his exalted merit. After staying some days here, he set out for *Antioch*, and had a conference with *Antiochus*'s son at *Daphne*, where he was celebrating some solemn diversions. From hence he posted to *Ephesus*, where he met with a most kind reception from that prince himself, whom he determined to enter upon a war with *Rome*, after he had been, for some time, in a fluctuating condition on that head. *Tully* informs us, that, during his residence here, a philosopher, named *Phormio*, esteemed the best orator in *Asia*, expatiated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, *Hannibal* was asked his opinion of it. To which the *Carthaginian* frankly replied, "That, in his time, he had seen many old dotards, but

"none that came up to *Phormio*." *Stobæus* informs us, that this *Phormio* was a *Stoic* philosopher; and that when he undertook to prove, that a wise man only was fit to be a general, *Hannibal* laughed, as being convinced, that a skill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but practice. The *Carthaginians*, being apprehensive, that, by *Hannibal's* intrigues, they might be embroiled with the *Romans*, thought proper to send them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of *Antiochus*. This news not a little alarmed them; and the king might have turned so lucky an accident greatly to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it<sup>y</sup>.

*Hannibal endeavours to embroil his countrymen with the Romans, but in vain.* HANNIBAL's constant opinion was, that *Italy* should be made the seat of the war. To enforce this, he observed to *Antiochus*, that *Italy* would supply a foreign invader both with a sufficient quantity of provisions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the *Romans* were permitted to transport their *Italian* forces into any foreign country, no prince or state in the world could make head against them. He offered to sail to *Carthage*, and did not doubt but he should persuade his countrymen to take up arms against the common enemy, provided the king would trust him with the command of a fleet of an hundred ships, and a body of eleven thousand land-forces. With these troops, he proposed making a descent in some part of *Italy*; whilst the king himself should assemble a numerous army, and put himself in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it should be thought convenient. Had this salutary advice been followed, *Antiochus* would not have been obliged soon after to submit to such conditions of peace, as the *Romans* thought fit to impose upon him. But, notwithstanding that prince's wrong conduct, at first he approved very much of *Hannibal's* proposal; which induced that general to dispatch one *Aristo*, a *Tyrian*, to *Carthage*, in order to engage the senate there more strongly in his interest. To secure the fidelity of this person, *Hannibal* made him some valuable presents, after he had furnished him with proper instructions, and promised him great rewards in *Antiochus's* name, in case he happily executed his commission. *Aristo* was no sooner arrived at *Carthage*, than the people began to suspect the errand he came upon. As he associated only with the members of the *Barcinian* faction, the suspicions, that had been entertained, were turned into a violent presumption of his guilt. So that he was seized, and called upon to clear himself; which not having the good fortune to do to the satisfaction of the dominant party, great debates arose in the senate concerning

<sup>y</sup> POLYE. l. iii. LIV. ubi sup. c. 30. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 32-35. & c. 46, 47. CIC. de orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76. STOB. ferni. 52. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 3. JUSTIN. l. xxi. c. 2.

him. Some members of that august assembly, were for treating him as a spy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as no evidence could be produced against him. Besides, they observed, that as such an action could be considered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hospitality, the *Tyrians* would not fail making reprisals upon the subjects of *Carthage* residing in their dominions. However, the determination of this affair was deferred till the next day; which gave the crafty *Tyrian* an opportunity of making his escape privately in the night. Before his departure, he left in the public hall, where justice was administered, a writing that fully declared the reason of his coming to *Carthage*. The senate, to shew how religiously they intended to observe the last treaty, immediately sent advice of this to the *Romans*<sup>2</sup>.

THE *Romans*, soon after the arrival of the express with this *Hannibal* news, nominated *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius* their ambassadors to *confire* *Antiochus*, ordering them to take *Pergamus* in their way, that with *Vilius* they might confer with *Eumenes*, who resided there, a violent *ius* and enemy of *Antiochus*. *Sulpicius* was detained at *Pergamus* by an *Scipio*. indisposition; but *Vilius*, in pursuance of his orders, came to *Ephesus*, where he found *Hannibal*. He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to shew him a particular esteem on all occasions; but his chief aim, by all this insidious behaviour, was to render him suspected, and lessen his credit with the king; in which he succeeded but too well, as afterwards manifestly appeared. This we learn both from *Livy* and *Polybius*; the latter of which historians represents this application of *Vilius* to *Hannibal* as a premeditated design, in order to destroy his interest with king *Antiochus*; and the former owns, that the affair took a turn that exactly answered such a design. However, the first author, for a very obvious reason, tells us, that the only end of *Vilius*'s conversation with *Hannibal* was to sound that general, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the *Romans*. *Claudius*, on the authority of the Greek annalist *Aelius*, affirmed, that *Scipio* was joined with *Sulpicius* and *Vilius* in this embassy, and even transmitted to posterity some of the particulars that passed in conversation betwixt the *Roman* ministers and *Hannibal*. According to these authors, *Scipio* desired *Hannibal* to tell him, who, in his opinion, was the most celebrated general in history. To which the *Carthaginian* general replied, *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, because, with an inconsiderable body of troops, he had defeated most numerous armies, and extended his conquests into countries so widely distant, that it seemed impossible for any man even to traverse them. Being then asked, who was the next to him,

<sup>2</sup> *Liv.* I. xxxiv. c. 59, 60.

he answered, *Pyrrhus*, who first understood the art of encamping to advantage.<sup>1</sup> Nor did ever any commander, continued he, make a more judicious choice of posts, or better understood how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections and favour of mankind to him. *Scipio* then demanding of him, whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no scruple of mentioning himself. Here *Scipio* not being able to refrain from laughing, But what would you have said, added he, had you vanquished me? I would, replied *Hannibal*, have ranked myself above *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, and all the generals the world ever produced. *Scipio* was not insensible to this artful and delicate flattery; which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him. This answer of *Hannibal* is much more probable and ingenious, than that mentioned by *Phatarch*, who makes that general to have given the first place to *Pyrrhus*, the second to *Scipio*, and to himself the third; which is low, jejune, and quite destitute of that elegance and vivacity, which *Livy's* relation, in conformity to *Hannibal's* character, is seasoned with.<sup>2</sup>

*Hannibal* *ANTIOCHUS*, having entertained a suspicion of *Hannibal*, <sup>removes</sup> ever since his late conferences with *Vidius*, would not, for some <sup>some suspi-</sup> time, admit him into his councils. This flight, at first, *Han-*  
*tiochus* *nibal* took no notice of. But afterwards, judging it expedient to inquire into the cause of such a sudden change in the king's con-  
<sup>bad enter-</sup> duct towards him, that he might have an opportunity of clearing  
<sup>tained of</sup> himself, he intreated that prince to discover to him the reason of his late coldness; which having learnt, he addressed himself to *Antiochus* in the following terms: "My father *Hamilcar*, *An-*  
*tiochus*, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, to  
"take an oath always to bear an implacable aversion to the  
*Romans*. Animated by this hatred, I have waged war with  
them six-and-thirty years; prompted thereto by it, I have  
"abandoned my native country in times of peace, and taken  
"sanctuary in your dominions; fired by it, should you frustrate  
"my expectations, I will fly to every part of the globe, and  
"endeavour to rouse up all nations against the *Romans*. If any  
"of your favourites therefore would raise their credit with you  
"by calumniating me, let them seek other methods of advancing  
"themselves. I hate mortally the *Romans*, and am equally  
"hated by them. For the truth of this I appeal to the manes  
"of my father *Hamilcar*, and all the deities, who were witnesses  
"of my oath. So long therefore as you are disposed to come  
"to a rupture with the *Romans*, you may rank *Hannibal* amongst

<sup>1</sup> *Liv.* l. xxxv. c. 14, & seq. *Polyb.* l. iii. p. 165, 167. *PLUT.* in *Flamin.* & in *Pyrr.*

" your

" your best friends. But, if any considerations should incline  
 " you to a peace, I desire to be intirely excluded your councils." This speech, uttered with such force and energy, and expressive of so much sincerity, removed all the prejudices the king had imbibed; so that *Hannibal* was not only restored to favour, but preparations made to execute the scheme he had formed <sup>b</sup>.

THOUGH the king had come to a resolution to give *Hannibal* Antiochus the command of part of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his <sup>d/servts</sup> ministers, the equipment of it was not only at first retarded, but *Hannibal*, even the expediency of putting the *Carthaginian* in that post debated in council. In fine, the malicious suggestions of *Thoas the Aetolian*, the effect of pure envy, made such an impression upon Antiochus's low and groveling mind, in which a sordid jealousy had extinguished all generous sentiments, that he dropt the aforesaid design, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embarrassed the *Romans*. Some time after, the *Carthaginians* offered to supply the *Romans* with million of bushels of wheat, and five hundred thousand bushels of barley, as a free gift. They also proposed to equip a fleet at their own expence for their service; and to remit to *Rome* at once the whole remainder of the sum imposed upon them by the late treaty. The *Romans* gave their embassadors a kind reception, and told them, " That they should only require " from their principals the ships, which their late engagements " obliged them to furnish; that they would pay ready money " for whatever supplies of corn they should send them; and " that the sum, due to them from *Carthage*, should be paid in " the manner stipulated by the last treaty." From this incident, we may form some sort of an idea of the incredible industry of the *Carthaginians*, as well as of their surprising genius for trade. For it appears from hence, that, tho' they had been exhausted by a most ruinous war, stript of almost all their dominions, deprived of their ships, and seemingly reduced to the extremest misery, they yet found means, in ten or twelve years time, to become wealthy and powerful. This certainly could only have been the effect of a flourishing and extensive trade. At what an exalted pitch of power therefore must they have arrived, had *Hannibal* either been duly supported in *Italy*, or contended with a nation of not such an invincible resolution for the dominion of the world <sup>c</sup>!

SOME time after, *Antiochus* found his affairs in such a perplexed situation, that he was at a loss what measures to pursue, *Hannibal's advice to him*. In this emergency, his ministers were obliged to have recourse

<sup>b</sup> Liv. l. xxxv. c. 19. POLYB. l. xv. & l. iii. SEX. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 7. JUST. l. xxxi. c. 4, 5. <sup>c</sup> Liv. ubi sup. c. 42. & l. xxxvi. c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. JUST. ubi sup.

to *Hannibal*. That renowned general, forgetting the ill usage he had met with, appeared as much disposed to assist the distressed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations taken place. He drew up for him a scheme, that would probably have extricated him out of all difficulties, had it been immediately put in execution. But, tho' the speech *Hannibal* made on this occasion was received by the *Syrian* ministry with great applause, yet they still proved deaf to all his salutary admonitions<sup>d</sup>.

*Hannibal* AFTER *Antiochus* was forced to abandon *Europe*, by the *defeated in* victorious arms of the *Romans*, he retired to *Ephesus*. Here *a sea-en-* he, for some time, took up his residence, without any apprehensions of danger, his flatterers persuading him, that the enemy never durst pursue him into *Asia*. *Hannibal*, being now in great esteem at that prince's court, thought it but just to undeceive him in a point of such importance. In consequence of which, *Antiochus* made the necessary dispositions for his defence; but all his efforts proved unsuccessful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great *Hannibal* himself, was defeated by that of the *Rhodians*, commanded by *Eudamus*, off of *Sida*, on the coast of *Pamphylia*, and miserably shattered. However, the *Rhodians* suffered extremely in the action, sustaining almost as great a loss of men and ships as *Hannibal*. The bad success of this engagement was intirely owing to the ill conduct of *Apollonius*, one of *Antiochus*'s admirals, who fled, with the squadron he commanded, almost in the beginning of the fight. Notwithstanding which, *Hannibal* made an excellent retreat, the enemy being scarce in a condition to pursue him. However, the *Rhodians* detaching *Chariclitus* with twenty beaked ships to *Patara*, and *Megiste*, a small island, with a commodious port, in the sea of *Lycia*, prevented the junction of *Hannibal*'s shattered gallies with the other divisions of the *Syrian* squadron; which was a great mortification to the *Carthaginian*. In short, after a series of misfortunes, *Antiochus*, found himself obliged to send *Zeusis*, the governor of *Lydia*, and his son *Antipater*, with a *carte blanche*, to the *Roman* camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly insisted upon was, that *Hannibal* should be delivered up to the *Romans*; with which *Antiochus*, *Hannibal* being unable to defend himself, was forced to comply. However, *Hannibal*, foreseeing what would happen, had taken care to fly to Crete; to retire in time to the island of *Crete*. It appears from *Scipio Nasica*'s speech in *Livy*, that *Hannibal* was a general in the *Syrian* army at the battle of *Magnesia*; from whence, as well as from other circumstances, we have reason to believe, that he

<sup>d</sup> *Liv. ubi sup. c. 7.*

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was present in all the principal actions, that happened between the Romans and *Antiochus*<sup>e</sup>.

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HANNIBAL, upon his arrival in *Crete*, took sanctuary amongst the *Gortynii*. But having brought great treasure with him, and considering the avarice of the *Cretans*, he judged it would be proper to have recourse to some stratagem, in order to secure himself; especially as he had reason to apprehend, that the *Cretans* were advertised of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled several vessels with molten lead, just covering them over with gold and silver; which he deposited in the temple of *Diana*, in the presence of the *Gortynii*, with whom, he said, he trusted all his treasure. *Justin* tells us, that he left this there as a security for his good behaviour, and lived for some time very quietly in those parts. However, he took care to conceal his riches in hollow statues of brabs, which, according to some, he always carried along with him, or, as others will have it, exposed to view in a place of public resort, as things of little value. At last he retired to the court of *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, and after wards to *Prusias*, with whom he found means to unite several neighbouring princes and states, and so formed a powerful confederacy against *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a professed friend to the king of *Romans*. A rupture soon commenced betwixt them, which was followed by a great effusion of blood on both sides. During this war, *Hannibal* is said to have given *Eumenes* several defeats, and reduced him to great straits, more by force of genius, and dint of conduct, than superiority of strength<sup>f</sup>.

THE Romans, receiving intelligence of the important services *Hannibal* had done *Prusias*, and of the influence he had at that prince's court, sent *T. Quintius Flaminius* thither as their ambassador. *Flaminius*, at his first audience, complained of the protection *Prusias* gave *Hannibal*, representing that famous general "as the most inveterate and implacable enemy the Romans ever had; as one who had ruined both his own country and *Antiochus*, by drawing them into a destructive war with the Romans." *Prusias*, in order to ingratiate himself with the Romans, immediately sent a party of soldiers to surround *Hannibal's* house, that he might find it impossible to make his escape. The *Carthaginian*, having before discovered, that no confidence was to be reposed in *Prusias*, had contrived seven secret passages from his house, to evade the machinations of the enemies, even if they could carry their point at the *Bithynian* court. But guards being posted on these, he could not fly,

<sup>e</sup> LIV. l. xxxvi. c. 41. l. xxxvii. c. 23--25. & l. xxxviii. c. 58--60.

FLOR. l. ii. c. 8. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 2c. <sup>f</sup> CORN. NEP in *Hannib.* c. 9, 10. JUSTIN. l. xxxii. c. 4. LIV. l. xxxix. c. 51. GEORG. SYNCEL. in chronograph. p. 285. VALER. MAX. l. iii. c. 7.

tho',

tho', according to *Lizy*, he attempted it. Perceiving therefore no possibility of escaping, he had recourse to poison, which he had long reserved for this melancholy occasion. This taking in his hand, " Let us, said he, deliver the *Romans* from the difficult quietude, with which they have long been tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. *Flamininus* will not acquire any reputation or glory by a victory gained over a betrayed and defenceless person. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the degeneracy of the *Romans*. Their ancestors gave *Pyrrhus* intelligence of a design to poison him, that he might guard against the impending danger, even when he was at the head of a powerful army in *Italy*; but they have deputed a person of consular dignity to excite *Prusias* impiously to murder one, who has taken refuge in his dominions, in violation of the laws of hospitality." Then he denounced dreadful imprecations against *Prusias*, and his kingdom, and invoked the gods presiding over the sacred rights of hospitality; after which, drinking off the poison he had prepared, he expired, at seventy years of age. *Cornelius Nepos* intimates, that *Hannibal* destroyed himself by a subtle (C) poison, which he carried about with him in a ring for that purpose. *Plutarch* relates, that, according to some writers, he ordered a servant to strangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck; and others will have it, that, in imitation of *Midas* and *Themistocles*, he drank bulls blood. Be that as it will, his death reflected an eternal ignominy and disgrace upon the *Romans*, whose insatiable thirst after empire had extinguished all generous sentiments, and every spark of virtue, in their minds.

*His character.*

THUS died *Hannibal*, the greatest general perhaps, notwithstanding his misfortunes, that any age ever produced; a general,

<sup>8</sup> LIV. ubi sup. &c. 65. PLUT. in *Flamin.* CORN. NEP. & JUSTIN. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 21.

(C) *Zonar.* relates, that *Hannibal* was under no apprehension of a sudden violent death, tho' he took such precautions to secure himself. This was occasioned by an answer the oracle gave him, when consulted on a certain emergency, to wit, that he should die in *Libya*. However, adds that author, the prediction was fulfilled; since the spot of

ground, on which he took the fatal draught, was called *Libya*. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that *Hannibal* died in a village of *Bithynia* called *Libyssa*, situated near the sea, where he was buried in a wooden coffin, with this inscription upon his tomb, *Here lies Hannibal*; and that this was still remaining in his time (3).

who would have utterly subverted the haughty *Roman* republic, had he not been sacrificed to the resentment of an envious, wicked, and most abandoned faction. *Polybius* seems to make him a pattern for all succeeding commanders; and *Livy*, notwithstanding his partiality, owns himself astonished at his wonderful conduct, after the defeat of his brother *Adrubal*. No other general, after so terrible a blow, could have maintained himself in one of the poorest spots of *Italy*, for several years, without any reinforcement of troops, or supplies of provisions, from *Carthage*. The perfect harmony kept up in his army, composed of such a variety of nations, to wit, *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, &c. differing in laws, manners, language, genius, and almost every other particular, even after fortune had declared against him, and when they were in want both of money and provisions, was a full demonstration of his consummate abilities. The inviolable attachment of his new allies to him, when he was reduced to the necessity of making them sustain almost the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their respective countries, clearly evinces the same thing. *Polybius* observes, that he over-reached most of the generals that opposed him, but was himself never outwitted by any of them; and seems to insinuate, that it would have been much more fatal to the *Carthaginians* to have lost him, than any of the armies he ever commanded. And indeed, it sufficiently appears, from the preceding part of this history, that he was the life and soul not only of the army, but likewise of the *Carthaginian* state. In fine, by his own surprising capacity, he carried on a war against the most martial people in the world many years, in a remote country, in spite of the violent opposition made by a powerful domestic faction, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occasions. With regard to his political character, we shall only observe, that the secret intelligence he held with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, the wise counsels he gave *Antiochus*, the double regulation he introduced at *Carthage*, the potent confederacy he formed in favour of king *Prusias*, besides many other instances, that will occur to our readers, evidently prove him to have made as great a figure in the cabinet, as the field. What we have already observed of his factious disposition, and love for the muses, is confirmed by *Gellius* and others. His religious and moral conduct *Livy* paints in the blackest colours. But the humanity with which he treated the bodies of *Marcellus* and *Sempronius Gracchus*; the high reverence he expressed for the gods on all occasions; his singular continence, and uncommon wisdom; his contempt of riches; the extraordinary temperance he was famous for, even in the midst of the greatest affluence, when at the head of the state of *Carthage*; these shining

shining qualities, we say, and others, attested by the best authors, will not permit us to give any attention to the unfair representation of that prejudiced historian. *Polybius* however intimates, that he was accused at *Carthage* of avarice, and of cruelty at *Rome*; and that people were much divided in their sentiments concerning him. This cannot appear strange to any one, who considers, that, as he had many implacable enemies in both cities, he must, of course, have been drawn by some of them in the most disadvantageous light. But though, adds *Polybius*, we should allow some of the defects he has been charged with true, yet it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with which he was obliged to struggle during the course of so long and burdensome a war, than to his own natural disposition. Besides, he might be forced frequently to fall in with the inclinations of his officers, when they were opposite to his own, in order to excite them to a cheerful discharge of their duty. These, it is reasonable to suppose, he could not always keep within proper bounds, considering the natural bent of his countrymen, any more than the soldiers, who fought under them. Be that as it will, *Polybius* looked upon *Hannibal* to have been a general of so noble and sublime a genius, that, in his opinion, had he at first attacked other powers, and reserved the *Romans* for the last nation to have contended with, he must have intirly overthrown their republic, and consequently rendered *Carthage* mistress of the world<sup>b</sup>.

*Disputes.  
between  
the Car-  
thaginians  
and Ma-  
sinissa.*

IT has been already observed, that, by one of the articles of the late treaty, the *Carthaginians* were to restore to *Masinissa* all the territories and cities he possessed before the beginning of the war. To these *Scipio* annexed part of *Syphax's* dominions, in order to reward the zeal and affection that prince had discovered for the *Romans* on all occasions, ever since the commencement of his alliance with them. After *Hannibal's* flight to *Antiochus*, and his emissary *Aristo's* escape related above, the *Romans* began to look upon the *Carthaginians* with a suspicious eye, though, to prevent all distrust, the latter of these states had ordered two ships to pursue *Hannibal*, confiscated his effects, rased his house, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed<sup>c</sup> likewise to notify to the *Romans* *Aristo's* commission, as well as

<sup>b</sup> AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. v. c. 5. POLYB. l. xi. & alib. LIV. l. xxviii. c. 12. & alib. pass. JUST. l. xxxii. c. 4. DIOD. Sic. l. xxvi. & alib. in excerptis Vales. CORN. NEP. & AUREL. VICT. ubi sup. PLUT. in Hannib. in Marcel. in Flamin. & alib. VALER. MAX. PO- LYAN. S. JUL. FRONTIN. pass. APPIAN. in Libyc. in Iber. & in Hannib. OROS. & ZONAR. pass. Vide etiam POLYB. in excerpt. legat. 33. LIV. l. xxv. c. 17. LUCAN. SIL. ITAL. pass. aliquosq; quamplu- rim. scriptor. Græc. & Latin.

escape, in order to shew their disapprobation of *Hannibal's* design, by the deputies they dispatched to *Rome*, to complain of *Masinissa's* unjust pretensions. That prince, being apprised that *Carthage* was miserably rent by factions, and upon but very indifferent terms with the *Romans*, on account of the two events above-mentioned, seized upon part of a maritim territory, which was extremely rich and fruitful, situated near the *Lesser Syrtis*, called *Emporia*. Both sides sent embassadors to *Rome* on this occasion, to support the titles of their respective masters to the district in dispute. The *Carthaginians* alleged, "That this was "within the limits of their *African* dominions, as settled by "Scipio. This, they observed, had been acknowledged by *Masinissa* himself, who, when he had pursued one *Aphries*, a "Numidian prince, lurking about the borders of *Cyrenaica*, "would not pass through *Emporia*, without asking leave of the "Carthaginians, looking upon it then as a territory indisputably "belonging to them." To which the *Numidian* ministers replied, "That what they so confidently advanced about *Scipio's* "settling the limits, was false; and that the *Carthaginians*, in "strictness and equity, ought only to have the spot of ground, "on which *Byrsa* stood, every other part of their *African* dominions being taken from the natives by fraud and violence. "To which they added, as to the district in question, the *Carthaginians* could not prove themselves to have been in possession "of it since the infancy of their republic; nay, that it had "been any considerable time under their jurisdiction. They "concluded therefore, that as the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* had been masters of it by turns, just as success attended "their respective arms, it would be but equitable in the senate "to permit things to remain in their present situation." Hereupon the conscript fathers thought proper to send *Scipio Africanus*, *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Minnicius Rufus*, to examine the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any resolution, leaving the business in the same uncertain state in which they found it. Whether the commissioners acted in this manner of their own head, or by order of the senate, is not so certain, as that the interest of the *Romans* rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties then improper. For otherwise *Scipio*, who had deserved so well of both of them, could, by his own single authority, have put an end to the dispute.

*MASINISSA*, not satisfied with the possession of the district *The Ror* he had so unjustly usurped, over-ran a province, that his father *mans acc Gala* had taken from the *Carthaginians*, and *Syphax* from him, *commodate*

<sup>1</sup> POLYB. in excerpt. legat. 118. LIV. I. xxxiv. c. 61. APPIAN. in Libyc.

the differences between them from whom it had returned to its former masters, through the charms and endearments of *Sophonisba*. The *Carthaginian* deputies pleaded the cause of their principals; and *Masinissa* his, before the *Roman* commissioners, with exceeding heat. The *Carthaginians* reclaimed this territory, "as having originally belonged to their ancestors, and afterwards restored to them by *Syphax*." On the other hand, *Masinissa* insisted, "that it was formerly part of his father's kingdom; that, in consequence of this title, he had taken possession of it; and that his pretensions were so indubitable, that he only feared, lest the modesty of the *Romans*, which might render them timorous of indulging a friend and ally in his just claims upon their common enemy, should prove prejudicial to him." The commissioners, in conformity to the disposition of their republic, referred this dispute, which happened ten years after the former, to the decision of the senate, and consequently left it undetermined. However, in the consulate of *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *Cn. Baebius Tamphilus*, the *Romans* effected an accommodation betwixt *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*, confirming the former in the possession of his unjust acquisitions, and restoring to the latter an hundred hostages they had till that time detained <sup>k</sup>.

**Masinissa** *MASINISSA*, grasping at farther conquests, endeavoured soon after to embroil the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. In order to embroil to this, he concerted measures with the *Roman* ambassadors in the *Carthago-Africa*, to prejudice the conscript fathers against them. The *Carthaginians* latter did not scruple to affirm, that, to their certain knowledge, *with the Romans*, *Perseus*, king of *Macedon*, with whom the *Romans* then were upon the verge of a war, had privately sent ambassadors to *Carthage*, to negotiate an alliance with that state; and that the senate was assembled by night in the temple of *Aesculapius*, to confer with them; whilst the former, in as strong a manner, asserted, that the *Carthaginians* had dispatched ministers to *Perseus*, to conclude a treaty with him. *Livy* seems to intimate, that the *Carthaginians* would not own this; but that the *Romans*, always attentive to the insinuations of their enemies, believed it to be true. The future conduct of that people towards *Carthage* renders *Livy's* authority, in this point, indisputable <sup>l</sup>.

**And makes an irruption into the province of Tysca.** Not long after this *Masinissa* made an irruption into the province of *Tysca*, where he soon possessed himself of above seventy, or, as *Appian* will have it, fifty towns and castles. This obliged the *Carthaginians* to apply, with great importunity, to the *Roman* senate for redress, their hands being so tied up by an article of the last treaty, that they could not repel force by force, in case of an invasion, without the consent of the *Romans*.

<sup>k</sup> *Liv.* l. xl. c. 17. & c. 34. *Vide & Appian.* ubi sup. <sup>l</sup> *Liv.* l. xli. c. 22.

The *Carthaginian* ministers at *Rome* represented the miserable condition of their republic in the most moving terms. They declared, “ That *Masnissa* was intirely void of honour; that, “ without the interposition of that august assembly, to whom they then addressed themselves, no limits could be prescribed to his cruelty, insolence, avarice and ambition. They therefore begged the conscript fathers either themselves to determine the point in debate betwixt their principals and *Masnissa*, or to suffer the former to dislodge the latter from his conquests by force of arms; or lastly, if they were resolved to support the *Numidian* in all his unjust pretensions, to specify, once for all, what territories the *Carthaginians* were to cede to him, that they might know what hereafter they had to depend upon.” To this they subjoined, “ That, if the *Carthaginians* had incurred the displeasure of the *Romans* in any point inadvertently since the conclusion of the last peace, they begged they would punish them for the offence themselves, and not leave them expos'd to the insults and vexations of *Masnissa*, since they preferred an utter extinction to the barbarities and depredations they were forced to suffer from so merciless a tyrant.” Then prostrating themselves upon the earth, they burst out into tears; which making a deep impression upon the senate in their favour, *Gulussa*, *Masnissa*'s son, being then present, and called upon to vindicate his father's conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: “ That he had received no instructions from his father how to act in the present emergency, since it could not be foreseen, that any thing would be laid to his charge. That the *Carthaginians* had had several clandestine meetings by night in the temple of *Aesculapius*, the object of whose consultations was kept secret from him, after which deputies were dispatched to *Rome*. That the sole design of his father's sending him to *Rome* was, to intreat the senate not to pay any regard to the insinuations of the common enemy against him, since the implacable hatred they bore him was occasioned by the inviolable fidelity, with which he had so long been attached to the *Romans*.” The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, “ That it would be proper for *Gulussa* to set out immediately for *Numidia*, in order to acquaint his father with the complaints of the *Carthaginians* against him. That he ought to send deputies to *Rome*, to remove all difficulties that obstructed an accommodation between him and them. That they would continue to serve him as they had hitherto done, but not to the prejudice of the *Carthaginians*. That it was but just the antient limits should be preserved. That the *Carthaginians* ought to be maintained in the possession of those territories, which the late treaty had allotted them.” The deputies of both powers were then dismissed

Year of  
the flood  
2186.Bef. Christ  
162.Of Rome  
586.

missed with the usual presents. The *Romans* were prompted to act after this perfidious manner, partly by that implacable hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, and partly by the hopes of receiving succours from *Masinissa* in the *Macedonian war*, which they were just going to enter upon. The *Numidian* answered their expectations; for he did not only supply them with corn, but likewise was upon the point of sending a body of troops, consisting of a thousand horse, and as many foot, with twenty-two elephants, under the command of his son *Misagenes*, to their assistance. However, this proceeded rather from a motive of policy than gratitude; for he considered, that if the *Romans* were victorious in this war, his affairs could but remain in the same situation; whereas, should they be overcome, he doubted not reducing *Carthage*, and making himself master of *Africa*<sup>m</sup>.

The villainous behaviour of the Romans to the Carthaginians.

THE *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the lamentable slavery under which they groaned, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome*, who acquainted the senate, "That their state would immediately transport a million of bushels of wheat, and five hundred thousand bushels of barley, into what part of the world the *Romans* pleased. That they were sensible such a supply was not proportioned to those happy effects of the *Roman* generosity and goodness, which their principals had so long experienced, neither did it come up to their inclinations. But that they hoped it would be considered, by way of atonement for this defect, that, during the prosperity of both republics, in former times, they had given frequent instances of their being true and faithful allies." *Masinissa's* ambassadors not only offered the same quantity of corn, but likewise to reinforce the *Roman* army with another body of twelve hundred horse, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the senate's commands with the utmost alacrity. But neither could the *Carthaginians*, by such an abject and mean-spirited behaviour, a sufficient indication of that low and groveling mind, which seems to have been the distinguishing characteristic of their nation, prevail upon the *Romans* to discontinue their chicane. They spun out matters to a tedious length, not permitting the ministers they employed to adjust all disputes betwixt *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*, to arrive at a decision. By this conduct they enabled the former to exhaust the latter, and consequently paved the way to the immediate destruction of a state, which to them, of all others, still appeared the most formidable<sup>n</sup>.

Cato bears witness to the *Romans* *villainous designs*, *implacable* and *unjust*. They affected to shew a great regard to the principles of justice and honour. They therefore sent *Cato*, a man famous for com-

<sup>m</sup> LIV. l. xlvi. c. 23, 24. & c. 29. APPIAN. in Libyc. p. 37.  
<sup>n</sup> POLYB. ubi sup. LIV. l. xlvi. c. 6. APPIAN. in Libyc.

### C. XIII. The History of the Carthaginians.

mitting enormities under the specious pretext of public spirit, to ~~hasten to~~ accommodate all differences betwixt *Masinissa* and the *Carthage*, the *Carthaginians*. The latter very well knew their fate, had they submitted to such a mediation, and therefore appealed to the treaty, which had been concluded by *Scipio*, as the only rule, by which both their conduct, and that of their adversary, ought be examined. This unreasonable appeal so incensed the righteous *Cato*, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that upright person was not so much to forward the observation or conclusion of treaties; as to widen breaches, discover the strength and condition of *Carthage*, which was then very flourishing, notwithstanding the many blows it had received, and gratify the *Roman* ambition by all possible means, it is not so strange, that he should, even in the most absurd, though most virulent manner, press the senate, after his return home, to destroy that city. It is much more wonderful, that a *Frenchman* should censure this conduct, when it so exactly quadrates with that of a certain court, which he cannot possibly be a stranger to, for above a century past. However, as we have more than a bare jealousy of the growing power, as well as ambitious designs, of that court, we may, without offence, give it as our opinion, that, in order to secure the liberties of *Europe*, as well as to introduce public faith, justice, and honour once more into the world, it is necessary, that the state represented by that court should be humbled, if not destroyed.

SOME years before this time, *Carthage* was miserably rent by *Masinissa* three potent factions. That devoted to the *Romans* was headed <sup>dissects the</sup> by one *Hanno*, a descendant, as may be supposed, of the person, who ruined his country by not supporting *Hannibal*; that in the interest of *Masinissa* by *Hannibal*, surnamed *Paffer*; and that formed of the populace by *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Sannis*, and *Carthalo*. But, of late, two powerful parties had struggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called the popular faction, prevailed over the other, composed of the grandees, and their adherents, and expelled forty of the senators. They retired to the court of *Masinissa*, to excite him to a war with the *Carthaginians*, who sent *Gulussa* and *Micipsa*, two of his sons, to *Carthage*, to solicit their return. However, the gates were shut upon them at their approach, lest the people, moved by the tears of those related to the exiles, should grant their request. Nay, *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Sannis*, one of the *Carthaginian* generals, closely pursued *Gulussa*, and cut off some of his retinue. This occasioning a fresh rupture, *Masinissa* besieged *Oroscopa*,

\* LIV. in epit. 47, 48, 49. APPIAN. ubi sup. c. 38. FLOR. l. ii. c. 15. VELL. PATERC. l. i. sub fin. PLUT. in Caton. Vide & histoire des Carthagin. par M. ROLLIN, tom. i. p. 421.

in violation of the last treaty. *Asdrubal*, another *Carthaginian* general, advanced to the relief of *Oroscopa*, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and was immediately joined by a body of six thousand men, under the conduct of *Asafis* and *Suba*, two *Numidian* captains, who deserted from *Masnissa*. Animated by this accession of strength, *Asdrubal* approached the *Numidian*, and skirmished successfully with some of the advanced guards. *Masnissa*, observing the eagerness of the *Carthaginian*, retired before him, as though he was afraid of his superior force, and insensibly drew him into a large and desolate plain, surrounded with precipices, and void of all kinds of sustenance. *Asdrubal*, finding himself thus decoyed, possessed himself of several eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately ensuing, and ending in favour of *Masnissa*, the *Carthaginians* sued for peace. In order to terminate their contests with that prince, the *Carthaginians* offered to yield up the territory of *Emporia*, to pay down two hundred talents of silver, and remit eight hundred more at a stipulated time to him. But *Masnissa* insisting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. It is observable, that the *Roman* deputies, who arrived in the *Numidian* camp soon after the engagement, had orders to insist upon a peace, in case the *Carthaginians* defeated *Masnissa*; but to assure that prince of the continuance of their friendship, and push him on to the war, in case he was victorious. This they did, in order to complete the ruin of the *Carthaginians*. How, through the vindictive disposition of *Gulussa*, and the breaking out of the plague amongst them, the *Carthaginian* forces were almost utterly destroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we must also beg leave to refer them for the particulars of the action just hinted at <sup>p</sup>.

*Cato pre-* EVER since *Carthage* had rejected the mediation of the *Romans*, *Cato* had made his utmost efforts to prevail upon the *Roman* conscript fathers to destroy that city. But *Scipio Nasica*, having a superior influence in the senate, had hitherto, notwithstanding the grievous provocation he met with from the *Carthaginians*, already related, prevented a rupture. However, the people of *Carthage*, knowing the *Romans* to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had met with from them ever since the commencement of their disputes with *Masnissa*, were under great apprehensions of a visit from them. To prevent this, as much as in them lay, by a decree of the senate, they impeached *Asdrubal* general of the army, and *Carthalo* commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their

<sup>p</sup> LIV. in epit. xlviij. APPIAN. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 66-69.

accomplices, as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war waged against the king of *Numidia*. They sent a deputation to *Rome*, to discover what sentiments were entertained there of their late conduct, and to know what satisfaction the *Romans* required. These ministers meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were dispatched, who returned with the same success. This made the unhappy citizens of *Carthage* believe, that their destruction was resolved upon; which threw them into the utmost despair. And indeed they had but too just grounds for such a melancholy apprehension, the *Roman* senate now discovering an inclination to fall in with *Cato's* measures. It is said, that, in order to excite the conscript fathers to a vigorous resolution against the *Carthaginians*, that incendiary, after one of his most virulent speeches, threw out of the lappet of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some *African* figs, whose size and beauty observing the senators to admire; *Knew*, said he, *that it is but three days since these figs were gathered; such is the distance between the enemy and us.* About the same time the city of *Utica*, being the second in *Africa*, and famous for its immense riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, submitted to the *Romans*. As the possession of so important a fortress, which, by reason of its vicinity to *Carthage*, might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the *Romans* to put the design they had been so long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war against the *Carthaginians*, without the least hesitation. In consequence of which declaration, the consuls *M. Manilius Nepos* and *L. Marcius Censorinus* were dispatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hostilities with the utmost expedition. The land-forces, destined to act against the *Carthaginians*, consisted of eighty thousand foot, and four thousand chosen horse; and the fleet of fifty quinqueremes, besides a vast number of transports. The consuls had secret orders from the senate, not to conclude the operations but by the destruction of *Carthage*, without which, the republic pretended, she could not but look upon all her possessions as insecure and precarious. Pursuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops first at *Lilybaeum* in *Sicily*, from whence, after receiving a proper refreshment, it was proposed to transport them to *Utica*<sup>q</sup>.

THE answer brought by the last embassadors to *Carthage* had *The Ro-*  
*mans de-*  
*not a little alarmed the inhabitants of that city. But they were man*  
*not yet acquainted with the resolutions taken at Rome. They mand*  
*therefore sent fresh embassadors thither, whom they invested with three hun-*  
*dred bofa-*  
*full power to act as they should think fit for the good of the re-*  
*ges of the*  
*Cartha-*  
*ginians;*

<sup>q</sup> LIV. APPIAN. PLUT. ubi sup. ZONAR. I. ix. c. 26. PLIN. I. xv. c. 18. FLOR. I. ii. c. 15.

Year of public, and even to submit themselves, without reserve, to the flood pleasure of the *Romans*. But the most sensible persons amongst them did not expect any great success from this condescension, <sup>2199.</sup> since the early submission of the *Uticans* had rendered it infinitely less meritorious than it would have been before. However, the <sup>149.</sup> *Romans* seemed to be, in some measure, satisfied with it, since <sup>599.</sup> they promised them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and, in short, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This threw them into a transport of joy, and they wanted words to extol the moderation of the *Romans*. But the conscript fathers immediately dashed all their hopes, by declaring the next instant, *Roman* like, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would send three hundred young *Carthaginians* of the first distinction to the prætor *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*, within the space of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the consuls. *Gisco*, surnamed *Strytanus*, *Hamilcar*, *Misdes*, *Gillicas*, and *Mago* (for so were the embassadors called) durst not make the least remonstrance against the severity of these conditions, but immediately set out for *Carthage*, to impart them to the senate there. That august assembly was filled with inexpressible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hostages, which were considered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the noblest families in *Carthage*. They found themselves likewise extremely perplexed at the silence of the *Romans* with respect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the concessions they seemed willing to make, and at the vague expression of *submitting to all the orders of the consuls*. However, being absolutely incapable of coping with so formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almost every thing, *Mago Bretius*, in a brave and eloquent speech, exhorted them, for the present, to obey. No scene can be conceived more moving, than that exhibited by *Carthage*, when the hostages were delivered up: nothing was to be seen but tears, all parts, at the same time, echoing with groans and lamentations. But, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a most mournful spectacle, bathing themselves in tears, tearing their dishevelled hair, beating their breasts, and exclaiming in such a manner, as might have moved the most savage hearts to compassion. When the fatal moment of separation was come, they accompanied their children to the ship, bid them a long, last farewell, persuaded that they should never see them more, embraced them with the utmost tenderness, clasped them strongly in their arms, and could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the sailors. Nay, many of them swam a long time after the ship, fixing their eyes immovably upon it. As the embassadors delivered them to the consuls, and they to *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*, before the thirty days were expired, they were not intirely without hopes of softening

ening their hard-hearted enemy. But the consuls only told them, that, upon their arrival at *Utica*, they should learn the farther orders of the republic<sup>1</sup>.

THOSE ministers no sooner received intelligence of the *Roman*<sup>and oblige</sup> fleet's appearing off of *Utica*, than they repaired thither, in order<sup>them to</sup> to know the fate of their city. The consuls however did not judge it expedient to communicate all the commands of their <sup>deliver up</sup> *all their arms.* republic at once, lest they should appear so harsh and severe, that the *Carthaginians* would have refused a compliance with them. They first therefore demanded a sufficient supply of corn for the subsistence of their troops. Secondly, that they should deliver up into their hands all the triremes they were then masters of. Thirdly, that they should put them in possession of all their military machines. And, fourthly, that they should immediately convey all their arms into the *Roman* camp. As care was taken, that there should be a certain interval of time betwixt each of these demands, the *Carthaginians* found themselves ensnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they submitted to the last, which *Cenforinus* insisted upon, notwithstanding the powerful reasons urged against it, with the utmost reluctance and concern<sup>2</sup>.

THE gaining of these points paved the way to the destruction <sup>The Ro-</sup> of *Carthage*, though it reflected an eternal dishonour upon the <sup>mans com-</sup> *Roman* name. *Cenforinus*, now imagining the *Carthaginians*<sup>mand the</sup> not capable of sustaining a siege, commanded them to abandon <sup>Cartha-</sup> their city, or, as *Zonaras* will have it, to demolish it, permit- <sup>ginians to</sup> <sup>abandon</sup> *their city.* ting them to build another eighty stadia from the sea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the ambassadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of *Carthage*, when they were apprised of it, by their gestures and complaints, demonstrated the greatest emotions<sup>of</sup> grief on this tragical occasion. But the *Romans* remained inflexible, not shewing the least regard to the tears and intreaties of a people reduced to the extremes of despair. The ambassadors, at one time, supplicated the gods with the greatest fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all possible means, to excite the compassion of the *Romans*; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whose severe eyes are ever open to fraud and villainy. The senators and people, upon receiving the report of the ambassadors, for some time, intirely abandoned themselves to despair; which was heightened by the frantic disposition of the women, whose children had been sent to *Rome*. In short, *Carthage* was nothing now but a scene

<sup>1</sup> POLYB. I. xxxiii. in excerpt. legat. 142. LIV. in epit. xlix.  
APPIAN. & FLOR. ubi sup. EUTROP. I. iv. c. 10. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 26. <sup>2</sup> POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi sup c. 27. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 369-373.

of horror, madness, and confusion. The citizens cursed their ancestors for not dying gloriously in the defence of their country, rather than concluding such ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cause of the deplorable condition, to which their posterity was then reduced. They likewise condemned themselves in the strongest terms, for having so tamely, as well as stupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blasphemously taxed the gods themselves with being the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make an impression upon the *Romans* in their favour. But as, in a former part of our history, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we shall only beg leave to observe farther here, that, when the first transports of grief were over, and their passions began to subside, they unanimously resolved to die upon the spot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the *Romans*; and, in consequence of this resolution, made the necessary dispositions for the defence of their capital city <sup>t</sup>.

M. ROLLIN *ccurserd.* A certain polite<sup>u</sup> author takes some pains to shew, that the *Romans* did not act according to the maxims of justice and honour in the point before us; and consequently seems to insinuate, that some proof, besides the notoriety of the facts, is requisite to evince the iniquity of their conduct on the present occasion. This perhaps may be looked upon as an argument of some good-nature, and delicacy of sentiments; but can never be deemed one of that boldness, and inflexible attachment to truth, essential to a good historian. A writer of this kind will paint every species of vice, particularly those of a most public and enormous nature, in their most proper, that is, in the most odious colours. He will esteem a person, who endeavours to palliate, or even touches but lightly upon any flagrant villainy, be the actors of it who they will, as one who either inwardly approves of it, or is afraid of exposing it; and consequently as one so far disqualified for transmitting to posterity the transactions of former ages. It is not sufficient, in our opinion, in order to express our detestation of that execrable perfidiousness and barbarity the *Romans* were guilty of, to say, "I can never believe, that so sensible, rational and just a man as *Polybius*, could have approved of the proceedings of the *Romans* on the present occasion.—We do not find here any of the characteristics, which distinguished the *Romans* antiently, that greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere said, formed no part of

<sup>t</sup> Idem ibid. FLOR. ubi sup. PAUL. OROS. l. iv. c. 22. <sup>u</sup> M. ROLLIN. in hist. des Carthagin. tom. i. p. 432, 433, & seq. à Amsterdam, 1733. Vide & orat. PONTII TELESINI, apud Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 27.

“ the *Roman* genius.—Why did not the *Romans* attack the *Carthaginians* by force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty, that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws, and understand, at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the intire ruin of both? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word *city* in this treaty, the black design of destroying *Carthage*, as though, beneath the cover of such an equivocation, they could justly ruin it? In fine, why did the *Romans* not make their last declaration, till after they had extorted from the *Carthaginians*, at different times, their hostages and arms, that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their unjust commands?—It is very dangerous to be possessed of so much power, as may enable one to commit injustice with impunity, and with a prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shews, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will turn to their advantage.” Our readers will here observe, that, with regard to the *Roman* nation in general, this author’s reflections scarce carry with them more of satire than panegyric; and that, as to the very persons guilty of one of the greatest violations of public faith, attended with the most aggravating circumstances, that perhaps ever happened, he only seems to intimate, that they did not come up to the virtues of their ancestors; nay, he puts them upon a level with those at the head of other states. Such a palliation of one of the most atrocious public crimes to be met with in history, would be inexcuseable in an author of any other nation than that to which he belongs. But as for his countrymen, if we suppose them to pay any deference to the conduct of their superiors for above a century past, it is as natural for them to talk in this strain now, as it was for the *Romans* to act the part they did at the time *Carthage* was destroyed.

IN whatever light we view the villainous conduct of the *Romans* at this juncture, it must appear as the result of a complication of all the bad qualities, that can be inherent in any state. Perjury, cruelty, injustice, pride, meanness of spirit, and even cowardice itself, in the highest degree, are some of the principal of them. Neither can we conceive how it should enter into the head of the author just cited, as well as of many others, that even the ancestors of that profligate set of men we are now speaking of, were so eminent for their *rectitude, greatness of soul, and public spirit*; at least any of them but those, who flourished in the earliest times of the republic. Can any state, that is continually grasping at universal empire, and aims at nothing but enslaving all its neighbours, deserve such a shining character? And that the *Roman* republic had this solely in view, even almost from its very infancy, is evident from the most

*The perfidious conduct of the Romans exposed.*

partial of its own historians. That *public spirit*, if any criminal passion deserves such a noble appellation, which serves only to cement the members of a community together, in order to enable them the more effectually to plunder and massacre all the rest of their species is, at most, no better than that principle, which unites a gang of robbers and assassins. And whether the *Romans* in general were not, from very remote times, actuated by such a *public spirit* as this, will easily be determined by those who have been but moderately conversant with their writers. The best therefore, in our opinion, that can be said of the *Romans* of the age we are now upon, is, that they were worse than any preceding generation of one of the most hypocritical, tyrannical, ambitious, and consequently worst nations, we read of in history. We must leave it to the consideration of our readers, whether their conduct has not been since equalled by that of a neighbouring nation, which has, for the best part of a century, been taught to distinguish between the *letter* and *spirit* of treaties, and which, with its liberty, seems to have lost the very notion of all public virtues.

*The operations of  
the Romans  
against  
Carthage.*

But to resume the thread of our history: the *Carthaginians*, having pacified *Azdrubal*, one of their generals, who, for some contumelious treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thousand men, almost to the gates of *Carthage*, in order to besiege it, reduced most of the open country to their obedience. *Azdrubal*, with his forces, posted himself advantageously before the town, supplying the inhabitants daily with vast quantities of provisions. At last the *Roman* army invested it, not doubting but it would fall an easy prey to them. *Manilius* attacked it by land, as *Marcius* did by sea; and both of them pushed on the siege with all the vigour they were capable of. But *Azdrubal* greatly retarded their approaches, by cutting off their parties sent to collect materials for framing the military machines; which he did, by drawing them insensibly into ambuscades prepared for that purpose. *Manilius* therefore could make no considerable impression on the city by land; and as *Marcius*, with the fleet, lay near the *stagnum* or great morass, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the season, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The garrison likewise repulsed the *Romans* in all the attacks they made, with the loss of abundance of men, and, by their vigorous sallies in the night, destroyed most of their works and battering-engines. *Azdrubal* also, by his detachments, prevented their excursions, and intercepted their foragers; so that their cavalry was reduced to the utmost distress. As for *Masinissa*, a misunderstanding betwixt him and the *Romans* hindered the junction of their forces; so that the consuls reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at present, to draw off

off from before the town. *Marcius*, with the fleet, endeavoured to ravage the coasts of *Africa*; but not being able to execute his design, he attacked the island *Aegimurus*, which surrendered to him. In the mean time *Manilius* moved towards the sea-coasts, to favour, as should seem, the operations of *Marcius*. But finding him not in a capacity to undertake any thing, he returned to his former camp before the walls of *Carthage*, having been harassed in his march by *Himilco*, surnamed *Fabeas*, or, according to *Appian*, *Phameas*, general of the *Carthaginian* horse. However, the siege went on very slowly, *Adrubal* closely attending him, and destroying great numbers of his men on one side, whilst the besieged made an equal havock of them on the other, by their continual sallies. The *Romans* were only in possession of *Saxus*, *Leptis*, *Cholla*, and *Utica*; so that they were not a little streightened for want of provisions. We are told by *Appian*, that *Censorinus* played one vast ram against the walls with six thousand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whose officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement. However, though a great breach was made, he could not storm the place, the *Carthaginians*, after having repulsed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the *Carthaginians* afterwards burnt the *Roman* fleet, and *Scipio Aemilianus* saved the *Roman* army, when it was upon the very brink of destruction, may be learnt from *Appian*, as well as a former part of this history <sup>w</sup>.

In the mean time *Masinissa*, drawing near his end, dispatched a courier to *Aemilianus*, to apprise him of it, and to divide the dominions he was possessed of betwixt his three sons, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Masalanabal*, as well as to assist them with his advice. This *Scipio* executed in the most prudent and equitable manner, as we shall see in the *Numidian* history. Whilst this was transacting, *Manilius* reduced the strong city of *Tzaga*, and gave the enemy a great defeat there, putting twelve thousand of them to the sword, and taking six thousand prisoners. Some other places of strength he likewise made himself master of before the conclusion of the campaign <sup>x</sup>.

THE *Carthaginians*, about this time, sustained a considerable loss by the desertion of *Phameas*, one of their best commanders, <sup>deserts the</sup> who went over to the *Romans*, after he had had an interview with *Aemilianus*, at the head of a body of two thousand two hundred horse. As he was an officer of great capacity, he did not a little contribute to the destruction of *Carthage*. For the particulars of this transaction, we must refer our readers to *Appian*<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> LIV. APPIAN. FLOR. PLUT. AUREL. VICT. de vir. illustr. 58.  
EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. ubi sup.  
<sup>x</sup> POLYB. in excerpt. Valcf. p. 175. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. APPIAN.  
ZONAR. OROS. ubi sup. <sup>y</sup> APPIAN. ubi sup. Vide & LIV. epit. I.  
EUTROP. l. iv. c. 10. & ZONAR. ubi supra.

*The Carthaginians  
obtain some ad-  
vantages over the  
Romans.*

THE next campaign, the consul *Calpurnius Piso*, and his lieutenant *Mancinus*, conducted the war in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* were so strong this year, that they obtained several advantages over the *Romans*, and, towards the close of it, obliged them to raise the siege of *Hippo Zaritus*, which they had carried on the whole summer, after having burnt all their military machines. As for the siege of *Carthage*, that, for the present, seemed to be at a stand. The besieged applied to *Andriscus*, who pretended to be the son of *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, for assistance, or at least for a diversion in their favour, by pursuing the war he was then engaged in against the *Romans* with vigour. In order the more strongly to excite him to this, they promised him powerful supplies both of money and ships. However, they received no assistance from that quarter, the reason of which, as well as all the most important events of this campaign, our readers will find related in another place <sup>2</sup>.

*Bithyas,  
with a  
body of  
Numidian  
horse,  
comes over  
to the  
Carthagi-  
nians.*

THE *Carthaginian* army, having been reinforced the preceding year with a body of eight hundred *Numidian* horse, whose leader *Bithyas* had prevailed upon them to desert *Gulussa*, and the accession of some other troops from *Carthage*, began to move very early out of its winter-quarters. As it had been observed, that neither *Micipsa* nor *Masalanabal*, *Masinissa's* other sons; had sent any supplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithstanding they had, for a long time past, promised them such supplies, the *Carthaginians* resumed their former courage, scoured the open country, and put all their places of strength in the best posture of defence. The advantages they had gained at *Nepheris* and *Hippo*, and the enemy's inability to push on the siege of *Carthage*, though the city was, in a manner, dismantled, and the inhabitants disarmed, inspired them with a resolution to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. They sent ambassadors to *Micipsa*, *Masalanabal*, and the independent *Mauritanian* princes, in order to form a powerful alliance against the *Romans*, insinuating to those princes, that, should the *African* republic be once subverted by that haughty people, they must soon expect to meet with the same fate. *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general without the town, about this time, desiring the command of the troops within the city, possessed by another *Asdrubal*, *Gulussa's* nephew, accused him falsely of a design to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent person was so thunder-struck with the accusation, which came intirely unlooked for, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; so that he was instantly dispatched upon the spot, without any further process <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> APPIAN. ubi supra. LIV. epit. I. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> APPIAN. ubi sup. LIV. epit. I. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 30.

SOON after *Piso*, with a body of troops, reduced some of the Æmilia-inland towns, leaving *Mancinus*, with the other part of the *nus takes* army, to continue the siege of *Carthage*. *Mancinus*, observing *Megara*, one part of the wall, which, by reason of its rocky situation, seemed inaccessible, not guarded, found means to scale it, and take post in the town, with three thousand five hundred men. But the *Carthaginians* not only prevented any ill consequences from this lodgment, but likewise cut off his retreat, and so surrounded him, that he must either have been destroyed, or starved to a surrender, had not *Æmilianus* in the critical moment relieved him. This so disheartened the *Carthaginians*, that they abandoned several posts; which encouraged *Æmilianus* to make an attack upon *Megara*, a part of the city, which our readers will find already described. This was begun at midnight, by a select body of troops, who had provided themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, being led by the general himself. They advanced several stadia without the least noise; but at last gave a sudden and general shout, which struck the enemy, who did not expect a visit at so unseasonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themselves, they opposed the assailants with such bravery, that *Æmilianus* found it impossible to mount the ramparts. But at last perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who, by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence descending into *Megara*, they immediately broke down the gates. Upon which *Æmilianus* entering with four thousand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themselves obliged to retreat to *Byrsa*, in as great a consternation as if the whole city had been taken, being followed even by the forces, that were encamped without the town. *Afdrubal*, finding the next morning what had happened, was extremely chagrined; and, either to gratify his resentment, or to reduce the besieged to a state of desperation, that they might behave with a greater degree of resolution in the defence of the place, massacred all the *Roman* prisoners he had taken, in the manner we have already related <sup>b</sup>.

WHILST *Afdrubal* was thus venting his fury upon the *Roman* And for captives, and even murdering many, *Carthaginian* senators, who *tifies his* had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny, *Æmilianus* was busy camp. in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation across the isthmus, which joined the peninsula, whereon *Carthage* stood, to the continent of *Africa*. That part of these lines, which fronted the city of *Carthage*, was strengthened by a wall twenty-

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. in excerptis Valesii, p. 179. APPIAN. & ZONAR. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. xii. p. 377, 378.

five stadia long, and twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts ; and on the middle tower was erected a very high woollen fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. The enemy, who were within a dart's cast of it, made their utmost efforts to put a stop to the work ; but as the whole army was employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. The *Carthaginians* were doubly incommoded by this work ; first, as it secured the *Roman* forces against their fallies ; and secondly, as *Aemilianus* thereby cut off all provisions from them ; which distressed them exceedingly. *Rithyas* indeed, who had been sent out to collect corn before *Aemilianus* made himself master of *Megara*, arrived soon after the consul had perfected his lines ; but he durst not venture to attack them. However, he found means to convey by sea some small quantities to *Adruba*, who distributed what he received amongst his troops, without any regard to the inhabitants. That general seems to have been induced to this by the opposition he met with from the senators, who, being highly incensed at his enormous cruelty to the *Roman* prisoners, as it precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and, instead of encouraging, disheartened the troops, cried out. *That such an unjustifiable proceeding was highly unseasonable at a juncture, when they were ready to sink under the pressure of the public calamities.* A famine therefore ensued, which not a little contributed to the destruction of the city <sup>c</sup>.

*The Carthaginians again worsted.*

THE besieged found themselves already reduced to great straits. But the progress *Aemilianus* had lately made in an attempt to stop up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already shut up by the *Roman* fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy prospect, than any thing that had yet happened to them. Being extremely alarmed, they resolved to take such measures, as might, if possible, defeat the enemy's design. Setting therefore all hands to work, with an industry scarce to be paralleled, they dug a new basin, and opened a communication with the sea ; which enabled them to make head against the enemy once more upon that element. For, with the same diligence, they fitted out a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vast number of other vessels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed so suddenly, and with such an impenetrable secrecy, that *Aemilianus* entertained not the least suspicion of it, till he saw their squadron appear at sea. Then his surprize was so great, thinking it impossible, that so weak an enemy should, as it were, in an instant become so formidable, that, *Appian* believes, the *Carthaginians* might have totally ruined the *Roman*

<sup>c</sup> *Ibidem ibid.*

fleet, had they immediately attacked it. This seems to have been no unreasonable supposition, because, as no such blow was expected, and every man otherwise employed, the *Carthaginians* would have found the *Roman* vessels destitute of rowers, soldiers and officers. However, two days after, both parties came to an action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preserving every thing dear and valuable to them, the other of finishing a conquest, which had cost them such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the *Carthaginian* brigantines, gliding along under the large *Roman* ships, broke to pieces many of their sterns, rudders, and oars; and, if at any time they found themselves pushed, they retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. The dispute continued with equal success till the evening, when the *Carthaginians* thought proper to retire, not under any apprehension of the enemy's superiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter vessels, being extremely swift and numerous, soon occupied the harbour, and, by their multitude, shut up the mouth of it. So that those of a larger size were excluded from thence, and obliged to take shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, and on the side whereof a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but at last, by the conduct and bravery of five gallies of *Sida*, the *Carthaginians* were obliged to retire, and sail for shelter to the city. The next morning *Æmilianus* attacked the terrace; but was repulsed with prodigious slaughter by the besieged, who burnt all his military engines. However, he afterwards carried it by assault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built close to those of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finished, he commanded four thousand men to mount it, and discharge showers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to insult and annoy them. As the troops on each side were upon a level, there was scarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The last action concluded the military operations of this campaign<sup>d</sup>.

IN order the more effectually to cut off supplies of every kind *Lælius* from the besieged, *Æmilianus* formed a design to reduce the <sup>gives</sup> *Dio-*  
 places of strength the *Carthaginians* had still in their hands, par- <sup>genes</sup> *genes* <sup>a</sup>  
 ticularly *Nepheris*. Here they had a numerous body of forces <sup>great</sup> *Diogenes*, one of *Asdrubal's* <sup>over-</sup>  
 strongly encamped, commanded by *Diogenes*, one of *Asdrubal's* <sup>over-</sup> *threw*.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* & *Liv.* in *epit.* *li.* *FLOR.* *1.* *ii.* c *15.*

<sup>d</sup> *intimate*

intimate friends, who, by means of the new basin above-mentioned, sent continual convoys of provisions to *Carthage*. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by persons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accomplished by a body of troops under the conduct of *Lælius*, supported by *Gulussa's Numidian* horse. By the activity of these last, and the violence of the *Numidian* elephants, the whole *Carthaginian* army, consisting of eighty-four thousand men, was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, except four thousand, who dispersed themselves in the neighbouring villages. This happened before *Æmilianus* resumed the operations against the city of *Carthage*, and induced the *Africans*, who were kept in awe by *Diogenes*, to abandon the *Carthaginians*<sup>e</sup>.

*Æmilianus takes*  
*the wall*, which surrounded the port or *Cothon*, he threw himself into the great square of the city, that was near it; but the night *Carthage*, not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his soldiers to remain there till morning under arms. At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thousand men from the camp,  
Year of  
the flood 2202.  
Ref. Christ 146.  
Of Rome 602.

plundered the temple of *Apollo*, which was immensely rich, and divided the booty amongst themselves, before they could be prevailed upon to advance against the enemy. *Æmilianus*,

by the occupation of this square, and possession of the wall, being master of every part of the city, but *Byrsa* or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this last with inexpressible bravery. The *Carthaginians* having been greatly weakened by a famine, insomuch that they had been obliged to feed, for some time, upon human flesh, and had scarce strength to handle their arms, he, in six days, effected this. However, in the contest he lost a vast number of men, and gained his point with the utmost difficulty. Most of those who had fled into *Byrsa*, were so intimidated at the approach of the *Roman* army, that they surrendered upon the proconsul's granting them their lives. *Asdrubal*, the commandant, soon after abandoned the rest of them, and put himself into the hands of the *Romans*. His wife could not survive such an instance of perfidiousness, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred *Roman* deserters, to whom *Æmilianus* had denied mercy, committed herself, as well as her children, to the flames, that destroyed both the citadel, and the famous temple of *Hesculapius* upon it. *Appian* tells us, that, before she acted this tragedy, she appeared in splendid attire, with her children, upon the walls, and addressed herself to *Scipio* in terms to the following effect: " May the

\* LIV. & APPIAN. ubi supra.

" gods,

" gods, *Roman*, be propitious to you, who act according to the rules of war! but may you, and the *Genius* of *Carthage*, take vengeance of that miscreant *Asdrubal*, the betrayer of his wife, children, country, and religion!" Then turning to *Asdrubal*, who stood by *Æmilianus*, " Abandoned villain, said she, and most cowardly of mortals! both I, and these my children, shall be soon buried in these flames; but as for you, great general of *Carthage*, what a splendid triumph will you be reserved to grace! What tortures may you not expect to suffer!" This put a period to the state of *Carthage*, and consequently to the dispute for the empire of the world, which had continued, almost without intermission, betwixt two of the most famous republics to be met with in history, for the space of an hundred and eighteen years. *Carthage*, after this, was demolished, in pursuance of the orders sent by the conscript fathers to the proconsul. The cities confederated with it were dismantled, and those that had declared for the *Romans* rewarded. *Africa Propria* was also reduced to the form of a *Roman* province. But of these things, as well as of the catastrophe we are now upon, our readers will find a full and ample account in the *Roman* history <sup>f</sup>.

THUS fell *Carthage*, in the consulate of *C. Cornelius Lentulus He carries* and *L. Mummius*, about an hundred and forty-six years before the *off an im-* commencement of the Christian æra; a city, whose destruction *mense* ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned *quantity* faction, composed of the most profligate part of its citizens, than *of plunder* to the power of its villainous rival, however formidable it might <sup>to</sup> Rome. at that time appear. The treasure *Æmilianus* carried off, even after the city had been delivered up to the soldiers to be plundered, according to the *Roman* military law, was so immense, that it exceeded all belief, *Pliny* making it amount to four (D) millions

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. ut & *ZONAR.* ubi sup. Vide etiam *VALER. MAX.* l. iii. c. 2. *ORDS.* l. iv. c. 23. *FLOR. & AUREL. VICT.* ubi sup. *EUTROP.* l. iv. c. 12. *Univers. hist.* ubi sup. p. 378--385.

•(D) This was not the only treasure *Æmilianus* met with now in *Carthage*. According to *Salust*, he preserved from the flames several valuable libraries, which he presented to the sons of *Micipsa*. The works of all the most noted *Phœnician* and *Punic* authors were undoubtedly included in these collections, some of the principal of which, besides those already mentioned, were the following :

1. *Dius*, a celebrated *Phœnician* historian, a fragment of whose work, relating to the friendly intercourse betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, has been preserved to us by *Josephus*, in the eighth book of his antiquities, and the first of his treatise against *Apion*.

millions four hundred and seventy thousand pounds weight of silver. The iniquity of the Roman conduct at the commencement, as well as through the whole course, of this war, is acknowledged by *Velleius*, and other historians, who cannot be suspected of the least partiality in favour of the *Carthaginians*. In fine, *Rome*, though in a manner, mistress of the world, could

2. *Eumachus*, a *Carthaginian* writer, cited by *Phlegon*, who, amongst other things, related, that, whilst the *Carthaginians* were drawing a line round *Africa Propria*, they discovered two human skeletons, deposited in two coffins, of an enormous size. One of these, according to *Phlegon*, was twenty-three cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age in which this author lived, has not been hitherto discovered.

3. *Hieronimus Aegyptius*, who, according to *Freculphus Lexovienus*, a chronological historian, that lived near nine hundred years ago, wrote a history of *Phœnicia*. For a further account of him, we must refer our readers to *Vossius*.

4. *Hisiaus Milesius*, a compiler of *Phœnician* history, taken notice of by *Josephus*, in the first book of his *Jewish antiquities*.

5. *Hypsicrates*, a native, as should seem, of *Phœnicie*, who composed a history of that country in the *Phœnician* language. A Greek translation of this author, done by one *Chætus*, if not the original itself, was extant in the time of *Tatian*. He is likewise taken notice of by *Eusebius*, in the tenth book of his *Præparatio evan-*

*gelistica*.  
6. *Iolaus*, a compiler of *Phœnician* history, whose works were all lost, except a few fragments, which seem intirely fabulous. From what *Bochart*, *Gesner*, and *Vossius*, have related of him, the

loss of his performance is not greatly to be regretted.

7. *Mochus* or *Moschus*, a *Phœnician*, who wrote the history of his own country in his mother-tongue. *Chætus* above-mentioned translated this piece into Greek. *Josephus*, *Tatian*, and *Athenæus*, supply us with the short account we have of him.

8. *Moschus Sidonius*, a native of *Sidon*, who, according to *Strabo*, seems to have been the founder of the atomical philosophy.

9. *Procles*, a *Carthaginian* historian, some of whose fragments have been preserved to us by *Pausanias*.

10. *Sanchoniatho*, a *Phœnician* historian, who, according to the most received opinion, lived a little before the siege of *Troy*. He extracted his history, which was written in the *Phœnician* language, partly from the records of cities, and partly from the sacred writings deposited in temples. *Philo of Byblus*, who, according to *Suidas*, lived in the reign of *Hadrian*, translated this history into Greek, some extracts of which we find in the first book of *Eusebius's Præparatio evan-*

*gelistica*. *Suidas* informs us, that he wrote one treatise of the religious institutions of the *Phœnicians*; another of *Hermes's physiologie*; and a third of the *Egyptian* theology. *Porphyry* makes him to have been of *Berytus*; but he was of *Tyre*, if we will give credit to *Athenæus*.

could not imagine herself in a state of security, as long as even the name of *Carthage* remained; so true is it, that a riveted antipathy, fomented by long and bloody wars, continues even after all cause for fear is removed, and does not cease, till the object that occasions it is no more. The *Romans* ordered it never to be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it, especially *Byrsa* and *Megara*. However, all persons who desired it, were admitted to see *Carthage*, nothing affording *Æmilianus* a higher satisfaction, than to have people view the ruins of a city, which had contended with *Rome* for superiority such a number of years. The *Carthaginian* prisoners, sent to *Rome*, were distributed in the various provinces of *Italy*, as already related. In confirmation of what we have advanced above concerning the duration of *Carthage*, we must here beg leave to observe, that *Syncellus* asserts this city to have stood seven hundred and forty-eight years; which almost intirely corresponds with Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Salmasius*, *Petavius*, &c. and therefore may be considered as an additional argument in favour of what those great men have offered on that head<sup>g</sup>.

ABOUT twenty-four years after this stately metropolis had *Carthage* been laid in ashes by *Æmilianus*, pursuant to the orders of the *after-senate*, *C. Gracchus*, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate <sup>wards re-</sup> himself with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, to that end, conducted thither a colony of six thousand *Roman* citizens. The *Romans* workmen, according to *Plutarch*, were terrified by many un-<sup>them-</sup>lucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations, of the new city; which the senate being informed of, would have suspended the attempt. But the

<sup>g</sup> PLIN. nat. hist. l. xxxiii. c. 11. VELL. PATERC. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valcf. POLYB. in excerpt. legat. cxviii. APPIAN. ubi sup. Luc. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46. GEORG. SYNCELL. in chronograph. p. 293. Vide D. AUGUST. de civ. Dei, iii. 41. & Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 324. AUC. de civ. Dei, iii. 21. THEMIST. in orat. x. de pac. ad Valent. aliosq; mult.

• 11. *Theodotus*, a writer of *Phænician* history, whose performance *Chætus* translated into *Greek*. Our readers will find every thing re-

lating to him, that antiquity has supplied us with, in *Bochart* and *Vossius* (4).

(4) Strab. l. xvi. & alib. Joseph. antiq. & cont. Apion. pass. Euseb. in praeb. evang. pass. Hippo Milesius apud Joseph. in antiq. Iudæic. l. iii. Titled n. Tullian. de reb. mirabil. c. 18. Athen. deipnophob. l. iii. iv. & alib. Tatian. in orat. advers. gent. Voss. de art. bistor. c. 7. & de bist. Græc. l. iii. Gesu in biblioth. & Bochart. in Chon. Suid. pass. Porphyry. advers. Christian. l. iv. Vnde etiam Voss. de hist. Græc. Bochart. in Chon. Casaub. animadvers. in Athen. Reinec. b. s. Jul. Cir. & Hendr. de repub. Cartagin. pass. aliosq; script. quamplurim.

tribune, little affected with such prefaces, continued carrying on the work, and finished it in a few days. From hence it seems probable, that only a slight kind of huts were erected, especially since we are told by *Velleius*, that *Marius*, after his flight into *Africa*, lived in a poor, mean condition amidst the ruins of *Carthage*, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle, and himself at the same time serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city. But whether *Gracchus* executed his design, as *Plutarch* intimates, or the work was intirely discontinued, in compliance with the senate's orders, as *Appian* suggests, it is certain this was the first *Roman* colony, that ever was sent out of *Italy*<sup>b</sup>.

*And, after various turns of fortune, is at last raised by the Saracens.*

*APPIAN* relates, that *Julius Cæsar*, having landed his forces in *Africa*, to put an end to the war with *Pompey*'s adherents there, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him. Being struck with the vision, he wrote down in his pocket-book the design he formed, on this occasion, of rebuilding *Carthage* and *Corinth*. But, being murdered soon after in the *curia* at *Rome* by the conspirators, he was not able to execute it. However, says the same author, *Augustus Cæsar*, his adopted son, finding this memoir amongst his papers, built a city at some small distance from the spot on which antient *Carthage* stood, which he called by the same name, in order to avoid the ill effects of those imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its destruction. Thither he sent a colony of three thousand men, who were soon joined by considerable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by *Appian*, is not so consistent with what we find advanced by *Strabo*, who intimates, that both *Carthage* and *Corinth* were rebuilt at the same time by *Julius Cæsar*. It is certain this last author, who flourished in the reign of *Tiberius*, affirms *Carthage* in his time to have been equal, if not superior, to the largest city in *Africa*; which can scarce be admitted, if we suppose it to have been built by *Augustus*, after the conclusion of all his wars; and, till that time, it is not natural to suppose him to have built it. Be that as it will, *Plutarch* follows *Strabo*, and therefore, in opposition to *Appian*, gives a sanction to his authority. *Pliny* mentions it as a very considerable colony in his days, though the town then was not of so large an extent, as that destroyed by *Æmilianus*. *Solinus* gives us to understand, that the town built by *Gracchus* was called *Funonia*, and, for some time of little note, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the consulate of *M.*

<sup>b</sup> APPIAN. ubi sup. PLUT. in Gracch. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 19. LIV. in epit. lx.

## C. XIV. *The History of the Numidians.*

*Antonius* and *P. Dolabella*, it made such a figure, that it was esteemed the second city in the *Roman* dominions; which, in our opinion, adds some weight to the last observation of *Strabo*. It was looked upon as the capital of *Africa* for several centuries after the commencement of the Christian æra. *Maxentius* laid it in ashes about the sixth or seventh year of *Constantine's* reign. *Genseric*, king of the *Vandals*, took it *A. C. 439*. but, about a century afterwards, it was reannexed to the *Roman* empire by that renowned commander *Belisarius*. At last the *Saracens*, under *Mohammed's* successors, towards the close of the seventh century, so completely destroyed it, that no other traces or foot-steps of it are now to be discovered, than those we have already taken notice of in the first section of the *Carthaginian history*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> APPIAN. in Libyc. sub fin. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 833. PLUT. in Cæs. DIO CASS. l. xlivi. & l. lvi. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. SOLIN. c. 27. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 21. OROS. l. v. c. 12. Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 229. MARMOL. l. ii. c. 9, 10. De-BERN. ALDRET. in var. antiguedad. de Espan. Afric. y otras provinc. l. iv. c. 25. p. 619, 620.

## C H A P. XIV.

### *The History of the Numidians, to the Conquest of their Country by the Romans.*

#### S E C T. I.

##### *Description of Numidia.*

THE limits of the region, called *Numidia*, have been dif-*The limits* ferently defined by the antient geographers. *Pliny* gives of *Numidia* that name to the tract lying between the rivers *Tusca* and *Ampsaga*; dia. which includes the *Numidia Nova* of *Ptolemy*, together with the district of the *Cirtefi*. *Mela* affirms it to have extended from the river *Molochath* or *Mulucha*, to the borders of *Africa Propria*, which he seems to have fixed at a small distance from the city of *Cirta*. But its boundaries are certainly the best ascertained by *Strabo*, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Dio*, makes it to have comprehended the kingdoms of the *Mussili* and *Maſſylli*, the last of which was bounded on the west by the *Mulucha*, as the first was on the east by the *Tusca*. *Dionysius Afer*, *Silius Italicus*, and *Appian*, as well as the former historians, add no small weight to *Strabo*; for which reason, our readers will permit us to give a

geographical description of *Numidia* upon the plan he has laid down <sup>a</sup>.

*Numidia had different bounds assigned it at different times.* *NUMIDIA* then was limited on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the south by *Gætulia*, or part of *Libya Interior*; on the west by the *Mulucha*, which separated it from *Mauritania*; and on the east by the *Tusca*, a boundary it had in common with *Africa Propria*. If we suppose *Makva*, *Makvana*, *Mulucha*, *Molschath*, and the present *Mulloöah* of the *Algerines* to be the same river, and the modern *Zaine* to correspond with the antient *Tusca*, as the learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* seems to have rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length. For *Twunt*, the western *Algerine* frontier, about fifty miles to the east of the former river, was in  $0^{\circ} 16'$  W. long. from *London*, and *Tabarka*, the antient *Tabraca*, upon the latter, in  $9^{\circ} 16'$  to the east of that city. The breadth cannot be so easily ascertained. But, supposing it to have been nearly the same with that of the present kingdom of *Algiers*, as there is good reason to apprehend it was, in the narrowest part it must have been about forty miles, that being the distance near *Tlemcen* from the desert or *Sahara* to the sea-coast, and above a hundred in the broadest, *Jijel* being in N. lat.  $36^{\circ} 55'$ , and *Lowtaiah*, situated amongst the mountains of *Atlas*, in  $34^{\circ} 50'$ . In the *Carthaginian* times, *Numidia* contained two considerable nations, the most powerful of which, according to *Strabo*, was called the *Massylī*, and the other the *Masæfylī* or *Massæfylī*. The country inhabited by the *Masæfylī* is, by some authors, esteemed a part of *Mauritania*; but *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Strabo*, whose authority will bear down that of all other writers, in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was considered as appertaining to *Mauritania* in after-ages by the *Romans*, we learn from *Dio*, who not only intimates this, but likewise asserts, that it had the name of *Mauritania Cæsariensis* given it by the emperor *Claudius* <sup>b</sup>.

*The extent of Numidia.*

*NUMIDIA*, including *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Massylī*, and *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, or that of the *Masæfylī*, extended from  $34^{\circ} 50'$  to  $37^{\circ}$  N. lat. and from  $1^{\circ} 15'$  W. to  $9^{\circ} 16'$  E. of *London*. *Ptolemy* is as inaccurate and erroneous in his geography of this country, as we have before shewn him to be in that of *Africa Propria*. For he places *The Great*

<sup>a</sup> *PLIN.* I. v. c. 3. *PTOL.* I. iv. c. 2. *POMPON.* *MEL.* I. i. c. 6. *STRAB.* I. xvii. p. 570. *POLYB.* I. iii. c. 33. *LIV.* I. xxiv. c. 48. & I. xxviii. c. 17. *DIO CASS.* I. xli. p. 172. *DIONYS.* *PERIEG.* ver. 187. *SIL. ITAL.* I. xvi. ver. 170, & 183. *APPIAN.* in *civil.* I. iv. p. 995, & alib. <sup>b</sup> *PLIN.* *MEL.* *STRAB.* *PTOL.* &c. ubi sup. *DIO CASS.* I. lx. p. 671. *IS. VOSS.* in *MEL.* ubi sup. *DR. SHAW'S* geographical observations of *Algiers*, c. 1.

Promontory in  $35^{\circ}$ , and the *Ampsaga* in  $31^{\circ} 45'$  N. lat. and so in proportion of the interjacent places, whereby that part of the coast is laid down nearly in an E. S. E. direction; whereas, according to the latest observations, to the *Promontorium Apollinis* it is N. E. and from thence to the *Ampsaga* inclining to the N. In short, according to the same observations, *Ptolemy* differs so widely from the truth in the whole, that those places, which he has fixed in a southern inclination, should have had a northern one; and *The Great Promontory*, which he has placed  $3^{\circ} 15'$  to the northward of the *Ampsaga*, is really  $1^{\circ} 37'$  S. of it. Several places likewise of this country he has put five degrees farther south, than, in fact, they are found to be. The region formerly possessed by the *Maffili*, from the most accurate observations of the moderns, in conjunction with the hints given us by the antients, seems to have extended itself from  $34^{\circ} 50'$  to  $37^{\circ}$  N. lat. and from  $6^{\circ} 30'$  to  $9^{\circ} 16'$  E. long. from *London*. From hence the situation and extent of the *Masæfylian* kingdom may likewise be easily determined <sup>c</sup>.

THE country of the *Maffili*, *Numidia Propria*, or, as some authors call it, *Terra Metagonitis*, was separated from the proper territory of *Carthage* by its eastern boundary the river *Tusca*, and *Maffili*, from the kingdom of the *Masæfylis*, or *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, if we will believe *Pliny*, by the *Ampسaga*. It seems to correspond with that part of the province of *Constantina* lying between the *Zaine* and the *Wed el Kibcr*, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The sea-coast of this province is, for the most part, mountainous and rocky, answering appositely enough to the appellation given it by *Abulfeda*, viz. *El Adwah*, the high or lofty. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories, that formed the kingdom of the *Masæfylis*, though this nation is represented as less potent than the *Maffili* by *Strabo*. We shall only mention such of the principal places seated in it, as have been taken the greatest notice of by the antients, the bounds we have prescribed ourselves obliging us, at present, to pass over all the rest <sup>d</sup>.

THE capital city of this province, or rather kingdom, was *Cirta*, a place of very considerable note amongst the antients. It stood about forty-eight miles from the sea, and at a small distance from the *Ampسaga*. According to *Strabo*, it was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of *Micipsa*, who invited a good number of *Greeks* to come and reside in it. *Mela* and *Pliny* intimate, that it was likewise known by the name of

<sup>c</sup> *PTOL.* & *SHAW*, ubi sup.

<sup>d</sup> *STRAB.* l. ii. *PLIN.* *MEL.*

*PTOL.* ubi sup. *ABULFED.* in geogr. ex traduct. V. C. I. *Gagnier*.  
*SHAW*, ubi sup. c. 7. & alib.

*Sittianorum Colonia* in their time, and in its most flourishing state, when under the dominion of *Syphax*. The latter name it received from the colony settled there by *P. Sittius*, who, having been of singular service to *Cæsar* in the *African* war, received a great extent of territory in those parts, which formerly belonged to *Manasses*, one of *Juba's* confederates, from that prince, as we learn from *Appian* and *Dio*. For which reason we find it called *Cirta Julia* by *Ptolemy*, who names the territory adjacent to it, *the district of the Cirtesii*, which he separates from *Numidia*, making it to include the cities of *Vaga*, *Miræum*, *Lares*, *Atara*, and *Azama*. That *Cirta* was one of the largest, as well as strongest, cities of *Numidia*, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are still to be seen, and its situation. For the greatest part of it was built upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except towards the south-west. This promontory was a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but terminating in a precipice of a northern direction, and above an hundred fathom in perpendicular. Here a beautiful landscape arose from a most agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themselves to a great distance. To the eastward the prospect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the south-east, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of *Cirta* with a distant view of the high mountain, called at present *Ziganeah*, as well as those large and fertile eminences, whose modern name is *Seidy Rougeise*. The peninsular promontory above-mentioned, in the direction we are now upon, was separated from the neighbouring plains by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both sides, where a rivulet, that seems to have been a branch of the *Ampsaga*, the modern *Rummel* of the *Algerines*, conveyed its stream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of most excellent workmanship. The isthmus, near which stood the principal gate of the city, is about half a stadium broad, being intirely covered at present with a series of broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a small plain parallel to the valley above described. The most eminent fragments of antiquity still remaining are, 1. A particular set of cisterns near the centre of the city, being about twenty in number, and forming an area of fifty yards square. 2. The aqueduct, whose remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the cisterns, sufficiently demonstrate the wealth, public spirit, and magnificence of the *Numidian* princes, who held their residence here. 3. Part of a large and noble edifice, four of whose bases, seven foot in diameter, still in their places, seem to have formed part of the portico. This stands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the place

place where the Turkish garrison of *Constantina* is always posted. That name was given *Cirta* in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who repaired and adorned it, according to *Aurelius Victor*. *Cirta* was the metropolis of *Masinissa's* dominions, that prince himself, his father *Gala*, and several other kings of the same family, residing there, as we learn from *Polybius*, *Livy*, and others. *Strabo* informs us, that *Micipsa* took care to render it so large, populous, and flourishing, that, in his time, it could send into the field an army of twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. From its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, and founded by the *Phœnicians*, even before *Dido's* arrival in *Africa*. For *Cirta* or *Certa* seems to have signified *city* in the *Phœnician* language when *Hercules* built *Carteia*, about the time that he first came into these parts, as we learn from *Hesychius*, who tells us, that one of his names was *Melicerta*, i. e. *king of Certa, Cirta, or the city*. We have likewise already observed, that the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, when expelled their native country by *Joshua*, fled into *Numidia*; and that several proper names of places here were *Phœnician*. Nay, we have, from some good authors, rendered it probable, that the *Phœnicians* settled in *Numidia* and *Mauritania* long before the *Israelites* made themselves masters of the land of *Ca-naan*. It may not be improper to add, that the antient *Cirta* was much larger than the modern *Constantina*, which is about  $6^{\circ} 36'$  east of *London*, and in north latitude  $36^{\circ} 20'$ .

**VAGA**, a large city, according to *Ptolemy*, stood a few miles *Vaga*, east of *Cirta*. *Plutarch* calls it *Baga*, and *Sallust Vacca*; which is the name likewise given it by *Silius*, *Pliny*, and *St. Austin*. The Romans placed a strong garrison here under the command of *Turpilius*, as we learn from *Sallust* and *Plutarch* <sup>f</sup>.

**LARES**, a town south-east of *Cirta*, has been taken notice of *Lares*, by *Ptolemy*. Some think it different from that in the itinerary called *Laribus Colonia*, or, according to *Schottus*, *Laribum Co-lonia*. This place is mentioned by *Sallust*, and other antient authors <sup>g</sup>.

**AZAMA**, a town which *Ptolemy* makes to be fifteen days' journey distant from *Carthage*, lay south-east of *Cirta*. Some

<sup>e</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. MEL. ubi sup. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. DIO CASS. l. xliii. sub init. APPIAN. in civil. l. iv. p. 996. LIV. l. xxx. c. 12, & alib. SALLUST. in Jugurth. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 259, & alib. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 3. SHAW. ubi sup. c. 8. Vide etiam PLUT. in Mario, p. 409. HESYCH. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. ii. c. 2. & Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 233. <sup>f</sup> SALLUST. PLUT. & PTOL. ubi sup. Vide etiam D. AUGUST. cont. Donatist. l. iii. c. 6. <sup>g</sup> SAL-LUST. in Jugurth. c. 90. PTOL. ubi sup. D. AUGUST. cont. Do-natist. l. vi. c. 28.

authors imagine this to be the same with *Zama*, a large and magnificent city, and famous for the signal defeat *Hannibal* received near it. But this is rendered improbable by *Livy* and *Polybius*, who fix *Zama* on a spot much nearer *Carthage*. *Miræum* and *Ætara*, the other two places in the district of the *Cirteſii*, taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, are so obscure, that it is sufficient just to have mentioned them<sup>h</sup>.

**Collops Magnus.** ABOUT eighteen miles from the *Ampsaga*, at the western bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, or, as it is now called, the gulph of *Stora*, stood the *Cullu*, or *Collops Magnus*, of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. There is nothing remaining at present of this antient city, but a few miserable houses, and a small fort. The modern name is *Cull*, which, as well as the antient, might be derived from a small port before it, *Culla* in *Arabic* and *Phœnician* signifying *a port*. At the eastern extremity of the same gulph was the *Rusicada* of *Ptolemy*, the *Sigata* or *Stora* of the moderns. A few cisterns, converted at present into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity discernible in it. The antient geographers have fixed it fifty or sixty *Roman* miles from *Cullu*; whereas in reality it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet seems to be the *Tapsas* of *Vibius Sequester*<sup>i</sup>.

**Tacatua.** NOT many miles to the north-east stood the *Tacatua* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary, the *Tuckush* of the *Algerines*, at present a pleasant village, with a fruitful country round about it. At some distance from it, in an eastern direction, was the *Sulluco* or *Collops Parvus* of *Ptolemy*, the modern small port of *Tagodeite*<sup>k</sup>.

**Hippo Regius.** AT the western extremity of the gulph of *Hippo*, upon the river *Armua*, was the city of *Hippo Regius*, a place we have had occasion to mention frequently in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* history. Upon the spot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is still to be seen. According to *Leo Africanus*, the city of *Bona*, or, as the *Moors* call it, *Blaid el Aneb*, *Town of Frijels*, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood, about a mile farther to the north, was built out of these ruins. This seems to be confirmed by the name *Bona*, which is undoubtedly a corruption of *Hippo* or *Hippōna*. It is probable, that *Bona* has the same situation which *Ptolemy's Aphrodisium* had, since he places it fifteen miles to the north of *Hippo*. The ruins of *Hippo* take up a space about half

<sup>h</sup> POLYB. l. xv. c. 5. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29. SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 57. HIRT. in B. Afr. c. 91. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. PTOL. ubi sup. & inscript. vet. apud Gruter. p. 364. <sup>i</sup> PLIN. l. v. c. 3. SOLIN. c. 26. VIB. SEQUEST. de flumin. PTOL. ubi sup. & Itinerar. ANTONIN. SHAW ubi sup. c. 7. <sup>k</sup> PLIN. PTOL. Itiner. & SHAW, ubi sup.

a league in circumference, consisting, as usual, of large broken walls and cisterns. This city was called *Hippo Regius*, because it was, for some time, the seat of the *Numidian* kings, as *Silius Italicus* informs us. And indeed its commodious situation both for hunting and commerce, the salubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, and the delightful prospect they enjoyed, demonstrate this city to be as worthy of such an honour, as any other in the *Numidian* dominions. It has been before observed, that the word *Hippo* was of *Phœnician* extraction. We shall reserve the description of *Bona* for the history of *Algiers*, to which it will more properly belong<sup>1</sup>.

THABRACA or *Tabraca* was a maritim city of *Numidia* *Tabraca*. *Propria*, seated on the western bank of the *Tusca*. *Mela*, *Juvenal*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *St. Austin*, all mention of it. *Pliny* insinuates, that it was a *Roman* colony in the latter ages. The ruins of it are still remaining, and out of them has sprung the modern *Tabarca*, where there are several broken walls and cisterns, with a small fort and garrison of *Tuniseens*. *Bochart* says, that *Thabraca* was a *Phœnician* word, and equivalent to the *Latin* *Frondosa*, which, he shews, might be properly enough applied to this place, from that verse of *Juvenal*:

*Quales umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca salius.* Sat. x. ver. 194<sup>m</sup>.

NARAGARA or *Nadagara*, a very antient town, south-west *Naragara* of *Tabraca*, was situated on the confines of *Africa Propria*. Here, towards the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, *Scipio* is said to have encamped for the benefit of the water, *Hannibal* at the same time taking post upon an eminence four miles distant from him. *Polybius* seems to have called this place *Margaron*. It is supposed, that some fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this antient city, are still to be seen<sup>n</sup>.

SOMEWHERE in this tract we are to look for *Sicca*, *Sicca Sicca*. *Venerea*, or *Venerea*. But, since we have taken notice of this place elsewhere, as well as the lewd custom prevailing in it, and since its situation cannot, with any precision, be ascertained, we shall drop all farther particulars relating to it<sup>o</sup>.

THIRMIDA was a town of this province, where *Hiempsal*, Thir-according to *Sallust*, lost his life. •But whether it stood on the mida.

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. LIV. l. xxix. c. 3. PLIN. & MEL. ubi sup. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 259. PROCP. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4. I. LEO AFRICAN. p. 211. SHAW ubi sup. & Geogr. Nubiens. p. 88.

<sup>m</sup> PLIN. l. v. c. 3. POMP. MEL. l. i. c. 7. PTOL. ubi sup. I. LEO AFRICAN. p. 287. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW ubi sup.

<sup>n</sup> POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29. SHAW ubi sup. <sup>o</sup> Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 295. Vide & SALLUST. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup.

borders of the *Maffyli*, or remote from them, for want of sufficient light from history, we shall not take upon us to determine <sup>p</sup>.

**Suthul.** SUTHUL seems to have been a place of some strength. For here *Hiempsal's* treasure was deposited, as we are informed by the same historian. It is probable, from some hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from *Thirmida* <sup>q</sup>.

**Madaura.** MADAURA had its situation in the neighbourhood of *Sicca Venerea*, *Tagaste*, and *Hippo Regius*. It was famous for the birth of *Apuleius* the Platonic philosopher; which is all we can say of it <sup>r</sup>.

**Sava, &c.** As for *Sava*, *Gemellæ*, *Calama*, *Lambeza*, *Theveste*, *Tadutti*, *Sigus*, *Tipasa*, *Simisbu*, *Lamasba*, and an infinite number of other obscure places, they deserve not the least attention. For they have been mentioned chiefly, if not solely, by *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, *Peutinger's* table, the *Notitia*, *Ethicus*, *Orosius*, and others, who lived below that period of time, to which we must here confine ourselves. Since, therefore, they cannot improve our idea of any single fact or circumstance relative to the history we are now upon, our readers will not only excuse a description, but even a bare enumeration of them. It will be sufficient, in order to complete our geographical description of this province, to give a succinct account of the most remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, islands, and some of the principal curiosities of it, to which we shall beg leave to premise a word or two concerning the mediterranean part of it <sup>s</sup>.

**The sea-coast of this province mountainous.** We have already observed, that the sea-coast of this province was, for the most part, mountainous and rocky. To which we shall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diversified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew less capable of culture in proportion as it approached the *Sahara*. In many places, for several leagues together, nothing was to be seen but a solitary desert, void both of all animals, and every thing proper for their support. In others fruitful districts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the most delicious pomegranates, apples, &c. afforded a most delightful prospect to travelers. But the natural history, both of *Numidia Propria*, and *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, our readers may expect in a proper place <sup>t</sup>.

**The mountains of it.** THE first ridge of mountains we shall take notice of, is that upon the borders of *Gætulia*, which terminated the country

<sup>p</sup> *SALLUST.* in *Jugurth.* c. 12. <sup>q</sup> *Idem ibid.* c. 37. <sup>r</sup> *APUL.*  
*MADAURENS.* in *metamorphof.* l. xi. *de Platon.* *philof.* l. iii. & in  
*apol.* D. *AUG.* in *confes.* l. ii. c. 3. <sup>s</sup> *Vide PROL.* *Itinerar.* *ANTONIN.* *PEUTING.* *tab.* *Not.* *EETHIC.* *OROS.* &c. <sup>t</sup> *ABULFED.*  
& *SHAW*, ubi sup.

between the parallels of *Sitifi* and *Cirta*, called by the antients *Buzara*. 2. That called *Thambes*, extending itself as far as *Tabraca*. 3. The *Mampsarus* of *Ptolemy*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*, which separated that country, or the *Sahara*, from the *Mauritania Sitifensis*. 4. The *Mons Audus* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mons Aurasius* of the middle age, known at present amongst the *Turks* by the name *Fibbel Aures* or *Eurefis*. All of which will hereafter be minutely described <sup>v</sup>.

THE first promontory that falls under our observation is the *The pro-Tritum* of *Strabo*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, about six leagues <sup>monitories</sup> to the eastward of the *Ampsaga*, called at present the *Sebba Kous*, or *Seven Capes*, by the *Algerines*. 2. The *Hippi Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, the *Mabra* of the sea-charts, about twenty leagues east of the former. It goes now among the *Algerines* by the name *Ras el Hamrab*, i. e. *The Red Cape*, and has the ruins of two small buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league distant from the *Hippi Promontorium*, to the northward, is the *Straborrum Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*. This was in the gulph of *Hippo*, and about a league from the city of that name <sup>w</sup>.

OF the rivers which water *Numidia Propria*, the most remarkable are the following : 1. The *Ampsaga*, which separated this region from that of the *Masælyi* or *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. That river fell into the sea about six leagues to the west of *Cullu*, and is at present named the *Wed el Kibeer*, or *Great River*; which very well tallies with the signification of the word *Ampsaga*, *Apbsah* importin in *Arabic broad, large, ample, &c.* At present it appears to be made up of the following branches : The *Wed el Dsabab*, *River of Gold*, whose source is at *Kasbaite*, a heap of ruins sixty miles to the south-west; the rivulet of *Jim-melab*, in the same direction nearly with the *Wed el Dsabab*, but a little more than forty miles distance; the *Wed el Hammam*, twenty miles to the west of *Constantina*; the *Wed el Sigan*, fifteen miles to the south-west from *Physgeah*; and the springs of *Hydrab*, about half that distance to the south-east. The modern geographers have generally conducted the channel of their *Ampsaga* towards the gulph of *Cull*; whereas the *Wed el Kibeer*, which truly answers to the *Ampsaga* of the antients, has no such direction, but falls into the sea six leagues to the westward. *Ptolearius* seems to fix its source in that ridge of mountains, by *Ptolemy* called *Buzara*, upon the borders of the *Sahara*; which runs counter to the latest and most accurate observations. 2. The *Armua* of *Pliny*, the modern *Sei-boufe*, which emptied itself into the western extremity of the gulph of *Hippo*. This often leaves great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the neighbouring

<sup>v</sup> PLIN. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi sup.  
I. xvii. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi sup.

<sup>w</sup> MEL. I. i. c. 7. STRAB.

shore; and, by reason of the low situation of the adjacent country, occasions frequent inundations. 3. The *Rubricatus* of *Ptolemy*, or *Ma-fragg* of the *Algerines*, has its fountains on some hills, that lie at a little distance to the south of *Hippo*, its mouth being about four leagues easterly from that of *Armua*. *Bochart* thinks, that the word *Rubricatus* is a *Latin* one, equivalent to the *Punic* or *Phœnician Sifara*, i. e. *Red* or *Purple*; and that both the river and lake so called deduced their name from that dye, the preparation of which the *Africans* and *Carthaginians* were so famous for. This notion seems to be confirmed by *Pliny* and *Diodorides*, but particularly by *Herodotus*, who informs us, that the *Zygentes*, the antient inhabitants of this country, besmeared themselves with an liquid substance of that colour. We are told, that the mouth of this river is at present generally stopped up with a high bank of sand, raised by the north and north-east winds; so that it is seldom open, but after long and heavy rains. 4. The *Tusca*, called now the *Zaine*, the boundary of this province on the side of *Africa Propria*. It is said, that, in the language of the neighbouring *Kabyles*, or remains of the old *Africans*, the word *Zaine* denotes an *oak-tree*, and consequently approaches pretty near in signification to *Thabracia*, the *Phœnician* name of the frontier town upon this river above-mentioned. The *Zaine* has its source in the adjacent mountains; which is contrary to what *Leo* has advanced <sup>x</sup>.

*Fountains.* ALL the most noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Those to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been just touched upon. And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of *Zama*, whose waters, if drunk copiously, rendered the voice loud and sonorous, according to *Pliny* and *Vitruvius*. This extraordinary quality, if *Bochart* may be credited, gave name both to the fountain and the town. For זמר *Zamar*, אכנית *accinit*, *sonorus fuit*, and in *Pihel Zimmer*, canere fecit, *sonorum effe fecit*, &c. plainly allude to it. The elision of the R was very common in *Oriental* words adopted into other languages; as in *Vacca* from בקָר *Bacar*, מִסְרָא from מַסְרָא *Misra*, *Mapa* from מַפָּר *Mapar*, &c. The town of *Zamar* was situated near the source of the *Ampsaga*; and if we suppose it to have occupied the same spot of ground that *Marmol's Zamar* or *Zamora* does, *Bochart's* etymon will appear extremely probable. *Zama* was the city in which king *Juba* resided, and was leveled with the ground by the *Romans*, according to *Strabo* <sup>y</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> HEROBOT. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. & l. xxxv. c. 6. DIOSCORID. l. v. PTOL. ubi sup. STRABO, MEL. SOLIN. ubi sup. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24, & alib. I. LEO AFRICAN. p. 287. Geogr. Nubiens. & SHAW pass. <sup>y</sup> PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 2. VITRUV. l. viii. c. 4. STRAB. l. xvii. MARMOL. in descript. d'Afr. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

THE only islands, as far as we can recollect, that were ever supposed to have been adjacent to this region, were, 1. The *Insula Naxica* or *Pithcuse* of *Scylax*, opposite to *Colops Magnus*, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to *Europe* than *Africa*. 2. The island of *Tabraca* near the mouth of the *Zaine*, or *Tusca*, now in the possession of the *Genoese*, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of *Algiers*<sup>2</sup>.

THE principal curiosities of *Numidia Propria* are, 1. The *Curiosities* large marshy plain between *Blaid el Anch* and *Hippo*, with the <sup>of this province.</sup> river *Boemah*, which hath a bridge of *Roman* workmanship upon it. 2. The *Roman* inscriptions found dispersed all over this province. 3. The rich lead-mines in the mountains of *Beni Boo-Talib*. 4. The lukewarm springs, bubbling within a large square basin of *Roman* workmanship, which seem to be the *Aqua Calidae* or *Aqua Tibilitane* of the ancients, lying about ten leagues to the south-west of *Hippo Regius*, and sixteen to the east of *Cirta* or *Constantina*. To which we might add several others, did we not reserve them for the natural history of the kingdom of *Algiers*<sup>3</sup>.

THE limits and extent of the *Regio Massylorum* of *Strabo*, <sup>The limits</sup> or the *Mauritania Cæsariensis* of *Dio*, being that tract lying <sup>and extent</sup> between the *Mulucha* and *Ampsaga*, are already ascertained, by <sup>of the Re-</sup> the determination of those of *Numidia* in general, and *Numidia* <sup>gio Maf-</sup> *Propria*, or the country of the *Massyli*, in particular. The <sup>fæsylo-</sup> length indeed of the former province much exceeded that of the <sup>ruin.</sup> latter; but its breadth was not considerable, being at a mean only about twenty leagues, except in that part, which bordered upon the confines of the *Massyli*. It lay betwixt  $34^{\circ} 30'$  and  $37^{\circ}$  N. lat. and extended from  $1^{\circ} 15'$  W. to  $6^{\circ} 30'$  E. long. from *London*. It included <sup>that part of the country of the</sup> western *Moors* bounded on the west by the *Mulloia*, and on the east by the mountains of *Trara*; those provinces of the kingdom of *Algiers* called *Tlemcen* and *Titterie*; together with the western part of that going by the name of *Constantina*. The principal cities (A), rivers, mountains, promontories, &c. we shall touch upon in the concicest manner possible<sup>b</sup>.

## IGILGILI

<sup>a</sup> SCYLAX CARYAND. peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. SHAW ubi sup. p. 142. MARMOL. l. v. c. 54. <sup>a</sup> PTOL. & SHAW ibid. <sup>b</sup> POLYB. LIV. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. SOLIN. APPIAN. PTOL. DIO CASE. &c ubi sup. SHAW, ibid.

(A) It is probable, that *Mil-* <sup>rictis</sup>, or in that province. But *tine*, a town mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, must have been near the particular spot it occupied, we cannot take upon us to determine. It seems probable, from

Igilgili.

**I**GILGILI was a town of this tract, about seven leagues to the westward of the *Ampsaga*, where, according to *Pliny*, *Augustus* planted a *Roman* colony. *Ptolemy* places this town half a degree to the southward of *Salda*, in a situation contrary to that of the modern *Tijel*, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though Dr. *Shaw* takes this place to be the *Igilgili* of the antients. It is scarce to be doubted but this town was much older than the time of *Augustus*, because the name *Igilgili*, which *Pliny* intimates it to have had in the *Augustan* age, was apparently not of *Roman* extraction<sup>c</sup>.

Salda.

**S**ALDA, another place where *Augustus* planted a *Roman* colony, has been placed by *Ptolemy* upon a spot two degrees distant from *Igilgili*. The itinerary makes it to be ninety-three miles from that town; which is false, if, with the traveler above-mentioned, we admit the modern *Boujeiah* to be the antient *Salda*. As there is no manner of affinity betwixt the names *Boujeiah* and *Salda*, and the city, which goes by the former name is but thirteen leagues from *Tijel*, the supposed *Igilgili* of the antients, perhaps our sagacious readers will be inclined to believe them two different towns. This sentiment we own ourselves disposed to entertain<sup>d</sup>.

Rusazus.

**R**USAZUS, another *Augustan* colony west of *Salda*, is taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary. We remember not this place to be famous in history for any remarkable transaction that happened in or near it<sup>e</sup>.

Rusucuri-

**R**USUCURIUM, a city in the neighbourhood of the former, was highly distinguished by the emperor *Claudius*, who conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by *Pliny*<sup>f</sup>.

Rusconi-

**R**USCONIUM, another *Roman* colony, that owed its origin to *Augustus*, was seated near the mouth of the *Serbes* or *Serbetis*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ruslonium*; but we apprehend, that he ought to be corrected by *Pliny*. In the itinerary we find it named *Rusgunia Colonia*. It has been imagined, that a small castle on cape *Temendfuse* or *Metafus*, fifteen miles east of *Algiers*, in situation answers pretty nearly to it. For *Icosum*, which is supposed to have corresponded with the present *Algiers*, and *Rusco-*

<sup>c</sup> *PLIN. l. v. c. 2. PTOLO. & SHAW, ubi sup.*

<sup>e</sup> *Iidem ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> *Iidem ibid.*

<sup>f</sup> *Iidem ibid.*

from what we find hinted of it by *Diodorus*, to have been a place of considerable force, and situated in a populous country. As for the cities of *Tocas*, *Phellina*, *Maschala*, *Acris*, &c. they seem

to have had their situation near the borders of *Africa Propria*. For a confirmation of this, we must refer our readers to a former note (1).

(1) *Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 465, 466, (D), (E).*

nium, had the same distance, and were placed in the same direction, according to the itinerary. If this be admitted, *Rusconium* had a *Cothon*, some traces of which are still remaining; and the modern *Dellys* occupies the very spot of ground *Rusconium* stood upon. The three towns last-mentioned, from their names, seem to have been originally *Libyan* or *Phænicians*.

**I**COSIUM, whose situation has just been determined, may seem to have taken up the space on which *Algiers* was afterwards built; both from the consideration already offered, and from some *Roman* inscriptions found in this last city, taken notice of by *Gramaye*<sup>h</sup>.

**T**IPASA, a *Roman* colony, has been mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Tipasa*. and the itinerary; but the town was probably of higher antiquity than the conquest of *Numidia* by the *Romans*. It was forty-seven miles from *Icosium*, in the north-eastern direction; which is an additional argument in favour of *Algiers*'s being the antient *Icosium*, and likewise evinces, that the present *Tefessad* is the *Tipasa* of the old geography<sup>i</sup>.

**T**HE next city of consequence on the sea-coast, to the westward, was *Jol*, the seat of the younger *Juba*, who, out of the great veneration he had for *Augustus*, gave it the name of *Cæsarea*, according to *Eutropius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. That it had a port, and an island lying in the mouth of it, we are assured by *Strabo*; which gives us good grounds to suppose, that the modern *Shershell* answers to the *Jol* or *Julia Cæsarea* of the antients. The large circuit, and sumptuous remains, of an old city at *Shershell*, together with its situation, and many other concurring circumstances, serve likewise to render extremely probable such a supposition. For a full and ample description of the port or *Cothon*, and all other particulars of note relating to *Shershell*, some of which were doubtless applicable to the *Numidian Jol*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the observations of the ingenious traveler so frequently cited. We shall only add, that a colony was settled here by the emperor *Claudius*; and that *Bochart* affirms the word *Jol*, in the *Oriental* languages, to signify *high* or *lofty*; which agrees with the situation of the place, and consequently proves, that it was either founded by the *Orientals*, or by some of their descendants<sup>k</sup>.

**T**HE *Canucius* of *Ptolemy*, *Gunugi* of *Pliny*, and *Gunugus* of *Canucius*, the itinerary, answering to the *Bresk* of the *Algerines*, stood

<sup>a</sup> *Itinerar. ANTONIN. PLIN. PTOL. SHAW*, ubi sup. & p. 88.

<sup>b</sup> *PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW*, ubi sup. *GRAM. Afr. illuit.* l. viii. c. i. *Geogr. Nubiens.* p. 82. *I. LEO. AFRICAN.* p. 204. <sup>d</sup> *PTOL. PLIN. Itinerar. SHAW, &c.* ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> *STRAB.* l. xvii. p. 571. *PLIN. l. v. c. 2* *EUTROP.* l. vii. c. 10. *BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24.* *SHAW*, ubi sup. c. 3.

about nine miles to the westward from *Sol*. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a *Roman* colony planted in it by *Augustus*, it is now uninhabited, the violences committed by the neighbouring *Kabyles* not permitting people of any nation to make a settlement in it<sup>1</sup>.

**Cartenna.** *CARTENNA*, a very considerable city, was situated, as should seem, near the mouth of the river *Cartennus*, where *Augustus* settled the soldiers of the second legion. *Ptolemy* indeed places it some leagues more westerly; but the position he assigns many of his towns, is so extremely erroneous, that he deserves no credit, when any shadow of an argument can be offered against him. Now, *Cartenna*, in the *Phœnician* language, signified *the city of Tenna*; and we find a promontory some leagues to the eastward, at this day called the cape of *Tennes*, and a town named *Tnis* or *Tennis* not far distant from it. It was not unusual amongst the most antient founders of cities to build them upon the banks of rivers, and to give those rivers the names of the new-built towns. Of this the city and river of *Camicus* in *Sicily*, to omit many others that might be produced, is a sufficient proof. That *Tenna*, *Tennes*, or *Tanas*, was a local proper name in *Numidia*, is not only evident from the cape above-mentioned, but from the *Tanas*, which was a river of this country, though its course cannot, for want of sufficient light from history, be ascertained. Whether *Tenna* or *Tennis* was the proper name of the founder, or derived from the nature of the soil, as the learned traveler we are so much obliged to seems to insinuate, we shall not take upon us to determine. However, we hope that ingenious gentleman will not take it amiss, if we dissent from him, when he derives *Tanis*, the name of a most antient and illustrious city of *Egypt*, from *tin*, *clay*, and makes this city to have been the same with *Pelusium*. For *Tanis*, in Hebrew letters, is *תְּן* *Tzaan*, or *Zoan*, and the word itself *Egyptian*, whose signification is intirely unknown. As for the city, it was, according to the itinerary of *Antoninus*, at least forty-four *Roman* miles from *Pelusium*, and consequently must have been different from it. We have deduced the word *Cartenna* from the *Phœnician* language, because it appears from *Procopius* and *Eusebius*, not to mention other writers, that the *Phœnicians* sent colonies into this country in the most early times<sup>m</sup>.

**Arsenaria.** ON the western banks of the *Cartennus*, the antients place *Arsenaria*, a town where, if *Pliny* may be credited, a *Latin*

<sup>1</sup> *PTOL.* *Itinerar.* *SHAW*, ubi sup.      <sup>m</sup> *PLIN.* & *PTOL.* ubi sup.  
*SALLUST.* in *Jugurth.* c. 90. *Psal.* lxxviii. 12. *EUSEB.* *chron.* p. 11.  
*PROCP.* *de bell.* *Vand.* I. ii. c. 10. *BOCHART.* *Chan.* I. i. c. 29.  
*HYDE* in *Perits.* p. 23. *SHAW*, p. 36.

colony was planted under some of the first *Roman* emperors. As the last-mentioned author makes it to be three *Roman* miles from the sea, it is probable the modern *Arzew* answers to it <sup>a</sup>.

THE next maritim town of note, in a western direction, is *Quiza*, the *Quiza Xenitana*, *Quiza Colonia*, or *Quiza Municipium*, of *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and the *Itinerary*. Dr. *Shaw* will have *Geerza* to be the antient *Quiza*; which, as the situation affigned this last was immediately after, the *Portus Magnus*, is not improbable <sup>b</sup>.

**SIGA**, an antient city of great repute, situated at the mouth *Siga*, of an harbour, and upon a river of the same name. According to *Pliny*, *Syphax*'s palace was here, which, together with the city itself, was demolished in the time of *Strabo*. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, and a colony settled there, as we are informed by *Ptolemy*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that the *Tafna* answers to the river, and *Tackumbreet* to the town, of *Siga*. It appears from *Scylax*, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls *Sigum*. It was the last maritim place of eminence of this region, being at no great distance from the *Malva*, which our learned traveler has, with a good appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the same river with the *Molochath* and *Mulucha* <sup>c</sup>.

THE first mediterranean cities worthy of notice, to the west *Sitifi* *and* of the *Ampsaga*, were *Sitifi* and *Satafi*, sixteen miles from one *Satafi*, another. For a further account of which, our readers may have recourse to *Ammianus*, *Marcellinus*, *Ptolemy*, and other antient writers. By their names, they seem to have been founded by the *Phœnicians* <sup>d</sup>.

**AUZIA** or *Auxea*, a city of great antiquity, if, with *Me-Auzia*, *nander Ephesus*, we suppose it to be the *African* city of that name founded by *Ithobaal* king of *Tyre*. *Tacitus* tells us, that it was built in a small plain, surrounded on all sides with barren forests of a vast extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring *Arabs Sour Guylan*, the walls of the antelopes, a great part whereof, flanked at proper distances with little square towers, is still remaining <sup>e</sup>.

**TUBUSUPTUS** or *Tubusuttus*, a town mentioned by *Ptolemy* *Tubusup-* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, which *Lipsius* takes to be the *Thu-* *tus*, *buscus* besieged by *Tacfarinas*, according to *Tacitus*. From what

<sup>a</sup> *PLIN.* ubi sup. & *SHAW*, p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> *SHAW*, ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> *PTOL.* ubi sup. *SHAW*, p. 19, 20, 21.

<sup>d</sup> *PTOL.* ubi sup. *SHAW*, p. 19, 20, 21.

<sup>e</sup> *SCYLAX CARYAND.* *STRAB.* *PLIN.*

*PTOL.* ubi sup. *SHAW*, p. 19, 20, 21.

<sup>f</sup> *PTOL.* ubi sup. *AMMIAN.* *MARCELL.* l. xxviii. sub fin. & l. xxix. c. 23. *D. AUGUST.*

*epist. cxxii.* <sup>g</sup> *TACIT.* annal. l. iv. *JOSEPH.* antiqu. Jud. l. viii.

c. 7. *PROCOPI.* ubi sup. c. 10. *BOCHART.* Chan. l. i. c. 24. *SHAW*,

p. 81.

<sup>h</sup> *MEL.* *PLIN.* *PTOL.* *Itinerar.*

<sup>i</sup> *SCYLAX CARYAND.* *STRAB.* *PLIN.*

<sup>j</sup> *PTOL.* ubi sup. *AMMIAN.* *MARCELL.*

l. xxix. c. 23. *D. AUGUST.*

*epist. cxxii.* <sup>k</sup> *TACIT.* annal. l. iv. *JOSEPH.* antiqu. Jud. l. viii.

c. 7. *PROCOPI.* ubi sup. c. 10. *BOCHART.* Chan. l. i. c. 24. *SHAW*,

p. 81.

*Marcellinus* has hinted, it seems to have been situated near the *Mons Ferratus* <sup>s</sup>.

Nababurum, &c. As *Nababurum*, *Vitaca*, *Ussara*, *Vazagad*, *Ausum*, *Robonda*, *Zaratha*, *Chizala*, *Lamida*, *Vasana*, *Pblyra*, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long since buried in oblivion, we shall pass them over in silence, and proceed to the principal promontories, mountains, rivers, &c. of this province. For it will be proper to have a general idea of these, in order to understand those accounts of the transactions happening in this country, that have been transmitted down to us by the antient historians <sup>t</sup>.

*The pro-*  
*montories*  
*of this pro-*  
*wince.* THE first promontories, that present themselves to our view, are the *Audus* and *Vabar* of *Ptolemy*. The *Absounemanker* of the *Algerines* seems to answer to *Vabar*, having some traces of old ruins still remaining upon it. 2. The *Promontorium Apollinis* of *Ptolemy*, the *Nackos* of the *Moors*, and cape *Tennes* of the modern geographers. It deduces its name *Nackos*, i. e. *The bell*, from the figure of the grotto in the lower part of it, and is in almost 2° E. long. from *London*. 3. The *Promontorium Magnum* of *Ptolemy* was a large and conspicuous cape near 1° E. of the *Malva* or *Mulucha*. This is at present called by sailors *Cape Hone*, and by the inhabitants *Ras Hunneine* and *Mellack*. It lies about four leagues to the north-east of *Twunt*, and is a continuation of the mountains of *Trara* <sup>u</sup>.

*The moun-*  
*tains.* AMONGST the mountains of note in the *Numidia Massiforum* may be ranked that high knot of eminences, which at present distinguish themselves to the southward of the plains of *Sudratah*, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the antients mount *Atlas*. 2. The *Zalacus* of *Ptolemy*, which seems to have had the same position as the present mount *Wannahbreeze*. 3. Mount *Malethubalus*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*. This is in the *Sahara*, and, if we remember right, has not had its modern name brought into *Europe*. 4. The *Durdus* of *Ptolemy*, lying between the mountains of *El Callab* and *Trara*. 5. The *Mons Pbruræsus*, immediately succeeding *Malethubalus*. 6. The *Montes Chalcorychii*, near the country of the antient *Herpiditani*, between mount *Durdus* and the *Malva* or *Mulucha* <sup>w</sup>.

Rivers. THE most remarkable rivers taken notice of by the antients were, 1. The *Audus*, placed by *Ptolemy* at the bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, no traces of which are now to be seen. 2. The *S'saris*, called at present by the *Moors* and *Algerines* the *Man-*

<sup>s</sup> PLIN. & POLYB. ubi sup. TACIT. an. iv. c. 24. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxix. c. 24. JUST. LIPS. in Tacit. ubi sup. <sup>t</sup> PLIN.

PTOL. Itinerar. &c.

<sup>u</sup> PLIN. PTOL. &c. ubi sup. SHAW, pass.

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

*soureh*, whose water was probably of a red colour in antient times; for that the name imports, as has been already observed. 3. The *Nissava*, known at this day by the name of the river of *Boujeiab*, because it empties itself into the sea a little to the eastward of that city. It consists of a number of rivulets, falling into it from different directions, and has its source at *Fibbel Deera*, seventy miles up into the country to the W. S. W. 4. The *Serbetis*, now the *Iffer*, a large river, whose mouth is about eight leagues from *Temenduse*, and lieth something nearer *Rusgunia* than *Rusuccuræ*. We are told, that its sources are from the mountainous district to the S. S. W. that the most western branch of it is called *Skurffa*, after the name of the neighbouring *Arabs*; and the other *Wcd el Zeitoune*, i. e. *The river of olives*, from the vast quantity of that fruit produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The *Savus*, a river falling into the sea near *Pliny's Icosion*, which our learned traveller takes to have had the same situation as the *Algiers* of the moderns. If this be admitted, the *Hameese* bids fairest for the antient *Savus*, especially as *Leo* calls this very river *Seffiaia*, a word nearly approaching to *Savus*. 6. The *Chinalaph* of *Ptolemy* is the most noted river of the *Algerines*, who call it *Shelliff*. It ariseth in the *Sahara*, at the distance of eighty miles to the south-east. The fountains which form its source, from their number and contiguity, are known amongst the *Arabs* by the name *Sebbicne Aine*, or *Sebaoun Aioun*, *The seventy fountains*. A minute description of this river our readers will find in a proper place. 7. The *Cartennus*, to which, it is supposed, the stream formed by the *Sikke* and the *Habrah* answers. *Marmol* calls a river in this situation *Cirat*; which may give some countenance to the aforesaid supposition. 8. The *Flumen Salsum*, at present called the *Wed el Mailab*, is a stream something less than the *Cherwell*, as it passeth by *Oxford*. 9. *Affara*, a river mentioned by *Ptolemy*, which may possibly be the same with the *Iffer* of *Abulfeda*. The *Iffer* is one of the four branches, that form the *Tafna*, which our readers may find described in that curious piece we have so often referred them to x.

THE only islands that deserve our attention are, 1. The *Acre* *The island of Scylax*, an island, that forms the modern port of *Harshgoone*, appertaining under which vessels of the greatest burden may lie in the utmost safety. 2. The *Tres Insulae* of *Antoninus*, situated about ten miles from the *Mulucha*, to the north-west of that river y.

THE chief curiosities worthy of notice are; 1. The ruins of *Its curio-*  
*a Roman city*, called at present *Caffir*, among the *Beni Grobberry*, situated  
to the northward of *Fibbel Afroone*; upon the mountains adjacent

x *Iudem ibid. & I. LEO AFRICAN. p. 205.*

y *SCYLAX CA-*

*RYAND. Itinerar. ANTONIN. & SHAW, ubi sup.*

to which the *Algerines* frequently dig up large pipes of lead, supposed to have been formerly employed in conveying the excellent water those parts produced to *Salde*. 2. The rivulet of salt-water, which glides through the valley *Dammer Cappy*, i. e. *The iron gate*. 3. The large salt-pits, five miles to the southward of *Arzew*. 4. One of the fountains of the *Habrah* at *Nisfrag*, where the water bursts out with a surprising noise and rapidity; as also the hot bath, and several antient cisterns upon a branch of the *Habrah*, when it arrives within eight leagues of the sea. 5. *Wannashreef*, a high rugged mountain, generally covered with snow, and remarkable for its mines of lead-ore, many fleaks and sparks of which being brought down by the river *Wed-el-Fuddah*, and left upon the banks of it exposed to the sun, gave occasion to the name *Wannashreef*. 6. The *Fibbel Minjs*, an intire mountain of salt. 7. The *Aqua Calidae Cononia* of the antients, the *Hammam* or *Bath* of *Mereega* of the moderns. All of which, with many others that we cannot touch upon here, will be accurately described in that branch of the modern history, to which they properly belong <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Geogr. Nubiens. I. LEO AFRICAN. & SHAW, pass.

## S E C T. II.

### *The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, &c. of the Numidians.*

*The antiquity of the Numidians.* ALL the authors, famous for their researches into antiquity, agree, that the tract extending from the isthmus of *Suez* to the lake *Tritonis*, was chiefly peopled by the descendants of *Miseraim*; and that the posterity of his brother *Put*, or *Phut*, spread themselves over all the region betwixt that lake and the *Atlantic ocean*. It is certain *Herodotus* gives great countenance to this notion. For he tells us, that the *Libyan Nomades*, whose territories, to the west, were bounded by the *Triton*, agreed in their customs and manners with the *Egyptians*; but that the *Africans*, from that river to the *Atlantic ocean*, differed almost in all points from them. *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Putea* near *Adrumetum*; and *Pliny* a river of *Mauritania Tingitana*, known by the name of *Fut* or *Phut*; which seems to confirm the above-mentioned supposition. The district adjacent to this river we find mentioned by some authors under the appellation of *Regio Phutensis*; which plainly alludes to the name *Phut*. That word signifies *scattered* or *dispersed*; which very well agrees with what we find related of the *Numidians* by *Mela* and *Strabo*; so that we may, without any scruple, admit the *Aborigines* of this

this country to have been the descendants of *Pbut*. *Aldrete*, *Gaspar Varreiro*, and others, think, that some remains of *Pbut* are still discernible in the modern *Fez*; which notion, after a perusal of those writers, our readers will perhaps think proper to espouse. However, it appears from *Eusebius*, *Procopius*, St. *Austin*, and others, that the *Aborigines* were not the only ancient inhabitants of *Numidia*, since the *Phœnicians* in almost the earliest ages sent colonies thither. But though both these nations descended from *Ham*, they yet differed in many particulars, as we shall have frequent occasion to observe<sup>a</sup>.

It may be inferred from *Polybius*, as has been already observed, that the *Carthaginians* once possessed all that part of *Africa*, extending from the confines of *Cyrenaica* to the pillars of *Hercules*. But this, we apprehend, is, to be understood of the sea-coast of that vast tract. For it sufficiently appears from *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Livy*, and other ancient historians, that the interior *Numidia*, at least a considerable part of it, was independent of the *Carthaginians*. It is true, the *Numidians* always assisted the *Carthaginians* in their wars; but most of these forces were upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, sent in pursuance of solemn engagements entered into by the princes to whom they belonged. This might be proved by a great number of passages drawn from the authors just mentioned, were it in any manner necessary. The *Carthaginian* form of government therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of *Numidia* subject to the state of *Carthage*, though in others, absolute monarchy took place. No one can doubt of this, who considers, that not only the kingdom of *Antæus*, including this country, as well as *Mauritania Tingitana*, and consequently that of his conqueror *Hercules*, was despotic, but likewise that *Larbas*, *Gala* (A), *Syphax*, *Masinissa*, and other later princes, ruled here with

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. iv. c. 186, 187. PROL. l. iv. c. 1. PLIN. l. v. c. 1.  
EUSEB. de loc. HIERON. in tradit. Hebr. EUSTATH. in Hex. ISID.  
in orig. l. ix. c. 2. POMP. MELA. l. i. c. 8. STRAB. l. ii. Gen. x. 6.  
BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. BERNARD. ALDRET. var. antiguedad.  
de Espan. l. iii. c. 6. p. 358. GASPAR VARREIRO in lib. de Ophir.  
EUSEB. chron. p. 11. PROCOF. ubi sup. D. AUGUST. in exposit.  
epist. ad Rom. sub init. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 233.

(A) We are informed by *Apian*, that there were many *reguli*, or heads of tribes, in the country of the *Massælyi*, not much unlike the *emirs* of the present *Arabs*, who enjoyed a sort of sovereignty over their re-

specive tribes, but yet acknowledged *Syphax* for their chief. It can scarce be doubted, but that *Syphax*'s government, with respect to these princes, was despotic, otherwise he could not have brought such numerous armies

with an unlimited sway. The old eastern governments also, from whence that of *Numidia* was derived, put the point here insisted upon beyond dispute. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims that formed the basis of it, we are intirely in the dark, the most authentic antient historians not supplying us with the least hint relative thereto<sup>b</sup>.

*Laws.*

WHETHER or no any of the independent princes of *Numidia* were legislators, or, if so, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their subjects, history informs us not. The *Carthaginian* laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongst all the *Numidians* under the dominion of *Carthage*. Could *Isidore* be relied upon, some laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* might possibly have been observed in several districts of this country. For he seems to intimate, that those nations, in antient times, planted a colony in *Numidia*; or, at least, that there was an intercourse betwixt them and the *Numidians*. *Sallust* likewise more than insinuates the same thing, since he affirms, that the *Persians* sailed hither before the *Phoenicians*, when intermixing with the *Gætulians*, they, in conjunction with that people, formed the *Numidian* nation. To which that author subjoins, that neither being able to find any materials here for building of houses, nor to carry on any commerce with the *Spaniards*, by reason of their different languages, and the great sea betwixt them, the *Persians* built them huts, tents, or cottages, of the bottoms of their ships inverted. These they removed from place to place; and from this circumstance, called themselves *Numidae*, a word, which, in the *Persic* tongue, alluded thereto. But this relation being inconsistent with itself, and the notion couched therein absolutely repugnant to the whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, our readers will not scruple to reject it<sup>c</sup>.

*Religion.*

As the first *Numidians*, in common with all the other *Indigenæ* of that vast tract between the borders of *Egypt* and the *Atlantic* ocean, were called *Libyans*, we may infer from *Herodotus*, that the principal gods they sacrificed to were the *Sun*

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. LIV. DIOD. SIC. SALLUST. FLOR. APPIAN. JUSTIN. VIRG. SERV. SIL. ITAL. LUCAN. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. CEDREN. aliiq; quamplurim. pass. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 229, 230, (I), & alib. pass. <sup>c</sup> ISIDOR. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. SALLUST. in Jugurth. Vide & BERNARD. ALDRET. en var. antiguedad. de Espan. &c. l. iii. c. 17. p. 387, 388.

mies into the field. What has other kings of the *Massylli*, as here been observed of *Syphax*, well as those of the *Massylli* (1), was undoubtedly true of the

(1) Appian, in Libyc. c. 6. p. 20. edit. Tol. Amst. 1670.

and Moon. This is a convincing proof of their high antiquity, as clearly evincing, that the migration of the first colony, which peopled this country, preceded the introduction of image-worship into the pagan world. It is likewise an argument, that this colony did not consist of *Persians*, since the *Sun* only was their principal deity. Some of these *Numidians* also might probably worship *Triton*, *Minerva*, and *Neptune* (B), especially those near the confines of *Africa Propria*, as the same author seems to suggest. That part of this nation subject to *Carthage*, it is reasonable to presume, paid divine honours to the *Phœnician* and *Greek* deities, that were the objects of the *Carthaginian* worship, of which we have already given so full and ample an account. It appears from *Herodotus*, that *Hephaestus*, or *Vulcan*, was an *Egyptian* deity worshiped at *Memphis*; but whether, or no the *Numidians* held him in any veneration, or indeed had any knowledge of him, we must leave others to decide<sup>d</sup>.

FROM what has been just offered, our readers will allow it *Language*. probable, that *Misraim* and *Phut*, with their descendants, moved together into *Africa*; and that their posterity inhabited contiguous regions. Nay, if any credit may be given to *Herodotus*, and other authors of the best repute, they agreed, for many ages, in most particulars. *Herodotus* seems to intimate, that in his time, or at least not long before it, the people, inhabiting that tract afterwards called *Numidia*, went by the general name of *Libyans*; and that the *Numidians* were then possessed of the country situate between the frontiers of *Egypt* and the river *Triton*. For he tells us, that the nation occupying that region were called *Libyan Nomades*, in contradistinction to the *Libyans*, who extended themselves from thence to the westward, as far as the *Atlantic ocean*. This observation we remember not to have been made by any other author. However, it seems to be of some consequence to the historical world. For it bids fair to prove, that the kingdoms of the *Massili* and *Massefili*, though of a very early date, were not called *Numidia*,

• <sup>d</sup> HERODOT. l. iv. Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 279—284. Vide etiam HERODOT. l. iii. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & l. ii. c. 3.

(B) Father *Delrio* thinks, that the *Nephthuim* of *Moses* was either the great ancestor, or nation, of the *Numidians*. If so, it is very possible, that *Neptune*, one of the great gods of *Africa*, might have deduced his name from thence. This notion seems to be countenanced by St. *Jerom*, who reads it *Neptuim*; which is almost intirely the same word with *Neptunus*, after the rejection of the Latin termination US. *Aldrete*, a person of most profound erudition, comes into this opinion (2).

(2) P. Delrio apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 6. ut & ipse Aldret, ibid.

till after, or at least a little before, the time of *Herodotus*; and that this name was occasioned by an irruption of a great body of the *Libyan Nomades* into the countries to the westward of the *Triton* about the period above-mentioned. In confirmation of this notion, it may be observed, that no mention is made of the *Numidians* by any of the *Greek* or *Roman* historians, till about the time of *Herodotus*; which is a presumptive argument, that they made no considerable figure, and consequently did not possess territories of so large an extent, then as afterwards. Though therefore it can scarce be doubted, but that *Numidia Propria* and *Mauritania Cæfariensis* were at first peopled by *Phut's* descendants, it is probable, that neither of those provinces were called *Numidia* till the age of *Herodotus*; or, at least, not long before that age, when the *Libyan Nomades*, or *Nugidians*, passed into them. However, in conformity to what has been asserted above, we must remind our readers, that the *Phœnicians*, in the most early ages, and after them the *Carthaginians*, planted colonies here. *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Strabo*, by intimating, that the *Numidians* of their time agreed in some points with the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, add some weight to the hypothesis we have just offered to the consideration of the learned. From all which particulars we may conclude, that the languages spoken in *Numidia* were, 1. That of the *Libyan Nomades*, which, from many authors, appears to have been nearly related to the old *Egyptian*. 2. The *Carthaginian*. 3. The *Phœnician*. And 4. That of *Phut's* immediate descendants, who at first came thither, which, in some points, might have differed from all the rest. That the tongue prevailing, in part of *Numidia* at least, was different from the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian*, is evident from *Sallust*, and others. However barbarous the *Numidians* might have been, some of them used letters, not very unlike those that made up the *Punic* alphabet, as appears from the legends of several antient *Numidian* coins<sup>c</sup> (C).

WITH

<sup>c</sup> HERODOT. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. SOLIN. c. 26. STRAB. l. ii. & l. xvii. SALLUST. in Jugurtha. Vide etiam BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. BERNARD. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. iii. c. 26. SPON. miscel. erudit. antiqu. fol. Lugd. 1685. p. 146. BEG. thes. Brand. vol. i. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. i. HERODOT. l. i. & l. iv. PHIL. JUD. de vit. Mof. l. i. LIBAN. progym.

(C) This likewise appears from the letter *Bomilcar* wrote to *Nabdaſſa* or *Nadabatſa*, a *Numidian* nobleman of the first rank; which being delivered into the hands of *Jugurtha*, occasioned the death of *Bomilcar*, and many others, as we learn from

WITH regard to the customs of the *Numidians*, our readers will neither expect nor desire us to be prolix on that head: neither the limits we have prescribed ourselves, nor the materials left us by the antients, will permit this. In order therefore to form a general idea of these customs, it will be sufficient maturely to weigh the following observations.

1. THE *Numidians* were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the same manner as the *Arabes Scenitæ*, and not very unlike the present *Tartars*; excepting that the latter form their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their ancestors the ancient *Scythians*; whereas the circular *dou-wars* of the *Numidians* were composed of their *Mapalia*, with which the *bhymas*, or tents, of the modern *Bedoween*s nearly correspond. *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Virgil*, *Pliny*, and others, put this point beyond dispute. The *Mapalia*, or *Numidian* tents, were secured from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a covering only of such hair-cloth as our coal-sacks are made of. They were all of the same form, oblong, resembling the inverted bottom of a ship, in conformity to the description *Sallust* has given us of them. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and, having consumed all the produce of one fruitful spot, removed from thence to another, as is the custom of their posterity the *Bedoween*s at this day. As this part of *Africa* consisted of dry and barren sandy deserts, interspersed with fruitful spots, (for which reason *Strabo* compares it to a leopard's skin) such a way of life was absolutely necessary for those who did not live in cities. Hence it appears, in conjunction with what we have observed of their language, that *nome*, agreeable to what we find advanced by *Diodorus Siculus*, *St. Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Eusebius*, and others, must have been either an *Egyptian* or *Syriac* word, signifying *part*, *portion*, *division*, &c. To which add *ida* or *yeda*, *place*, *limits*, *country*, &c. and the name *Numidia* is formed in a much more rational and apposite manner, than it is possible for it to be upon the principles of those persons, who suppose it deduced from a language intirely unknown to the *Numidians*<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> POMP. MEL. c. 9. STRAB. l. xvii. VIRG. georg. iii. PLIN. & SOLIN. ubi sup. DIONYS. Af. ver. 184. LUCAN. pass. Vide etiam FEST. AVIEN. ver. 277. SAL. in Jugurth. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 35. EUSEB. præp. evang. l. iii. p. 57. EPIPHAN. & CYRIL. apud Bochart. PHAL. l. iv. c. 24. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. *ī* & alib. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. iii. c. 17. & SHAW, ubi supra p. 286—291.

from *Sallust*. What we have tenanted by *Livy*, and other here advanced, is likewise coun- authors (3).

(3) *Sallust*. in *Jugurth*. c. 73, 74. *Liv*. aliq; script. apud D. Bernard, *Aldist. en var. antiguedad. de Espan. Afric. y otr. provinc.* l. iii. c. 33. p. 467. Vide & *Val. Max*, l. i. c. 1.

*Some of them liv'd in small huts or cottages, called Magaria.* 2. THOSE Numidians who lived in fixed habitations, for the most part dwelt in small cottages raised either with hurdles daubed over with mud, or built out of some such slight materials, in the same manner as the *Gurbies* of the *Kabyles* are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubtedly covered with straw or turf, supported by reeds or branches of trees, as those of the *Gurbies* are.

The *Numidians*, at least those of *Phoenician* extraction, called these habitations *Magaria*, an explication of which word has been already given. The very learned and accurate Dr. *Shaw* informs us, that the towns or villages formed of these huts are at present built upon eminences, and called by the *Kabyles*, who inhabit them, *Dashkas* <sup>g</sup>.

*They rode without bridles.*

3. THE *Numidians* rode without saddles, and many of them without bridles; whence *Virgil* calls them *Numidae infraeni*. As their principal strength consisted in their cavalry, and they were unversed in the management of horses from their infancy, they found this no difficult thing. The custom we are now upon suggests to us the meaning of the word *Metagonium* (D), the proper name of a promontory, as likewise of the country of the *Maffili*, as has been observed above. It is undoubtedly equivalent to מְתֵג יָמִין meteg ionibh, or meteg ioniaabb, one that lays aside, or that hath laid aside, his bridle. This is a much more natural etymology, than any that can be drawn from the Greek tongue <sup>h</sup>.

*They had many wives, concubines, &c.*

4. ACCORDING to *Strabo*, they had many wives, concubines, and consequently many children, as the *Orientals* had, though, in other respects, they were very temperate and abstemious. Their manner of fighting and encamping we have already taken notice of; and therefore to touch upon that head here, would be intirely superfluous <sup>i</sup>.

*The king's brother*

5. THE king's next brother, not his eldest son, succeeded him in *Numidia*, particularly in the country of the *Maffili*.

<sup>g</sup> VIRG. AEN. i. & SERV. in loc. SALLUST. ubi sup. ISIDOR. orig. l. xv. c. 22. PLIN. SOJIN. ubi supra. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. ii. c. 2. SHAW ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 227. Vide & FEST. CHARIS. & SIL. ITAL. l. ii. <sup>h</sup> VIRG. AEN. iv. ver. 41. LIV. apud Hendreich. in Carthag. p. 359. SERV. in Virg. ubi sup. aliiq; mult. Vide SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. פַּנְחָה & מְתֵג. <sup>i</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. SALL. in Jugurth.

(D) It appears from *Martial* and *Lucan*, that the custom of riding without bridles prevailed more amongst the *Maffili* than the *Maffesili*. Now, the coun-

try of the *Maffili* was the *Terra Metagonitis*, as has been already observed; which not a little supports the etymon we would give of *Metagonium* (4).

This we learn from *Livy*, who, in proof of what he asserts, succeeded tells us, that *Gala*, the father of *Masinissa*, was succeeded by *to the crown in his next brother Desfalces*<sup>k</sup>.

6. THEIR diet consisted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulse, Numidia. water, &c. and they abstained almost entirely from wine; flesh *The diet of was sometimes, though not so frequently, used.* To this, as *the Numidians.* well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in summer and winter, *Appian* seems to attribute their long lives, and the large share of health they enjoyed. In conformity to nature and experience, that author assures us, that the summers in Numidia were not near so hot as in India and Ethiopia<sup>l</sup>.

7. THE Numidians, particularly the *Massili*, did not only *They use* ride without saddles and bridles, but likewise all sorts of accou- *only a* trements, as we learn from what *Appian* relates of *Masinissa*, *as whip or* well as from many other authors. This they did, in order to *rod on* rush upon their enemies, or prey, with the greater force and *horseback*. fierceness. However, they made use of a rod or whip, with which they easily managed their horses, though in the midst of the hottest engagements<sup>m</sup>.

8. MANY of the poorer sort of people in Numidia went *Are clad* almost naked; but the Numidians of any fashion wore their *in loose* garments loose, not making use of a shash or girdle. In this *garments* particular they agreed with the Carthaginians, and most of the other Africans. Hence that of *Virgil*<sup>n</sup>:

*Hic Nomadum genus, & discinctos Mulciber Afros, &c.*

9. THEY were eminent for their skill in hurling the javelin, *Eminent* and throwing of darts, which they discharged in vast numbers *for their* upon the enemy. As they seldom or never failed doing execu- *skill in* *throwing*, this rendered them very formidable<sup>o</sup>.

10. WE are told, that the *Massili*, when at war with their *neighbours*, for the most part, chose to come to a general action *Fight in* in the night-time<sup>p</sup>.

11. DESERTION was no crime amongst the Numidians, *time*. who, after the first defeat, were at liberty to return home, *Desertion* or continue in the army, as they pleased<sup>q</sup>.

12. IN fine, there must have been a great variety of customs *amongst* in Numidia, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that *them*.

<sup>k</sup> LIV. l. xxix. c. 29. <sup>l</sup> APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 6, 39, & 64.  
STRAB. l. xvii. <sup>m</sup> LUCAN. l. iv. LIV. l. xlvi. OPPIAN. de  
venat. l. iv. MARTIAL. l. ix. HERODIAN. l. vii. STRAB. l. xvii.  
Vide & LIV. l. iv. l. viii. & l. xi. <sup>n</sup> VIRG. ÆN. l. viii. ver. 724.  
SERV. in loc. SIL. ITAL. l. i. PLAUT. in Penul. act. v. sc. 2.  
TERTUL. de pall. <sup>o</sup> APPIAN. in Libyc. SALLUST. in Jugurth.  
HERODIAN. l. vii. <sup>p</sup> NIC DAMASCEN. in excerptis Vales.  
p. 518, 519. <sup>q</sup> SALLUST. in Jugurth.

were

were opposite to one another in many particulars. One of these *Diodorus* calls the *Aphadelodians*, who were probably of a different cast from the rest, since he informs us, that they were as black as the *Ethiopians*. According to *Hellenicus*, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the *Libyan Nomades*, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they constantly carried about with them. Their small *Mapalia* were made of *aphodelus*, great quantities of which they took care in the summer-time to be provided with, in order to have always then an agreeable shady retreat. This circumstance undoubtedly gave occasion to the name *Diodorus* calls them by, and is the chief thing, that we find remarked of them by the antient historians<sup>r</sup>.

*Arts, &c.* THE *Numidians*, that inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or sciences amongst them. The *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* indeed, who were very civilized, polite, and ingenious nations, formed, as there is reason to believe, no small part of the inhabitants of the most considerable cities and towns; but we have already treated amply of the arts and sciences they were famous for. However, the proper *Numidians* seem to have been eminent for their skill in managing horses (E), and knowledge in some branches of the military art. Some knowledge likewise of the *Egyptian* theology, polity, and philosophical notions, we cannot well suppose them to have been destitute of; since their ancestors had, for a series of generations, an intercourse with the posterity of *Misraim*. But as to the

<sup>r</sup> DION. SIC. I. xx. HELLANICUS apud Athen. in deipnosoph. I. ii. Vide etiam Univers. hist. vol. xvii. xviii. pass.

(E) These horses were very small, but extremely swift, and easily managed, according to *Livy* and *Strabo*. They were satisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirst a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As they had an ugly gait, a stiff neck, and threw their heads forward, the *Numidian* horseman made but a ridiculous figure be-

fore the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement. *Livy* seems to intimate, that, in *Hannibal's* time, some of the *Numidian* cavalry used bridles, and were heavy-armed troops, wearing coats of mail, swords, shields, and lances; which is countenanced by *Polybius*, *Sallust*, and others (5).

(5) Appian. & Strab. ubi sup. Liv. I. xxi. c. 44, 46. I. xxii. c. 48. Polyb. I. iii. c. 65. Sil. Ital. I. iv. Sallust. in Jugurth. Isidor. orig. I. xvii. c. 12. & alib. Juvenal. scholia. Appian. in Libyc. Liv. I. xxiii. c. 29. Vide & Polyb. spud Justum Lipsium, in tratt. de milit. Rom. ut & ipsam Lips. ibid. I. iii. dial. 7 & 8.

extent of any knowlege of this kind amongst them, we are intirely in the dark. The present *Kabyles* and *Bedoueens*, according to Dr. *Shaw*, spend their time chiefly in making *hykes*, or woollen blankets, and *burnooses*, as they call cloaks or upper garments. In such sort of an employment, possibly, some of the antient rustic *Numidians* might have been engaged ; especially since the aforesaid gentleman imagines the *Kabyles* to be the remains of the old *Africans*. As for the chronology of the *Numidians*, if they had any, it is sufficient to observe, that it must have agreed in the main with that of the nations they were derived from, and contiguous to, viz. the *Carthaginians*, *Phœnicians*, and most early *Egyptians*. In one point however they differed from most, if not all, other nations ; for they computed their time by nights, and not by days, if any credit may be given to a fragment of *Nic. Damascenus*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Nic. DAMASCEN.* in excerpt. Vales. p. 520, 521. *SHAW*, ubi sup. Vide etiam quamplurimi. ex auctor. supra laudat.

### S E C T. III.

#### *The History of the Numidians, from the earliest Accounts of Time, to the Conquest of their Country by the Romans.*

**N**UMIDIA, being pretty remote from *Egypt*, as well as *Wh. in the* that part of *Libya* contiguous to it, seems to have been but *Phœnician*-thinly peopled before the first arrival of the *Phœnicians* there. *ans came* When this happened, we cannot precisely determine. But, *first into* according to *Eusebius*, who is followed by *Bochart*, and other *Numidia*, authors of good repute, it must have been above three hundred years before the foundation of *Carthage*. For *Aristotle* relates, that the *Phœnician* historians made *Utica* to be two hundred eighty-seven years older than *Carthage* ; and *Eusebius* affirms *Hercules*, surnamed *Diodas* or *Desanaus*, that is, the *Phœnician Hercules*, to have been extremely famous all over *Africa* this very year, and to have conquered *Antæus* in the farthest part of *Mauritania* near *Zilis* and *Tingis*, about fifty years before. Sir *Isaac Newton* however, not without reason, brings this event nearer the commencement of the *Christian era*. *Salust*, *Florus*, and *Orosius* likewise, inform us, that this *Hercules*, whom *Salust* calls *Libys*, built *Capfa*. From whence we may infer, that either the kingdom of *Antæus* included *Numidia*, and even *Africa Propria*, or else that *Hercules* over-ran these countries after he had conquered *Mauritania* ; the former of which notions appears to us the most probable. We must defer touch-

ing upon the war betwixt *Hercules* and *Antæus*, till we come to the history of the *Mauritanians*, though the consequences of that war extended to the nation we are now upon <sup>a</sup>.

No accounts of the Numidian affairs for several of the earliest centuries now remaining. THE transactions of *Numidia*, during many of the earliest centuries, have, for a long series of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable, however, that as the *Phœnicians* were masters of a good part of it, they were recorded, and not unknown in the fairs for *Carthaginian* times. King *Iarbas* probably reigned here, as well as in *Africa Propria*, if not in *Mauritania*, and other parts of *Libya*, when *Dido* began to build *Byrsa*; but we have elsewhere taken notice of all the principal particulars relating to that prince, handed down to us by the antients. It appears from *Justin*, that, about the age of *Herodotus*, the people of this country were called both *Africans* or *Libyans*, and *Numidians*; which seems to imply, that the latter name was not then of very long standing, and consequently to countenance what we have advanced above concerning the incorporation of the *Libyan Nomades* among these (A) *Africans* or *Libyans*. *Justin* likewise intimates, that, about this time, the *Carthaginians* vanquished both the *Moors* or *Mauritanians*, and *Numidians*, who had leagued together against them. The consequence of which was, that the former were excused paying the tribute, which had been exacted from them ever since *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa* by the latter. As for the part the *Numidians* acted in all the wars betwixt the *Dionysii*, *Agathocles*, &c. and the *Carthaginians*, we have already been so copious on that head, that our readers will not expect us to expatiate upon it here <sup>b</sup>.

The Carthaginians troops carried on a bloody war three years against their masters to treat the the *Carthaginians*. AFTER the conclusion of the first *Punic* war, the *African* bellion, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Micatanian* Numidians. This so incensed the *Carthaginians*, that, after *Hamilcar* had either killed or taken prisoners all the mercenaries, great severity. he sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those *Numidians*.

<sup>a</sup> ARISTOT. de mirabil. EUSEB. in chron. FLOR. I. iii. c. 1. SALLUST. in Jugurth. OROS. I. v. c. 15. Vide BOCHART. in præfat. ad Chan. <sup>b</sup> GEORG. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 140. JUSTIN. I. xix. c. 2. APPIAN. in Libyc. sub init. Univers. hist. vol. xvii. xviii. pass.

(A) The *Numidians*, particularly the *Masælyi*, lived upon herbs, roots, flesh, milk, cheese, &c. in conformity to what *Herodotus* relates of the *Libyan Nomades*, as we learn from *Appian* and *Strabo*. This adds no small weight to the hypothesis we have ventured here to submit to the consideration of the learned (1).

(1) Appian. in Libyc. c. 6 & 64. Strab. I. xvii.

midians.

*midians.* The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmost rigour and severity ; for he plundered all that district in a terrible manner, and crucified all the prisoners, without distinction, that fell into his hands. This filled the rest with such indignation and resentment, that both they, and their posterity ever afterwards, bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*. The conduct of the *Numidians* in the *Carthaginian* service, during the first *Punic* war, was such as merited the highest applause, as our readers will plainly perceive by consulting a former part of this history <sup>c</sup>.

In the consulate of the younger *Fabius* and *Sempronius Gracchus*, *Syphax* king of the *Massælyli* entered into an alliance *dictated* with the *Romans*. He likewise, in a pitched battl<sup>e</sup>, gave the <sup>twice</sup> *Carthaginians* a considerable defeat. This induced *Gala* king *Masfinissa* of the *Massælyli* to conclude a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in consequence of which his son *Masfinissa* marched at the head of a powerful army to give *Syphax* battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of *Carthaginians*, as soon as he came up with the *Massælyli*, he engaged them. The fight was sharp and bloody ; but at last *Masfinissa* gained a complete victory, putting thirty thousand of the *Massælyli* to the sword, and driving *Syphax* into the country of the *Maurufi*, or *Mauritania*. This, for the present, gave a check both to the progres of *Syphax*'s arms, and the towering projects of the *Romans*. However, the *Massælylian* monarch found means, some time after, to assemble another formidable army of *Massælylians* and *Mauritanians* ; which was likewise defeated and dispersed by *Masfinissa*. But the face of affairs in this country was soon afterwards greatly changed <sup>d</sup>.

*GALA* dying whilst his son *Masfinissa* was acting at the head *A brief account of* of the *Numidian* troops sent to the assistance of the *Carthaginiensians* in *Spain*, his brother *Desfalces*, according to the established *Masfinissian* order of succession in *Numidia*, took possession of the *Massælylian* <sup>fa's</sup> affairs throne. That prince dying soon after his accession, *Capysa*, his <sup>b</sup> before he eldest son, succeeded him. But he did not long enjoy his high <sup>c</sup> entered into dignity ; for one *Mezetulus*, a person of the royal blood, but <sup>d</sup> to an al- an enemy to the family of *Gala*, found means to excite a great <sup>liaunce</sup> part of his subjects to a revolt. This enabled him to form a <sup>e</sup> with the *Romans*. considerable corps, and to bring *Capysa* to a general action ; which ending in his favour, and *Capysa*, with many of the noblesse, being slain, he obtained the *Massælylian* crown, as the fruit of his victory. However, he did not think proper to assume the title of king, contenting himself with that of

<sup>c</sup> Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerptis Valesii. Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 541. & seq. & alib. pass. <sup>d</sup> Liv. l. xxiv. c. 47, 48, 49. APPIAN. in Libyc.

guardian to *Lacumaces*, the surviving son of *Desalces*, whom he graced with the royal title. To support himself in his usurpation, he married the dowager of *Desalces*, who was *Hannibal's* niece, and consequently of the most powerful family in *Carthage*. In order to attain the same end, he sent ambassadors to *Syphax*, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time *Masinissa*, receiving advice of his uncle's death, of his cousin's slaughter, and of *Mezentulus's* usurpation, immediately passed over to *Africa*, and went to the court of *Bocchar* king of *Mauritania*, to solicit succours. *Bocchar*, sensible of the great injustice offered *Masinissa*, gave him a body of four thousand *Moors* to escort him to his dominions. His subjects, having been apprised of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The *Moors*, in pursuance of their orders, returned home, as soon as *Masinissa* reached the confines of his kingdom. Notwithstanding which, and the small body that declared for him, having accidentally met *Lacumaces* at *Thapsus*, with an escort going to implore *Syphax's* assistance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by assault, after a faint resistance. However, *Lacumaces*, with many of his men, found means to escape to *Syphax*. The fame of this exploit gained *Masinissa* great credit, insomuch that the *Numidians* flocked to him from all parts, and, amongst the rest, many of his father *Gala's* veterans, who pressed him to make a speedy and vigorous push for his hereditary dominions. *Lacumaces* having joined *Mezentulus* with a reinforcement of *Massycilians*, which he had prevailed upon *Syphax* to send to the assistance of his ally, the usurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer *Masinissa* battle; which that prince, though much inferior in numbers, did not decline. Hereupon an engagement ensued; which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, ended in the defeat of *Lacumaces*. The immediate consequence of this victory to *Masinissa*, was a quiet and peaceable possession of his kingdom; *Mezentulus* and *Lacumaces*, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of *Carthage*. However, being apprehensive that he should be obliged to sustain a war against *Syphax*, he offered to treat *Lacumaces* with as many marks of distinction as his father *Gala* had *Desalces*; provided that prince would put himself under his protection. He also promised *Mezentulus* pardon, and a restitution of all the effects forfeited by his treasonable conduct, if he would make his submission to him. Both of them readily complied with the proposal, and immediately returned home; so that the tranquillity and repose of *Numidia* would have been settled upon a solid and lasting foundation, had not this been prevented by *Asdrubal*, who was then at *Syphax's* court. He insinuated

insinuated to that prince, who was disposed to live amicably with his neighbours, "That he was greatly mistaken, if he imagined *Masinissa* would be satisfied with his hereditary dominions. That he was a prince of much greater capacity and ambition, than either his father *Gala*, his uncle *Desalees*, or any of his family. That he had discovered in *Spain* marks of a most rare and uncommon merit. And that, in fine, unless his rising flame was extinguished before it came to too great a head, both the *Massylian* and *Carthaginian* states would be infallibly consumed by it." *Syphax*, alarmed by these suggestions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a district, which had long been in dispute between him and *Gala*, but was then in possession of *Masinissa*. This brought on a general action between those two princes, wherein the latter was totally defeated, his army dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly to the top of mount *Balbus*, attended only by a few of his horse. Such a decisive battle at the present juncture, before *Masinissa* was fixed in his throne, could not but put *Syphax* into possession of the kingdom of the *Massylis*. *Masinissa* in the mean time made nocturnal incursions from his post upon mount *Balbus*, and plundered all the adjacent country, particularly that part of the *Carthaginian* territory contiguous to *Numidia*. This district he not only thoroughly pillaged, but likewise laid waste with fire and sword, carrying off from thence an immense booty, which was bought by some merchants, who had put into one of the *Carthaginian* ports for that purpose. In fine, he did the *Carthaginians* more damage, not only by committing such dreadful devastations, but by massacring and carrying into captivity vast numbers of their subjects on this occasion, than they could have sustained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of a regular war. *Syphax*, at the pressing and reiterated instances of the *Carthaginians*, sent *Bocchar*, one of his most active commanders, with a detachment of four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to reduce this pestilent gang of robbers, promising him a great reward, if he could bring *Masinissa* alive or dead. *Bocchar*, watching an opportunity, surprised the *Massylions*, as they were straggling about the country without any order or discipline; so that he took many prisoners, dispersed the rest, and pursued *Masinissa* himself, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain, where he had before taken post. Considering the expedition as ended, he not only sent many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to *Syphax*, but likewise all the forces, except five hundred foot, and two hundred horse. With this detachment he drove *Masinissa* from the summit of the hill, and pursued him through several narrow passes and defiles, as far as the plains

plains of *Cluera*. Here he so surrounded him, that all the *Massilians*, except four, were put to the sword, and *Masinissa* himself, after having received a dangerous wound, escaped with the utmost difficulty. As this was effected by crossing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants perished in the sight of the detachment that pursued him, it was rumoured all over *Africa*, that *Masinissa* also was drowned; which gave inexplicable pleasure to *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*. For some time he lived undiscovered in a cave, where he was supported by the *Tribes* of the two horsemen, that had made their escape with him. But having cured his wound, by the application of some medicinal herbs, he boldly began to advance towards his own frontiers, giving out publicly, that he intended once more to take possession of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horse, and, soon after his arrival amongst the *Massili*, so many people flocked to him from all parts, that out of them he formed an army of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse. With these forces, he not only reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions, but likewise laid waste the borders of the *Massili*. This so irritated *Syphax*, that he immediately assembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiously upon a ridge of mountains between *Cirta* and *Hippo*. His army he commanded in person, and detached his son *Vermina*, with a considerable force, to take a compass, and attack the enemy in the rear. In pursuance of his orders, *Vermina* set out in the beginning of the night, and took post in the place appointed him, without being discovered by the enemy. In the mean time *Syphax* decamped, and advanced towards the *Massili*, in order to give them battle. When he had possessed himself of a rising ground, that led to their camp, and concluded that his son *Vermina* must have formed the ambuscade behind them, he began the fight. *Masinissa* being advantageously posted, and his soldiers distinguishing themselves in an extraordinary manner, the dispute was long and bloody. But *Vermina* unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this means, obliging them to divide their forces, which were scarce able before to oppose the main body under *Syphax*, they were soon thrown into confusion, and forced to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by *Syphax*, and partly by his son, such a dreadful slaughter was made of the unhappy *Massili*, that only *Masinissa* himself, with sixty horse, escaped to the *Lesser Syrtis*. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the *Carthaginians* and *Garamantes*, till the arrival of *Lælius*, and the *Roman* fleet, on the coast of *Africa*. What happened immediately after this junction with the

the *Romans*, our readers will find related at large in a part of this work, to which it more properly belongs<sup>e</sup>.

We have already observed, that the *Carthaginians* lost *Masfinissa* by depriving him of his dear *Sophonisba*. That lady was <sup>ther par-</sup> versed in various branches of literature, excellently well skilled <sup>ticulars</sup> in music, the greatest beauty of her age, and of such exquisite <sup>relating to</sup> charms in every respect, that, according to a grave author, *Syphax* either her bare voice, or a sight of her, was sufficient to cap- <sup>and Mas-</sup> nissa. *Masfinissa* therefore could never forgive the mortifying affront put upon him by the state of *Carthage*, when her father *Afdrubal*, in violation of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to *Syphax*. The *Carthaginians* however, endeavoured to fix that prince in their interest, and, in order to this, prevailed upon *Syphax* to restore him his dominions. *Masfinissa*, to have his full revenge both of *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, feigned himself entirely satisfied with so generous a cession, and outwardly expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though at the same time he was underhand with the *Romans* meditating their ruin. *Afdrubal* had either some private intelligence, or entertained a suspicion, of this; which induced him to lay an ambuscade for *Masfinissa*; which that prince happily escaped. *Syphax* in the mean time acted much such a part as *Masfinissa*. For he pretended an attachment to the *Romans*, though he had entered into the strictest engagements with the *Carthaginians*, at the earnest solicitations of his wife, whose charms he found himself incapable of resisting. The consequences, both of his conduct, and that of his rival *Masfinissa*, have been already related at large. It will be sufficient therefore in this place to observe, that, by the assistance of *Lælius*, *Masfinissa* at last reduced *Syphax*'s kingdom. According to *Zonaras*, *Masfinissa* and *Scipio*, before the memorable battle of *Zama*, by a stratagem, deprived *Hannibal* of some advantageous posts; which, with a solar eclipse happening during the heat of the action, and not a little intimidating the *Carthaginian* troops, greatly contributed to the victory the *Romans* obtained. At the conclusion, therefore, of the second *Punic* war, he was amply rewarded by the *Romans* for the important services he had done them. As for *Syphax*, after the loss of his dominions, he was kept in confinement for some time at *Alba*, from whence being removed in order to grace *Scipio*'s triumph, he died at *Tibur* in his way to *Rome*. *Zonaras* adds, that his corpse was decently interred; that all the *Numidian* prisoners were released; and that *Vermina*, by the assistance of the *Romans*, took peaceable possession of his

<sup>e</sup> LIV. 1. xxix. c. 29—34. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 320, & seq.

father's throne. However, part of the *Masœylian* kingdom was before annexed to *Masinissa's* dominions, in order to reward that prince for his singular fidelity and close attachment to the *Romans*, as has been already observe<sup>1</sup> (B).

As an account of all the principal transactions, in which *Masinissa* was concerned between the second and third *Punic* wars, has been already extracted from the best ancient historians, we cannot here pretend to touch upon any of them, without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing therefore is further requisite, in order to complete the history of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view some points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the close, of life; the wise dispositions made after his death by *Aemilianus*, in order to the regulation of his domestic affairs; and some particulars relating to his character, genius, and habit of body, drawn from the most celebrated Greek and Roman authors<sup>2</sup>.

*Masinissa forces the Carthaginians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms.* By drawing a line of circumvallation round the *Carthaginian* army under *Asdrubal*, posted upon an eminence, *Masinissa* cut off all manner of supplies from them; which introduced both the plague and the famine into their camp. As the body of *Numidian* troops employed in this blockade was not near so numerous as the *Carthaginian* forces, it is evident, that the line here mentioned must have been extremely strong, and consequently the effect of great labour and art. The *Carthaginians*, finding themselves reduced to the last extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which *Masinissa* dictated to them: 1. That they should deliver up all deserters. 2. That

<sup>1</sup> APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 6. LIV. l. xxx. c. 43. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 11, 12. POLYAN. strat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 337. <sup>2</sup> Univers. hist. vol. xii. & xviii. pass.

(B) This seems to be countenanced by the epitomizer of *Livy*, who gives us sufficiently to understand, that *Syphax's* family, for a considerable term after the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, reigned in one part of *Numidia*. For he intimates, that *Archobarzanes*, *Syphax's* grandson, and probably *Vermina's* son, hovered, with a powerful army of *Numidians*, upon the *Carthaginian* frontiers, a few years before the beginning of

the third *Punic* war. This he seems to have done, either in order to cover them, or enable the *Carthaginians* to make an irruption into *Masinissa's* territories. *Cato* however pretended, that these forces, in conjunction with those of *Carthage*, had a design to invade the *Roman* dominions, which he urged as a reason to induce the conscript fathers to destroy the *African* republic (2).

(2) LIV. epit. l. xlviij.

they

they should recall their exiles, who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they should pay him five thousand talents of silver, within the space of fifty years. 4. That their soldiers should pass under the *jugum*, each of them carrying off only a single garment. As *Masinissa* himself, though between eighty and ninety years of age, conducted the whole enterprize, he must have been extremely well versed in fortification, and other branches of the military art. His understanding likewise he must have retained to the last. This happened a short time before the beginning of the third *Punic war*<sup>b</sup>.

SOON after, the consuls landed an army in *Africa*, in order *Masinissa* to lay siege to *Carthage*, without imparting to *Masinissa* their *disgusted* design. This not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to *at the Romans*, the former practice of the *Romans*, who, in the preceding war, *mans*. had communicated their intentions to him, and consulted him on all occasions. When therefore the consuls applied to him for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he made answer, “That they should have a reinforcement from “him, when they stood in need of it.” It could not but be provoking to him to consider, that, after he had extremely weakened the *Carthaginians*, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his pretended imperious friends should come to reap the fruits of his victory, without giving him the least intelligence of it<sup>c</sup>.

HOWEVER, his mind soon after returned to its natural *byas*, *He acts.* which was in favour of the *Romans*. Finding his end approaching, he sent to *Æmilianus*, then a tribune in the *Roman* army, to desire a visit from him. What he proposed by this visit, was to invest him with full powers to dispose of his kingdom and estate, as he should think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he had entertained of that young hero’s abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this step. But, believing that death would not permit him to have a personal conference with *Æmilianus* upon this subject, he informed his wife and children, in his last moments, that he had empowered him to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all his possessions, and to divide his kingdom amongst his sons. To which he subjoined, “I require, that whatever *Æmilianus* may “decree, shall be executed as punctually, as if I myself had “appointed it by my will.” Having uttered these words, he expired, at above ninety years of age<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 40, 41. <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. c. 55, 56.  
LIV. & POLYB. pass. <sup>k</sup> APPIAN. ubi sup. c. 63, 64. VAL.  
MAX. l. v. c. 2. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 27. p. 464, 465. Univers.  
hist. vol. xviii. p. 105.

*Some particulars relating to his character.* THIS prince, during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, as appears from several preceding parts of this history. However, says *Appian*, being supported by the divine protection, he enjoyed an uninterrupted course of prosperity for a long series of years. His kingdom extended from *Mauritania* to the western confines of *Cyrenaica*; from whence it appears, that he was one of the most powerful princes of *Africa*. Many of the inhabitants of this vast tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their soil, and to reap those natural advantages, which the fertility of some parts of their country offered them. He was of a more robust habit of body than any of his contemporaries, being blessed with the greatest health and vigour, which was doubtless owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he incessantly sustained. We are informed by *Polybius*, that sometimes he stood upon the same spot of ground from morning till evening, without the least motion, and at others continued as long in a sitting posture. He would remain on horseback for several days and nights together, without being sensible of the least fatigue. Nothing can better evince the strength of his constitution, than his youngest son, named *Stembol*, *Sthemba*, or *Stembanus*, who was but four years old at his decease. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men, and always rode without a saddle. *Pliny* tells us, that he reigned above sixty years. He was an able commander, and much facilitated the reduction of *Carthage*. *Plutarch* from *Polybius* observes, that the day after a great victory won over the *Carthaginians*, *Masinissa* was seen sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. *Suidas* relates, that, to the last, he could mount his horse without any assistance. According to *Appian*, he left a numerous well-disciplined army, and an immense quantity of wealth (C), behind him<sup>1</sup>.

## MASINISSA,

<sup>1</sup> Univers. hist. vol. xii. & xviii. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. VAL. MAX. ubi sup. STRAB. l. xvii. POLYB. in fragm. p. 1013. edit. Cataub. 1619. PLIN. l. vii. c. 40. PLUT. in comment. an sen. gerend. sit resp. p. 791. CIC. de senect. SUID. in voc. Mzaváwms. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. POLYB. in excerp. Vales. p. 175. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. aliiq; plur.

(C) We are further told, that *Masinissa* always went bare-headed, even though the weather was never so severe; and that, in his extreme old age, he could sit on horseback for four-and-twenty hours together, without

being in the least fatigued. Some authors say, that he was a pious prince, and sent back to *Melita* or *Malta* a large quantity of ivory, which had been brought him from thence out of Juno's temple, as a present

MASINISSA, before his death, gave his ring to his eldest *Æmilianus*, *Micipsa*; but left the distribution of all his other (D) effects *nus divides*, and possessions amongst his children, as has been just observed, *bis king-intirely to Æmilianus*. Of fifty-four sons, that survived him, *dam and* only three were legitimate, to wit, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *officets a-* *Mastanabal*. *Æmilianus*, arriving at *Cirta* after he had ex-*mongst his* pired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, *three sons,* amongst these three, though to the others he gave considerable *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, possessions. To *Micipsa*, who was a prince of a pacific dispo-*and Ma-*sition, and the eldest son, he assigned *Cirta*, the metropolis, *stanabal*, for the place of his residence, in exclusion of the others. *Gulussa*, the next to him, being a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the transacting of all affairs, relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And *Mastanabal*, or, according to *Livy* and *Sallust*, *Manastabal*, the youngest, had the administration of justice, an employment suitable to his education, allotted him. They enjoyed in common the immense treasures *Maslinissa* had amassed, and were all of them dignified by *Æmilianus* with the royal title. After he had made these wise dispositions, that young nobleman departed from *Cirta*, taking with him a body of *Numidian* troops, under the conduct of *Gulussa*, to reinforce the *Roman* army, that was then acting against the *Carthaginians*<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> APPIAN. ubi supra, c. 63, 64. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. LIV. ubi supra. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 27. p. 464, 465. ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. vi.

sent by his admiral. It is added, that he caused inscriptions in *Numidian* letters to be engraven on some of the pieces of this ivory, importing, that he willingly returned it, as soon as he knew it belonged to the goddesses. *Valerius Maximus* says, that, not being able to repose any confidence in any of his children, officets, &c. he endeavoured to secure himself from the attempts of his enemies by a guard of dogs. He sustained as many toils, at near ninety years of age, as any man in his dominions. His subjects he trained up in the military art, instead of permitting them to plunder and

ravage the country, as had frequently happened before his time. The inscriptions above-mentioned are a further proof, that the *Numidians* used alphabetical characters (3).

(D) It is said, that *Maslinissa* was served in earthen-ware, after the *Roman* fashion; but all the strangers at his table in plate. The second service, or dessert, was adorned with golden baskets, in conformity to the *Italian* custom, so ingeniously worked, that they resembled those made of twigs, rushes, &c. Greek musicians likewise attended his entertainments (4).

(3) CIC. de fene*it.* Val. Max. l. i. c. 1. l. viii. c. 13. & l. ix. c. 13.

(4) Ptol. comment. l. viii. apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. vi.

Maitanabal and Gulussa died soon after their father, as appears from the express testimony of *Sallust*. We find nothing more remarkable of these princes, besides what has been already related, than that the latter continued to assist the *Romans* in the third Punic war; and that the former was pretty well versed in the Greek language. *Micipsa* therefore became sole possessor of the kingdom of *Numidia*. In his reign, and the consulate of *M. Plautius Hypsaeus* and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, according to *Orosius*, a great part of *Africa* was covered with locusts, which destroyed all the produce of the earth, and even devoured dry wood. But at last they were all carried by the wind into the African sea, out of which being thrown in vast heaps upon the shore, a plague ensued, which swept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In *Numidia* only perished eight hundred thousand men, and in *Africa Propria* two hundred thousand: amongst the rest, thirty thousand *Roman* soldiers quartered in and about *Utica*, for the defence of the last province. At *Utica* in particular the mortality raged to such a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of one gate in a day. *Micipsa* had two sons, *Athibal* and *Hiempsal*, whom he educated in his palace, together with his nephew *Jugurtha*. That young prince was the son of *Mastanabal*; but his mother having been only a concubine, *Masfinissa* had taken no great notice of him. However, *Micipsa*, considering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him, as he did of his own children<sup>n</sup>.

*JUGURTHA* possessed several eminent qualities, which gained him universal esteem. He was very handsome, endued with great strength of body, and adorned with the finest intellectual endowments. He did not devote himself, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure. He used to exercise himself, with persons of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exercises, suited to the martial genius of the *Numidians*; and, though he surpassed all his fellow-sportsmen, there was not one of them but loved him. The chase was his only delight; but it was that of lions, and other savage (E) beasts. *Sallust*, to finish his character, tells

<sup>n</sup> *SALLUST.* in *Jugurth.* c. 5. *LIV.* epit. I. *APPIAN.* in *Libyc.* *OROS.* i. v. c. 11.

(E) *Sallust* seems to intimate, that many of the natives of *Numidia* were destroyed by these wild beasts. For he says, that the *Numidians* were so healthy, and of such robust constitutions,

that almost all of them attained to old age, except those who either fell in war, or were devoured by wild beasts, scarce any disease ever proving fatal to them (5).

(5) *Sallust.* in *bell. Jugurt.*

us, that he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself.

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections *Micipsa* at first charmed *Micipsa*, who thought them an ornament to *jealous of his kingdom*. However, he soon began to reflect, that he was *his nephew*; *Jugurtha*, considerably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirsted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. These reflections soon excited his jealousy, and determined him to expose *Jugurtha* to a variety of dangers, some of which, he entertained hopes, might prove fatal to him. In order to this, he gave him the command of a body of forces, which he sent to assist the *Romans*, who were at that time besieging *Numerantia* in *Spain*. But *Jugurtha*, by his admirable conduct, not only escaped all these dangers, but likewise won the esteem of the whole army, and the friendship of *Scipio*, who sent a high character of him to his uncle *Micipsa*. However, that general gave him some prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, observing, no doubt, in him certain sparks of ambition, which, if lighted into a flame, he apprehended, might, one day, be productive of the most fatal consequences.

BEFORE this last experiment, *Micipsa* had endeavoured to *Jugurtha's* find out some method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongst the *Numidians* obliged that prince to lay aside such and all thoughts of this nature. After his return from *Spain*, the cruelty of the whole nation almost adored him. The heroic bravery he had shewn there, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmost calmness of mind, which enabled him to preserve a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness, a circumstance rarely to be met with in persons of his age, and, above all, the advantageous testimonials of his conduct given by *Scipio*, attracted an universal esteem. Nay, *Micipsa* himself, charmed with the high idea the *Roman* general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, resolving, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. He therefore adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two sons (F) to the

• *SALLUST.* ubi sup. *FLOR.* I. iii. c. 1.  
sup. *VELL. PATERC.* I. ii. c. 9.

P *SALLUST.* ubi

(F) *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that though *Micipsa* had many children, his three favourite sons were *Adberbal*, *Hicapsal*, and *Micipsa*. The same historian likewise adds, that he was the most clement of all the *Numidian*

monarchs; and that he entertained a great number of *Greeks*, eminent in all branches of literature, particularly philosophy, by whose instructions he became a most celebrated philosopher (v).

(6) *Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Vaiſſ.* p. 335, 385.

crown. Finding, some few years afterwards, that his end approached, he sent for all three to his bed-side, where, in the presence of the whole court, he desired *Jugurtha* to recollect with what extreme tenderness he had treated him, and consequently to consider how well he had deserved at his hands. He then intreated him to protect his children on all occasions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now, by their father's bounty, become his brethren. In order to fix him the more firmly in their interest, he likewise complimented him upon his bravery, address, and consummate prudence. He further insinuated, that neither arms nor treasures constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real services, and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where, continued he, can we find better friends than "in brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an ene- "my to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend upon "strangers?" Then addressing himself to *Adherbal* and *Hiemp- sal*, "And you, said he, I injoin always to pay the highest re- "verence to *Jugurtha*. Endeavour to imitate, and, if possible, "surpass his exalted merit, that the world may not hereafter "observe *Micipsa*'s adopted son to have reflected greater glory "upon his memory than his own children." Soon after, *Micipsa*, who, according to *Diodorus*, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though *Jugurtha* did not believe the king to speak his real sentiments with regard to him, yet he seemed extremely pleased with so gracious a speech, and made him an answer suitable to the occasion. However, that prince at the same time was determined within himself to put in execution the scheme he had formed at the siege of *Numantia*, which was suggested to him by some factious and abandoned *Roman* officers, with whom he there contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this scheme was, that he should extort the crown by force from his two cousins, as soon as their father's eyes were closed; which, they insinuated, might easily be effected by his own valour, and the venality of the *Romans*. Accordingly, a short time after the old king's death, he found means to assassinate *Hiempal* in the city of *Thirmida*, where his treasures were deposited, and drive *Adherbal* out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himself obliged to fly to *Rome*, where he endeavoured to engage the conscript fathers to espouse his quarrel; but, notwithstanding the justice of his cause, they had not virtue enough effectually to support him. *Jugurtha*'s embassadors, by distributing vast sums of money amongst the senators, brought them so far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. This encouraged those ministers to declare, that *Hiempal* had been killed by the *Numidians*, on account of his excessive cruelty; that *Adherbal* was the aggressor in the late

troubles ; and that he was only chagrined, because he could not make that havock amongst his countrymen he would willingly have done. They, therefore, intreated the senate to form a judgment of *Jugurtha's behaviour in Africa* from his conduct at *Numantia*, rather than from the suggestions of his enemies. Upon which, by far the greatest part of the senate discovered themselves prejudiced in his favour. A few however, that were not lost to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, insisted upon bringing him to condign punishment. But, as they could not prevail, he had the best part of *Numidia* allotted him, and *Adherbal* was forced to rest satisfied with the other <sup>9</sup>.

*JUGURTHA*, finding now by experience, that every thing *He bribes* was venal at *Rome*, as his friends at *Numantia* had before in-*the Ro-* formed him, thought he might pursue his towering projects *man s-* without any obstruction from that quarter. He therefore, *in-nate, and* meditately after the first division of *Micipsa's dominions*, threw *massacres* off the mask, and attacked his cousin by open force. As *Adher-* *bal* was a prince of a pacific disposition, and almost in all respects the reverse of *Jugurtha*, he was by no means a match for him. The latter therefore pillaged the former's territories, stormed several of his fortresses, and over-ran a good part of his kingdom without opposition. *Adherbal*, depending upon the friendship of the *Romans*, which his father, in his last moments, assured him would be a stronger support to him than all the troops and treasures in the universe, dispatched deputies to *Rome*, to complain of these hostilities. But, whilst he lost his time in sending thither fruitless deputations, *Jugurtha* overthrew him in a pitched battle, and soon after shut him up in *Cirta*. During the siege of this city, a *Roman* commission arrived there, in order to persuade both parties to an accommodation ; but finding *Jugurtha* untractable, the commissioners returned home, without so much as conferring with *Adherbal*. A second deputation, composed of senators of the highest distinction, with *Æmilius Scaurus*, president of the senate, at their head, landed some time after at *Utica*, and summoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them. That prince at first seemed to be under dreadful apprehensions, especially as *Scaurus* reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the resentment of the *Romans*, if he did not immediately raise the siege of *Cirta*. However, the *Numidian*, by his address, and the irresistible power of gold, as was afterwards suspected at *Rome*, so mollified *Scaurus*, that he left *Adherbal* at his mercy. In fine, *Jugurtha* had at last *Cirta* surrendered to him, upon condition only, that he should spare the life of *Adherbal*. But the merciless tyrant, in violation of

<sup>9</sup> *SALLUST.* & *FLOR.* ubi sup. *EUTROP.* l. iv. c. 26. *OROS.* l. v.  
c. 15.

the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he had got possession of the town, ordered him to be put to a most cruel death. The merchants likewise, and all the *Numidians* in the place capable of bearing arms, he caused, without distinction, to be put to the sword<sup>r</sup>.

*He cor-  
rupts Be-  
stia and  
Scaurus.*

EVERY person at *Rome*, inspired with any sentiments of humanity, was struck with horror at the news of this tragical event. However, all the venal senators still concurred with *Jugurtha's* ministers in palliating his enormous crimes. Notwithstanding which, the people, excited thereto by *Caius Memmius* their tribune, who bitterly inveighed against the venality of the senate, resolved not to let so flagrant an instance of villainy go unpunished. This disposition in them induced the conscript fathers likewise to declare their intention to chastise *Jugurtha*. In order to this, an army was levied to invade *Numidia*, and the command of it given to the consul *Calpurnius Bestia*, a person of good abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition he was to go upon by his insatiable avarice. *Jugurtha*, being informed of the great preparations making at *Rome* to attack his dominions, sent his son thither to avert the impending storm. The young prince was plentifully supplied with money, which he had orders to distribute liberally amongst the leading men. But *Bestia*, proposing to himself great advantages from an invasion of *Numidia*,

<sup>2238.</sup> defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree passed, ordering him and his attendants to depart *Italy* in ten days, unless they were <sup>110.</sup> come to deliver up the king himself, and all his territories, to the republic by way of deditio. Which decree being notified <sup>638.</sup> to them, they returned, without so much as having entered the gates of *Rome*; and the consul soon after landed with a powerful army in *Africa*. For some time he carried on the war there very briskly, reduced several streng-holds, and took many *Numidians* prisoners. But, upon the arrival of *Scaurus*, whose character has been already given in the *Roman* history, a peace was granted *Jugurtha* upon advantageous terms. That prince coming from *Vacca*, the place of his residence, to the *Roman* camp, in order to confer with *Bestia* and *Scaurus*, and the preliminaries of the treaty being immediately after settled between them in private conferences, every body at *Rome* was convinced, that the prince of the senate and the consul had to their avarice sacrificed the republic. The indignation therefore of the people in general displayed itself in the strongest manner. *Memmius* also fired them with his speeches. It was therefore resolved to dispatch the prætor *Caius*, a person they could confide in, to *Numidia*, to prevail upon *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome*, that they might learn from the king himself which of their generals and

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid. Liv. epit. lxiv.

senators had been seduced by the pestilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival there, he found means to bribe one *Bebius Salca*, a man of great authority amongst the plebeians, but of insatiable avarice, by whose assistance he escaped with impunity. Nay, by the efficacy of gold, he not only eluded all the endeavours of the people of *Rome* to bring him to justice, but likewise enabled *Bamilcar*, one of his attendants, to get *Massiva*, an illegitimate son of *Micipsa*, assassinated in the streets of *Rome*. That young prince was advised by many *Romans* of probity, well-wishers to the family of *Masinissa*, to apply for the kingdom of *Numidia*; which coming to *Jugurtha's* ears, he prevented the application by this execrable step. However, he was obliged to leave *Italy* immediately. He departed *Rome* with passing that severe reflection upon the venality of its infamous citizens already mentioned<sup>3</sup>.

*JUGURTHA* had scarce set foot in *Africa*, when he received *Otho's* advice, that the senate had annulled the shameful peace concluded with him by *Bestia* and *Scaurus*. Soon after, the consul *Albinus* transported a *Roman* army into *Numidia*, flattering himself with the hopes of reducing *Jugurtha* to reason before the expiration of his consulate. In this however he found himself deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, so amused and imposed upon *Albinus*, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This rendered him strongly suspected of having betrayed his country after the example of his predecessors. His brother *Aulus*, who succeeded him in the command of the army, was still more unsuccessful; for, after rising from before *Suthul*, where the king's treasures were deposited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impossible to extricate himself. He therefore was obliged to submit to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the *jugum*, with all his men, and to quit *Numidia* intirely in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate destruction. The avaricious disposition of the *Roman* commander prompted him to besiege *Suthul*, the possession of which place, he imagined, would make him master of all the wealth of *Jugurtha*, and consequently paved the way to such a scandalous treaty. However, this was declared void as soon as known at *Rome*, as being concluded without the authority of the people. The *Roman* troops retired into *Africa Propria*, which they had now reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and there took up their winter-quarters<sup>4</sup>.

In the mean time *Caius Mamilius Limetanus*, tribune of the people, excited the plebeians to inquire into the conduct of those persons, by whose assistance *Jugurtha* had found means to elude all the decrees of the senate. This put the body of the people

\* Idem ibid.

<sup>1</sup> SALLUST. FLOR. OROS. ubi sup.

into

into a great ferment; which occasioned a prosecution of the guilty senators, that was carried on, for some time, with the utmost heat and violence. *Lucius Metellus* the consul, during these transactions, had *Numidia* assigned him for his province, and consequently was appointed general of the army destined to act against *Jugurtha*. As he perfectly disregarded wealth, the *Numidian* found him superior to all his temptations; which was a great mortification to him. To this he joined all the other virtues, which constitute the great captain; so that *Jugurtha* found him in all respects inaccessible. That prince therefore was now forced to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of *Metellus*, with the greatest caution, and exert his utmost bravery, in order to compensate for that hitherto so favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. *Marius*, *Metellus's* Lieutenant, being likewise a person of uncommon merit, the *Romans* reduced *Vaccæ*, a large, opulent city, and the most celebrated mart in *Numidia*. They also defeated *Jugurtha* in a pitched battle; overthrew *Bomilcar*, one of his generals, upon the banks of the *Muthullus*; and, in fine, forced the *Numidian* monarch to take shelter in a place rendered almost inaccessible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, *Jugurtha* signalized himself in a surprising manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of a consummate general, to whom despair administers fresh strength, and suggests new lights. But his troops could not make head against the *Romans*; they were again worsted by *Marius*, though they obliged *Metellus* to raise the siege of *Zama*. *Jugurtha* therefore, finding his country every-where ravaged, his most opulent cities plundered, his fortresses reduced, his towns burnt, vast numbers of his subjects put to the sword, and taken prisoners, began to think seriously of coming to an accommodation with the *Romans*. His favourite *Bomilcar*, in whom he reposed the highest confidence, but who had been gained over to the enemy by *Metellus*, observing this disposition, found it no difficult matter to persuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horses, and deserters, in whom the main strength of his army consisted, into the hands of the *Romans*. Some of these last, in order to avoid the punishment due to their crime, retired to *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, and listed in his service. But *Metellus* ordering him to repair to (G) *Tifilium*, a city of *Numidia*, there to receive farther directions,

(G) This city seem: to have  
been situated either upon the  
borders of *Africa Propria*, or in  
that province, since *Metellus* dis-

*tributed his troops in winter-  
quarters there, after the conclu-  
sion of the campaign (7).*

and

and he refusing a compliance with that order, hostilities were renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now seemed to declare in favour of *Jugurtha*: he retook *Vacca*, and massacred all the *Roman* garrison, except *Turpilius*, the commandant. However, soon after a *Roman* legion seized again upon it, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost severity. About this time, one of *Mascanabal's* sons, named *Gauda*, whom *Micipsa*, in his will, had appointed to succeed to the crown, in case his two legitimate sons and *Jugurtha* died without issue, wrote to the senate in favour of *Marius*, who was then endeavouring to supplant *Metellus*; the occasion and effect of which solicitation has already been related. That prince, having his understanding impaired by a declining state of health, fell a more easy prey to the base and infamous adulation of *Marius*. The *Roman* soothing his vanity, assured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the *Numidian* throne, as soon as *Jugurtha* was either killed or taken; and that this must in a short time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the *Roman* army with an unlimited commission. Soon after, *Bomilcar* and *Nabdalu* formed a design to assassinate *Jugurtha*, at the (H) instigation of *Metellus*; but this being detected, *Bomilcar*, and most of his accomplices, suffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot however had such an effect upon *Jugurtha*, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquillity or repose. He suspected persons of all denominations, *Numidians* as well as foreigners, of some black designs against him. Perpetual terrors sat brooding over his mind; insomuch that he never got a wink of sleep, but by stealth, and often changed his bed in a low, plebeian manner. Starting from his sleep, he would frequently snatch his sword, and break out into the most doleful cries. So strongly was he haunted by a spirit of fear, jealousy, and distraction <sup>u</sup>.

*JUGURTHA* having destroyed great numbers of his friends, *Over-* on suspicion of their having been concerned in the late conspiracy, *thrown a* and many more of them deserting to the *Romans* and *Bocchus*, *and time* king of *Mauritania*, he found himself, in a manner, destitute *by him* of counsellors, generals, and all persons capable of assisting him

<sup>u</sup> *Iidem ibid.* LIV. epit. LXV. PLUT. in Mar. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 11.

(H) *Frontinus* relates, that *Metellus* endeavoured to secure *Jugurtha's* person, not to assassinate him, which, he insinuates, might have been more easily effected.

But as this runs counter to *Salust*, who is superior, in point of authority, to *Frontinus*, this historical fragment deserves not much credit (8).

in carrying on the war. This threw him into a deep melancholy; which rendered him dissatisfied with every thing, and made him fatigue his troops with a variety of contradictory motions. Sometimes he would advance with great celerity against the enemy, and at others retreat with no small swiftness from them. Then he resumed his former courage; but soon after despaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his command. All his movements therefore proved unsuccessful, and at last he was forced by *Metellus* to a battle. That part of the *Numidian* army *Jugurtha* commanded, behaved with some resolution; but the other fled at the first onset. The *Romans* therefore intirely defeated them, took all their standards, and made a few of them prisoners. Not many of them were slain in the action, since, as *Sallust* observes, the *Numidians* trusted more to their heels than to their arms for safety in this engagement <sup>w</sup>.

**Metellus** *METELLUS* pursued *Jugurtha* and his fugitives to *Thala*, a place we have formerly described. His march to this place, being through vast deserts, was extremely tedious and difficult. But

**Year of** being supplied with leathern bottles and wooden vessels of all the flood sizes taken from the huts of the *Numidians*, which were filled

**2242.** with water brought by the natives, who had submitted to him, **Bef. Christ**

**106.** he advanced towards that city. He had no sooner begun his

**Of Rome** march, than a most copious shower of rain, a thing very un-

**642.** common in those deserts, proved a great and seasonable refresh-

ment to his troops. This so animated them, that upon their arrival before *Thala*, they attacked the town with such vigour, that *Jugurtha*, with his family, and treasures deposited therein, thought proper to abandon it. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the garrison, consisting of *Roman* deserters, setting fire to the king's palace, and consuming themselves, together with every thing valuable to them, in the flames. *Jugurtha*, being now reduced to great extremities, retired into *Gætulia*, where he formed a considerable corps. From thence he advanced to the confines of *Mauritania*, and engaged *Bocchus*, king of that country, who had married his daughter, to enter into an alliance with him. In consequence of which, having reinforced his *Gætulian* troops with a powerful body of *Mauritanians*, he turned the tables upon *Metellus*, and obliged him to keep close within his intrenchments. *Sallust* informs us, that *Jugurtha* bribed *Bocchus*'s ministers to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience, he insinuated, that, should *Numidia* be subdued, *Mauritania* must be involved in its ruin, especially as the *Romans* seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. In support of what he ad-

\* *SALLUST.* *LIV.* *PATERC.* *OROS.* ubi sup. *EUTROP.* ubi sup.  
c 27.

vanced, he produced several instances very apposite to the point in view. However, the same author seems to intimate, that *Bocchus* was determined to assist *Jugurtha* against his enemies by the slight the *Romans* had formerly shewn him. That prince, at the first breaking out of this war, sent embassadors to *Rome*, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to the republic; which, though of the utmost consequence to it at that juncture, a few of the most venal and infamous senators, who were abandoned to corruption, prevented from taking effect. This undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon *Bocchus* in favour of *Jugurtha*, than the relation he stood in to him; for both the *Moors* and *Numidians* adapted the number of their wives to their circumstances, so that some had ten, twenty, &c. to their share. Their kings therefore were unlimited in this particular, and of course all degrees of affinity, resulting to them from marriage, had little force. It is observed<sup>1</sup>, that the posterity of those ancient nations have the same custom prevailing amongst them at this day x.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in *Nomidia*, when *Aetellus* received advice of the promotion of *Marius* to the consulate. And endeavours to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*. What effect this news had upon that excellent, tho' much injured, commander, has been already observed. But, notwithstanding the injurious treatment he met with on this occasion, he generously endeavoured to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, of Jugurtha. though this would facilitate the reduction of *Nomidia* for his rival. To this end embassadors were dispatched to the *Mauritanian* court, who intimated to *Bocchus*, "That it would be highly imprudent to come to a rupture with the *Romans* without any cause at all; and that he had now a fine opportunity of concluding a most advantageous treaty with them, which was much preferable to a war. To which they added, that whatever dependence he might place upon his riches, he ought not to run the hazard of losing his dominions by embroiling himself with other states, when he could easily avoid this; that it was much easier to begin a war, than to end it, which it was in the power of the victor alone to do; that, in fine, he would by no means consult the interest of his subjects, if he followed the desperate fortunes of *Jugurtha*." To which *Bocchus* replied, "That for his part, there was nothing he wished for more than peace; but that he could not help pitying the deplorable condition of *Jugurtha*; that if the *Romans* therefore would grant that unfortunate prince the same terms they had offered him, he would bring about an accommodation." *Aetellus* let the *Mauritanian* monarch know,

<sup>x</sup> *Ibidem ibid. SRAB 1 xvii. Vide & BERN. ALDRET. ubi sup. p. 400, 401, & seq.*

that it was not in his power to comply with what he desired. However, he took care to keep up a private negotiation with him till the new consul *Marius's* arrival. By this conduct he served two wise ends. First, he prevented thereby *Bocchus* from coming to a general action with his troops; which was the very thing *Jugurtha* desired, as hoping that this, whatever the event might be, would render a reconciliation betwixt him and the *Romans* impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to discover something of the genius and disposition of the *Mors*, a nation, of whom the *Romans*, till then, had scarce formed any idea; which, he imagined, might be of no small service, either to himself or his successors, in the future prosecution of the war <sup>y</sup>.

*Marius  
reduces  
Capsa.*

**JUGURTHA**, being informed, that *Marius*, with a numerous army, was landed at *Utica*, advised *Bocchus* to retire, with part of the troops, to some place of difficult access, whilst he himself took post upon another inaccessible spot with the remaining corps. By this measure, he hoped the *Romans* would be obliged to divide their forces, and consequently be more exposed to his efforts and attacks. He likewise imagined, that, seeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy in no condition to make head against them; which might occasion a relaxation of discipline, the usual attendant of a too great security, and consequently produce some good effect. However, he was disappointed in both these views. For *Marius*, far from suffering a relaxation of discipline to take place, trained up his troops, which consisted chiefly of new levies, in so perfect a manner, that they were soon equal in goodness to any consular army that ever appeared in the field. He also cut off great numbers of the *Gætulian* marauders, defeated many of *Jugurtha's* parties, and had like to have taken that prince himself prisoner near the city of *Cirta*. These advantages, though not of any great importance, intimidated *Bocchus*, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the *Romans*, not being sufficiently satisfied of his sincerity, gave no great attention to them. In the mean time *Marius* pushed on his conquests, reducing several places of less note, and at last resolved to besiege *Cappa*. That this enterprize might be conducted with the greater secrecy, he suffered not the least hint of his design to transpire, even amongst any of his officers. On the contrary, in order to blind them, he detached *A. Manlius*, one of his lieutenants, with some light armed cohorts, to the city of *Lares*, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and deposited the military chest. Before *Manlius* left the camp, that he might the more effectually

<sup>y</sup> *SALLUST. VEL. PATERC. & PLUT.* ubi sup. *Univers. hist.* vol. xii. p. 482.

amuse him, he intimated, that himself, with the army, should take the same route in a few days; but, instead of that, he bent his march towards the *Tanais*, and, in six days time, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a short time, in order to refresh his troops; which having done, he advanced to *Capfa*, and made himself master of it, in the manner already related. As the situation of this city rendered it extremely commodious to *Jugurtha*, whose plan of operations, ever since the commencement of the war, it had exceedingly favoured, he leveled it with the ground, after it had been delivered up to the soldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewise, being more strongly attached to that prince than any of the other *Numidians*, on account of the extraordinary privileges he indulged them with, and, of course, bearing a more implacable hatred to the *Romans*, he put to the sword, or sold for slaves. The true motive of the consul's conduct on this occasion seems here to be assigned, though we are told by *Sallust*, in conformity to the *Roman* genius, that neither avarice nor resentment prompted him to so barbarous an action, but only a desire to strike a terror into the *Numidians*<sup>z</sup> (I).

THE *Numidians*, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very *Jugurtha* name of *Marius*, who now, in his own opinion, had eclipsed <sup>previous</sup> the glory of all his predecessor's great achievements, particularly <sup>upon</sup> the reduction of *Thala*, a city, in strength and situation, nearly *thus to* resembling *Capfa*. Following his blow, he gradually pretended *affit* himself before most of the places of strength in the enemy's

<sup>z</sup> SALLUST. LIV. FLOR. PLUT. EUTROP. OROS. ubi supra.

(I) *Sallust* does not only inform us, that the *Numidians* lived after much the same manner as the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, but likewise that they were called *Nomo-Numidae*. This seems to confirm what we have hinted above concerning the etymon of the word *Numidia*. He likewise tells us, that these *Nomo-Numidae* increased so exceedingly, that they overstocked their original country; and therefore were obliged to make an irruption into the region afterwards from them called *Nurzia*, where

they settled. This piece of history the same writer affirms to hav. been extracted from some Punic books belonging to king *Hiempsal*. From whence it may be inferred, that what has been advanced by *Herodotus* concerning the irruption of the *Libyan Nomades* into *Numidia*, is probably true, since it is attested by the Punic writers themselves. However, it must be owned, that where these authors contradict *Herodotus*, and the generality of the best historians, such a degree of credit is not due to them (9).

v

(9) *Herodot. ubi sup. l. iv. Sallust. in bell. Jugurth.*

country, many of which either opened their gates, or were abandoned, at his approach, being terrified with what had happened to the unfortunate citizens of *Capsa*. Others, taking by force, he laid in ashes; and, in short, filled the greatest part of *Numidia* with blood, horror, and confusion. Then, after an obstinate defence, he reduced a castle, that seemed impregnable, seated not far from *Mulucha*, where *Jugurtha* kept part of his treasures (K). In the mean time *Jugurtha*, not being able to prevail upon *Bocchus*, by his repeated solicitations, to advance into *Numidia*, where he found himself greatly pressed, was obliged to have recourse to his usual method of bribing the *Mauritanian* ministers, in order to put that prince in motion. He also promised him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or get all the *Numidian* dominions confirmed to him by treaty<sup>a</sup>.

*They are both defeated by Marius, upon which Bocchus delivers up Jugurtha to the Roman incaution and too great security enabled Marius to give them a mans. total defeat; which was followed four days after by so complete an overthrow, that their numerous army, consisting of ninety thousand men, by the accession of a powerful corps of Moors, commanded by Bocchus's son Volux, was intirely ruined. Sylla, Marius's lieutenant, most eminently distinguished himself in the last action, which laid the foundation of his future greatness.*

<sup>2243.</sup>

*Of Rome Bocchus, now looking upon Jugurtha's condition as desperate,*

<sup>105.</sup>

*6+3.*

<sup>a</sup> SALLUST. FLOR. PLUT. ubi sup. S. Jul. FRONTIN. strat. I. iii. c. 9. ex. 3.

(K) Notwithstanding the immense treasures *Jugurtha* had been in possession of, so late as some years after the death of *Gala*, father to *Messinissa*, a great part of the *Numidians*, all those at least inhabiting the open country, had no gold or silver money. However, they were not very sensible of this defect, since it

was supplied by their flocks and herds, as we are informed by *Livy* (1).

(L.) *Frontinus* says, that *Jugurtha* never began a battle with the *Romans* till towards evening, that, if he should happen to be defeated, he might escape by favour of the night (2).

(1) *Liv. I. xxix. c. 31.* (2) *S. Jul. Frontin. strat. I. ii. c. 1. ex. 13.*

and not being willing to run the risk of losing his dominions, shewed a disposition to clap up a peace with *Rome*. However, the republic gave him to understand, that he must not expect to be ranked amongst its friends, till he had delivered up into the consul's hands *Jugurtha*, the inveterate enemy of the *Roman* name. The *Mauritanian* monarch, having entertained an high idea of an alliance with that state, resolved to satisfy it in this particular, and was confirmed in his resolution by one *Dabar*, a *Numidian* prince, the son of *Maffugrada*, and descended, by his mother's side, from *Masinissa*. Being closely attached to the *Romans*, and extremely agreeable to *Bocchus*, on account of his noble disposition, he defeated all the intrigues of *Aspar*, *Jugurtha*'s minister. Upon *Sylla*'s arrival at the *Mauritanian* court, the affair there seemed to be intirely settled. However, *Bocchus*, who was for ever projecting new designs, and, like the rest of his countrymen, in the highest degree perfidious, debated within himself, whether he should sacrifice *Sylla* or *Jugurtha*, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated by a contrariety of sentiments. The sudden changes, which displayed themselves in his countenance, his air, and his whole person, evidently shewed how strongly his mind was agitated. But at last he returned to his first design, to which the byas of his mind seemed naturally to lead him. He therefore delivered up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*, to be conducted to *Marius*, who, by that successful event, happily terminated this dangerous war. The kingdom of *Numidia* was now reduced to a new form : *Bocchus*, for his important services, had the country of the *Maffesili*, contiguous to *Mauritania*, assigned him, which, from this time, took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Massyli*, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to *Hiempsal*, another to *Mandresbal*, both descendants of *Masinissa*, and the third the *Romans* annexed to *Africa Propria*, or the *Roman* province, adjacent to it. What became of *Jugurtha*, after he had graced *Marius*'s triumph (M), at which ceremony he was led in chains,

(M) According to *Plutarch*, *Marius*'s triumph happened on the first day of *January*, which began the year amongst the *Romans*, when *Jugurtha* was exposed to the view of the people. The populace were extremely pleased with that sight, the *Numidian*, by his valour and con-

duct, having rendered himself terrible to the *Romans*. Nay, *Florus* intimates, that he was looked upon by them as a second *Hannibal*. *Plutarch* adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he fell distract'd ; that, when he was afterwards thrown into prison, whilst some tore off his cloathes,

chains, together with his two sons, through the streets of *Rome*, our readers will find related at large in a former part of this work<sup>b</sup>.

*Trans-  
actions in  
Numidia  
after the  
death of  
Jugurtha.*

**JUGURTHA**'s two sons survived him, but spent their lives in captivity at *Venusia*. However, one of them, named *Oxyntas*, was, for a short time, released from his confinement by *Aponius*, who besieged *Acerre* in the war between the *Romans* and the *Italian* allies. That general brought this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw the *Numidian* forces off from the *Roman* service. Accordingly those *Numidians* no sooner heard, that the son of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to desert by companies; which obliged *Julius Cæsar*, the consul, to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and send them back into *Africa*. Some few years after this event, *Pompey* defeated *Cneius Domitius Abenobarbus*, and *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, killing seventeen thousand of their men upon the spot. Not satisfied with this victory, that general pursued the fugitives to their camp, which he soon forced, put *Domitius* to the sword, and took *Hiarbas* prisoner. He then reduced that part of *Numidia* which belonged to *Hiarbas*, who seems to have succeeded *Mandrestal* above-mentioned, and gave it to *Hicrissal*, a neighbouring *Numidian* prince, descended from *Masinnissa*, who had always opposed the *Marian* faction. For a particular account of the treacherous reception *Hicrissal*, or his son *Mandrestal*, gave young *Marius*, *Cethegus*, *Lætorius*, and others of the same party, when proscribed by *Sylla*, and forced to seek an asylum

<sup>b</sup> *SALLUST.* ubi sup. LIV. epit. lxvi. *PLUT.* in *Mar.* & in *Syl.* *DIO CAS.* l. xliii. *APPIAN.* de bell. civ. *FLOR.* *EUTROP.* & *OROS.* ubi sup. *PLIN.* l. v. c. 2. *STRAB.* l. xvii. Vide & *Universl. hist.* vol. xii. p. 494, 499, 500. *VEL. PATERC.* l. ii. c. 12.

cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with which they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly discomposed; and that yet, full of horror, when he was cast naked into the dungeon, he forced a smile, crying out, *O heavens! how intolerably cold is this bath of yours!* In this place he struggled for some time with extreme hunger, and then expired. The barbarous death he was

put to, notwithstanding his own inhuman disposition, will remain an eternal monument of the *Roman* cruelty and ingratitude. *Mithridates* therefore justly reproached the lords of the world with their infamous barbarity to the grandson of *Masinnissa*, a prince that contributed as much to the destruction of their only rival *Carthage* as either of the *Africani* (3).

(3) *J. G. I. xxxviii. c. 6. Plut. in Maric.*

at his court, we must refer our readers to *Plutarch* and *Appian*<sup>c</sup>.

SUETONIUS informs us, that a dispute happened between *Hiemp-Cæsar sal* and one *Masinha*, a noble *Numidian*, whom, it is probable, treats *Juba* he had, in some respect, injured, when *Julius Cæsar* first began to be in a make a figure in the world. The same author adds, that *Cæsar* very warmly espoused the cause of *Masinha*, and even grossly insulted <sup>ent man-</sup> *Juba*, *Hiempal's* son, when he attempted to vindicate his <sup>her</sup> father's conduct on this occasion. He pulled him by the beard, than which a more unpardonable affront could not be offered an *African*. In short, he screened *Masinha* from the insults and violence of his enemies; from whence a reason may be assigned for *Juba*'s adhering so closely afterwards to the *Pompeian* faction<sup>d</sup>.

IN consequence of the indignity *Cæsar* had offered *Juba*, and *Juba* ~~the~~ the disposition it had occasioned, that prince did *Cæsar* great feats Cu-damage in the civil wars betwixt him and *Pompey*. By a stratagēm he drew *Curio*, one of his lieutenants, to a general *Cæsar's* action, which it was his interest at that time to have avoided. He caused it to be given out all over *Africa Propria* and *Numi-nants*. *dia*, that he was retired into some remote country at a great distance from the *Roman* territories. This coming to *Curio's* ears, who was then besieging *Utica*, it hindered him from taking the necessary precautions against a surprize. Soon after, the *Roman* general receiving intelligence, that a small body of *Numidians* was approaching his camp, he put himself at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, for fear they should escape, began his march in the night, looking upon himself as sure of victory. Some of their advanced posts he surprised asleep, and cut them to pieces, which still further animated him. In short, about day-break he came up with the *Numidians*, whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men were then fainting, and vastly fatigued by their forced and precipitate march. In the mean time *Juba*, who, immediately after the propagation of the rumour above-mentioned, had taken care to march privately, with the main body of the *Numidian* army, to support the detachment sent before to decoy *Curio*, advanced to the relief of his men. The *Romans* had met with a great resistance before he appeared; so that he easily broke them, killed *Curio*, with a good part of his troops, upon the spot, pursued the rest to their camp, which he plundered, and took many of them prisoners. Most of the fugitives, who endeavoured to make their escape on board the ships in the port

<sup>c</sup> APPIAN. *de bell. civil.* I. i. p. 376. & 388. LIV. ep. lxvii.  
PLUT. in *Mar.* in *Syl.* & in *Pomp.* <sup>d</sup> SUET. in *Jul. Cæs.*  
c. 71.

of *Utica*, were either slain by the pursuers, or drowned. The remainder fell into the hands of *Varus*, who would have saved them; but *Juba*, who arrogated to himself the honour of this victory, ordered most of them to be put to the sword<sup>e</sup> (N).

*Cæsar o.* THIS victory infused new life and vigour into the *Pompeian* *vertibrosa* faction, who thercupon conferred great honours upon *Juba*, and *Scipio*, gave him the title of king of all *Numidia*. But *Cæsar* and his *Juba*, and adherents declared him an enemy to the state of *Rome*, *ad-Labiens*, judging to *Eccibus* and *Begud*, two *African* princes intirely in

<sup>e</sup> CÆS. de bell. civil. I. ii. c. 7, 8. DIO, I. xli. ad ann. U. C. 705. FLOR. I. iv. c. 2. APPIAN. de bell. civil. I. ii. p. 455. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. I. ii. c. 5. ex. 40.

(N) *Cæsar*, who givcs us the particulars of this action, intimates, that *Sabura*, *Juba*'s general, receiving continual reinforcements from his master, who kept at a small distance from him, at last overpowered the *Roman*s, though they behaved with great bravery. He also observes, that *Sabura* cut off *Curio*'s retreat, by posting some parties of his horse upon several eminences near the field of battle; and that, in consequence of this, almost the whole *Roman* corps, commanded by *Curio*, was cut to pieces. Nor did many of the troops left with the quæstor *Rufus* to guard the camp, make their escape to *Sicily*. In other points, for the most part, he agrees with *Dio*, whom we have here chosen to follow. *Appian* insinuates, that this defeat happened near the banks of the *Bagrada*; that *Juba* caused a rumour to be industriously propagated, that he was returned home, to repress the courses of some neighbouring nations, who frequently made incursions into his dominions, and had only

sent *Sabura*, with a small detachment, to observe the enemy. This, adds the same author, occasioned the destruction of almost two intire *Roman* legions, with a body of horse, velites, and slaves. *Appian* also relates, that, upon the news of *Curio*'s overthrow, *Flammi*, the *Roman* admiral, fled, without taking any of the runaways on board. Many of them, therefore, with *Pollio*, a *Roman* commander, so crowded some merchant-ships, in order to make their escape on board them, that they immediately sunk, whilst others were thrown overboard for the sake of the money they brought with them. Lastly, according to the same historian, *Juba*, having placed a great number of the unhappy prisoners, that fell into his hands, upon the walls of *Utica*, caused them to be pierc'd with darts. Tho' *Varus* did his utmost to prevent this inhuman massacre, he could not prevail. After the end of the action, *Curio*'s head was cut off, and carried, as an agreeable present, to *Juba* (4).

(4) CÆS. de bell. civil. I. ii. c. 7, 8. APPIAN. de bell. civil. I. ii. c. 455, 456.

their

their interest, the sovereignty of his dominions. *Juba* afterwards, uniting his forces with those of *Scipio*, reduced *Cæsar* to great extremities, and would, in all probability, have totally ruined him, had he not been relieved by *Publius Sittius* (O). That general, having formed a considerable corps, consisting of *Roman* exiles, and *Mauritanian* troops sent him by *Bocchus*, according to *Dio*, or, as *Cæsar* will have it, *Bogud*, made an irruption into *Gætulia* and *Numidia*, whilst *Juba* was employed in *Africa Propria*. As he ravaged these countries in a dreadful manner, *Juba* immediately returned with the best part of his army, to preserve them from utter destruction. However, *Cæsar*, knowing his horse to be afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack *Scipio* in the absence of the *Numidian*, till his own elephants, and a fresh reinforcement of troops, hourly expected, arrived from *Italy*. With this accession of strength, he imagined himself able to give a good account, both of the *Roman* forces, with which he was to cope, and the barbarians. In the mean time *Scipio* dispatched reiterated expresses to (P) *Juba* to hasten to his assistance; but could not prevail upon him to move out of *Numidia*, till he had promised him the possession of all the *Roman* dominions in *Africa*, if they

(O) *Appian* gives us the following account of this P. *Sittius*: Being accused of a certain crime at *Rome*, he abandoned that city before his tryal came on, and assembled a body of *Italians* and *Sp.* with which he passed over into *Africa*. Upon his arrival there, he found the reguli of that country engaged in bloody wars amongst themselves. Sometimes he assisted one of these princes, and sometimes another, victory always declaring for him, whose interest he espoused. This rendered his name terrible to the *Moors* and *Numidians*, insomuch that he easily made the scale preponderate in favour of *Cæsar*, and was rewarded by that general, after the reduction of *Africa*, with a large extent of territory formerly belonging to one *Ma-*

*niffs*, a *Numidian* prince, who had assisted *Juba*. The other part of this district was given to *Bocchus*. *Sittius* settled the troops, who had distinguished themselves under his conduct, here; but was afterwards cut off by treachery. This was effected by *Arabio*, *Manciss*'s son, who, after *Julius Cæsar*'s death, sent six thousand *Africans* to assist *S. Pompeius* in *Spain*. These *Africans*, returning home some time after, disciplined after the *Roman* manner, enabled *Arabio* to dispatch *Sittius*, and likewise to drive *Bocchus* out of the territory he had usurped from him 5).

(P) *Juba*, according to *Dio*, pretended to assist *Pompey*, not out of a motive of resentment, but because he was a defender of the senate and people of *Rome*.

they could from thence expel *Cæsar*. This immediately put him in motion; so that, having sent a large detachment to make head against *Sittius*, he marched with the rest of his troops to assist *Scipio*. However, *Cæsar* at last overthrew *Scipio*, *Juba*, and *Labienus*, near the town of *Thapsus*, and forced all their camps. As *Scipio* was the first surprised and defeated, *Juba* fled into *Numidia*, without waiting for *Cæsar*'s approach; but, the body of the *Numidians* detached against *Sittius*, having been broken and dispersed by that general, none of his subjects there would receive him. Abandoned therefore to despair, he sought death in a single combat with *Petreius*, and, having killed him, caused himself to be dispatched by one of his slaves<sup>f</sup> (Q).

*Cæsar re-duces Nu-Propria, Cæsar makes himself master of Numidia, which he reduced to a Roman province, appointing Crispus Sallustius to govern it in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by that means, put it out of their power ever to shake off the Roman yoke.* However, *Bocchus* and *Bogud* still preserved a sort of sovereignty in the country of the *Masælyli* and *Mauritania*, since the former of those princes, having deserted *Cæsar*, sent an army into *Spain* to assist the *Pompeians*; and the latter, with his forces, determined victory to declare for *Cæsar* at the ever memorable battle of *Munda*. *Bogud*, afterwards siding with *Antony* against *Ottavius*, sent a body of forces to assist him in *Spain*; at which time the *Tingitanians* revolting from him, *Bocchus*, with an army composed of *Romans* in the interest of *Ottavius*, who passed over from *Spain* into *Africa*, and his own subjects, possessed himself of *Mauritania Tingitana*. *Bogud* fled to *Antony*; and *Ottavius*, after the conclusion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of *Tingi* with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. He likewise confirmed *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania Cæsariensi*.

<sup>f</sup> A. HIRT. de bell. African. c. 3, 4, 5, & seq. APPIAN. ubi supra, l. iv. p. 620, 621. DIO, l. xiii. PLUT. in Cat. & Cæs.

But princes frequently, in the place of the real cause, substitute the pretext (6).

(Q) *Hirtius* intimates, that *Juba* killed *Petreius* in this combat, and was himself afterwards dispatched by his slave. *Orosius*

relates, that *Petreius* slew himself through with his sword; and that *Juba* hired a person to kill him; but *Appian*, *Lutrojanus*, and *Dio*, assure us, that they slew each other (7).

{6} DIO, l. xii. {7} Appian. de l. II. v. 11. p. 595. Oros. l. vi. c. 16. IUB. fin. Euseb. l. vi. c. 23. DIO, l. xiii.

the country of the *Masessili*, in the possession of *Tingitania*, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important services. In this he imitated the example of his great predecessor *Julius Cæsar*, who divided some of the fruitful plains of *Numidia* among the soldiers of *P. Sittius*, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed *Sittius* himself sovereign of that district. *Sittius* (R), as has been intimated above, having taken *Cirta*, killed *Sabura*, *Juba's* general, intirely dispersed his forces, and either cut off, or taken prisoners, most of the *Pompeian* fugitives, that escaped from the battle of *Thapsus*, highly deserved to be distinguished in so eminent a manner. After *Bocchus's* death, *Mauritania* and the *Masessilian Numidia* were, in all respects, considered as *Roman* provinces, according to *Dio*; which seems to evince, that the hostilities *Bocchus* committed against *Carinas*, whom *Octavius* had appointed governor of *Spain*, mentioned by *Appian*, were not attended with any bad consequences, either to himself or the *Romans*. For had that been the case, he would not probably have continued on the throne of the *Masessilian Numidia* and *Mauritania* as long as he lived. What happened to *Bogud* after he was driven out of his dominions, as also the younger *Juba*(S), his son *Ptolemy*, and *Iacfarinas*, who gave the *Romans* no small trouble in the reign of *Tiberius*, with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now upon, our readers will naturally expect to find an account of, in the history of the *Mons* or *Mauritanians*.

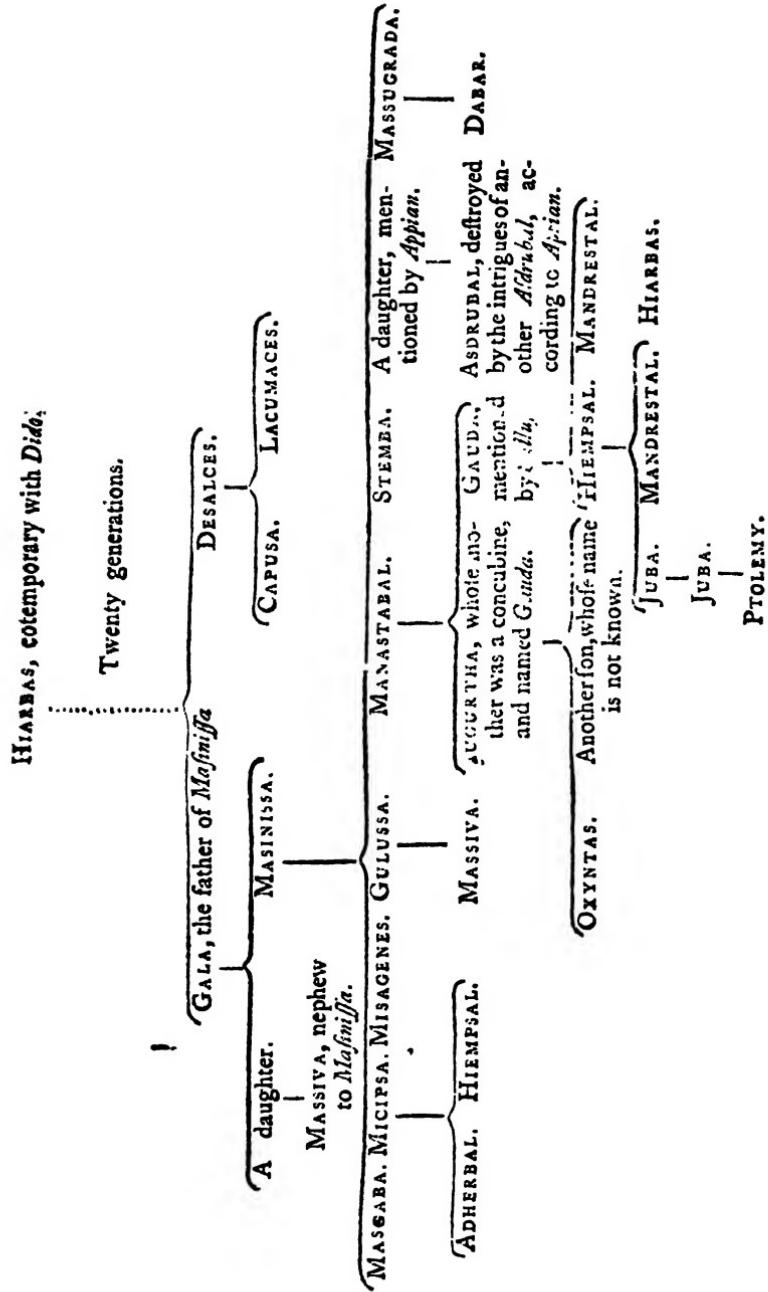
<sup>3</sup> A. HIRT. ubi sup. & de bell. Alex. APPIAN. de bell. civil. I. vi. Acad. comment. de bell. Hisp. DIO, I. xlivi. xlix. I. STRAB. I. iii. FLOE. ubi sup.

I learn from *Hirtius*, that *Sittius*, or, as he calls him, *Sitius* (really styled *Juba* before the battle of *Thapsus*, by possessing himself of a cattle situated on a hill, where that prince had a very considerable magazine<sup>(8)</sup>).

(S) As *Masinissa's* family

makes so considerable a figure, both in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* history, it will not be amiss to exhibit to our readers view as full an account of it as can be drawn from antiquity; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to them.

(8) A. Eut. de bell. Afric. c. 5.



We have placed *Hiarbas*, co-temporary with *Dido*, at the head of this family, since we find a prince of it called *Hiarbas*, taken notice of by *Plutarch*, as

likewise because it appears from *Stephanus Byzantinus* and *Eustathius*, that the *Mazyes*, *Hiarbas's* subjects, were *Numidians* (9).

(9) *Iuv.* *Appian.* *Sueton.* *Sallust.* *Dio Cass.* *Cæf.* *Hirt.* *Plut.* *Justin.* *Steph.*  
*Byzant.* *Eustath.* *aliiq; script.* *plurim.*

## C H A P. XV.

### *The History of the Mauritanians, to the intire Reduction of their Country by the Romans.*

#### S E C T. I.

##### *Description of Mauritania.*

**M**AURITANIA, or, as it is called by *Strabo*, *Maurufia*, and the country of the *Maurufi*, was bounded on the east by the *Malu*i** or *Mulucha*; on the west by the *Atlantic ocean*; on the south by *Gætulia*, or *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. This kingdom, being reduced to a *Roman* province in the reign of *Claudius*, had the name of *Mauritania Tingitana* given it by that prince, as we are informed by *Dio*. From *Pliny*, and some inscriptions in *Gruter*, it likewise appears, that it was called by the *Romans* at that time, as well as afterwards, simply *Tingitania*, from its principal city *Tingi*, in order to distinguish it from *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. If we may judge from what has been already observed of *Numidia* and *Africa Propria*, the antients were not over-accurate in their descriptions of this country. However, all their faults cannot be discovered, much less corrected, since no modern accounts of the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, answering nearly to the *Tingitania* of the antients, can be intirely depended upon. All that can be done, is to make use of the best lights, that have been hitherto afforded us <sup>a</sup>.

THOUGH *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, then, was considerably broader than *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, the ~~corre-~~ extent of corresponding parts of mount *Atlas*, or the confines of *Gætulia*, *Mauritania* lying more to the southward, yet *Pliny* and *Mariannus*, according to the latest observations, exceed the truth, when they affirm

<sup>a</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. p. 570. DIO CASS. l. ix. p. 771. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. VET. INSCRIPT. APUD GRUTER. p. 482. n. 7. PTOL. GEOGR. l. iv. c. 1.

the greatest breadth of the *Mauritanie* to be four hundred and sixty-seven, or four hundred and seventy-three miles. The length of this region we may make a tolerable estimate of, by observing, that the *Malva* or *Mulhoïah*, its eastern limit, about  $10^{\circ} 15'$  W. of *London*, is something above two hundred and forty miles distant from the *Atlantic* ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of *Fez* to be two hundred and seventy miles long, and that of *Morocco*, from cape *Non* to the mountains which divide it from *Segelmeffa*, above three hundred and seventy; but this computation, with respect to the antient *Tingitania*, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of *Pliny*, which amounts only to an hundred and seventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the southern limits of *Tingitania* cannot be ascertained, for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but *Septa*, the present *Ceuta*, its most advanced city to the northward, is about  $35^{\circ} 58'$  N. latitude, and about  $6^{\circ}$  W. longitude from *London*. The *Al-Magreb Al-Achsa* of *Abulfeda* includes the *Maurusia* of *Strabo*, or the country we are now upon, and part of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, as it extends from the *Atlantic* ocean, which he calls the sea *Almabit*, to *Tlemfan*. We must not omit observing, that *Ptolemy* places the *Atlas Major*, his southern boundary of this kingdom, at a vast distance from the southern limits assigned it by *Pliny*, in the deserts of *Gatulia* or *Libya Interior*. But it appears, from what has been already advanced, as well as the best relations of modern travelers, that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to *Tingitania*<sup>b</sup>.

*Wherefore so called.* MAURITANIA and *Maurusia* are names of this region derived from the *Mauri*, an antient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the old historians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongst themselves about the origin of this word. *Sallust* affirms it to be a corruption of the word *Medi*; but this is by no means probable. Dr. *Hyde* deduces it from מָרְבֵּי *Mabri* or *Mau'ri*, one that lies near the passage, as he

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. PLIN. PTOLE. ubi sup. MARTIAN. de duab. Mauritan. Geogr. Nubiens. in clim. 3. ISM. ABULFED. ex traduct. V. CL. Joan. Gagnier. MARMOL, en l'Afrique, l. iv. I. LEO AFRIC. paſſ. L'Afrique en plusieures cartes nouvelles, &c. par le Sieur SANSON D'ABBEVILLE, &c. à Paris, 1683. Nouvelle methode pour apprendre la geographie univerſ. par le Sieur DE LA CROIX, &c. à Paris, 1705. LUYTS introd. ad geograph. Traj. ad Rhen. 1692. ATL. geogr. vol. iv. MOLL's geogr. in the kingd. of Morocco and Fez. SHAW's geograph. observations relating to the kingdom of Alg. p. 9. See alio MORERY, and a new geographical dictionary published at Lond. 1737.

thinks the freights of *Hercules* might properly enough be called. *Isidorus Hispalensis* and *Manilius* think the name ought to be derived from the black, dark, swarthy colour of the people to which it was applied. But none of these etymons seem so easy and natural as that of *Bochart*, who makes *Maurus* to be equivalent to מָהָר *Mahur*; or, as an elision of gutturals in the Oriental languages is extremely common, *Maur*, i. e. one from the west, or a western person, since *Mauritania* was west of *Carthage* and *Phœnice*. However, in our opinion, it would sound better still, should we say, one that comes from the end, or utmost limit, of Africa, or the boundary of our voyages, as both the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, for several ages, might have said of the *Tingitanians*. For the freights or pillars of *Hercules* limited the western voyages of those nations for a considerable period of time, as is evident from a variety of the best authors. It is not improbable, that this country, or at least a good part of it, was first called *Phut*, since it appears from *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *St. Jerom*, that a river and territory not far from mount *Atlas* went by that name. From the *Jerusalem Targum* it likewise appears, that part of the *Mauri* may be deemed the offspring of *Lud* the son of *Misraim*, since his descendants, mentioned *Gen. x.* are there called מָוִירָיִם *Mauri* or *Mauritani*. We have already evinced, that this region, as well as the others to the east of it, had many colonies planted in it by the *Phœnicians*. *Procopius* tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white stone were to be seen there, with the following inscription in the *Phœnician* language and character upon them: *We are the Canaanites, that fled from Joshua the son of Nun, that notorious robber.* *Ibnu Rachich*, or *Ibnu Raquiq*, an African writer cited by *Leo*, together with *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus Callistus*, asserts the same thing. How, in after-ages, that vast tract, extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic ocean*, came to be called *Barbary*, our readers will be informed in another place <sup>c</sup>.

*THE Mauritanians*, according to *Ptolemy*, were divided into

\* <sup>c</sup> POLYB. l. iii. c. 33. SALLUST. in Jugurth. pass. HIRT. de bell. Afric. LIV. l. xxi. c. 22. & alib. STRAB. l. xvii. TACIT. pass. HORAT. LUCAN. SIL. ITAL. & al. quamplurim. script. Græc. & Latin. HYDE in Perits. p. 48. MANIL. l. iv. ISIDOR. HISPALENS. l. ix. c. 12. & l. xiv. c. 5. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. לְדוֹ Lud & לַבְנָה Abur vel Aur. TARG. HIEROSOL. in Gen. c. x. ISAIA. c. xlvi. D. HIERONYM. in Isaia. c. xli. PROCOPI. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. p. 257. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 18. NICEPH. CALLIST. l. xvii. c. 12. THEOPHAN. in hist. miscel. IBNI RAQUIQ, apud I. Leo African. part. v. ALDRET. l. iii. c. 15.

several cantons or tribes. The *Metagonitæ* were seated near the streights of *Hercules*. The *Succofisi*, or *Cocofisi*, according to *Bertius*, took up the coast of the *Iberian sea*. Under these two petty nations, the *Mafices*, *Verues*, and *Verbicæ* or *Ver-vicæ*, settled themselves. The *Salisæ* or *Salinsæ* were situated lower, towards the ocean; and still more to the south the *Vobubiliani*. The *Maurenſii* and *Herpiditani* possessed the eastern part of this country, which was terminated by the *Mulucha*. The *Angaucani* or *Langacaucani*, *Neeliberes*, *Zagrenſii*, *Baniuba*, and *Vacuatae*, extended themselves from the southern foot of *Ptolemy's Atlas Minor* to his *Atlas Major*; which is all that he has intimated of them. *Pliny* mentions the *Baniuræ*, whom Father *Hardouin* takes to be *Ptolemy's Baniuba*; and *Mela* the *Atlantes*, whom he represents as possessed of the western parts of this region. The names of the different clans of *Numidians* we have postponed, till we come to the history of the *Gætulians*, since the latter nation was so intermixed with the former towards the *Roman times*, that it is difficult to determine to which of them some clans belong<sup>d</sup>.

**Tingis.** TINGIS or *Tingi*, the metropolis, as should seem, of *Tingitania*, was a city of great antiquity. According to *Mela*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*, *Antæus*, cotemporary with *Hercules*, and conquered by him, laid the first foundations of it. *Procopius* seems to intimate, that *Tingi* was built before the time of *Joshua*, since he tells us, that the *Gergesites*, *Jebusites*, and other *Ca-naanitish* nations or tribes, erected a castle in a city, where *Tingis*, or, as he calls it, *Tigisis*, stood. Dr. *Hyde* therefore is mistaken, when he affirms *Procopius* to have asserted, that the *Gergesites*, *Jebusites*, &c. were the founders of *Tingis*. *Pliny* insinuates *Antæus* to have had a palace at *Lixus* or *Lixos*, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at *Tingis*. This seems likewise confirmed by *Plutarch*, who adds, that his sepulchre was still remaining there in the time of *Sertorius*, who, paying no regard to the tradition that prevailed amongst the inhabitants, caused it to be opened, and took out of it a corpse sixty cubits long. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* called it *Tingir*, *Tiggir*, *Tagger*, &c. which, in their language, signified an emporium. Now it must be owned, that the situation of *Tingis* was extremely commodious for carrying on a general trade; which we may, from this circumstance, reasonably presume the *Tingitanians* did, especially as *Pliny* seems to insinuate, that to some branches of commerce they actually applied themselves. *Bochart's* notion therefore receives some

<sup>d</sup> MEL. l. i. c. 4. PLIN. & PROL. ubi sup. HARDUIN. in Plin. ubi sup. SALLUST. in Jugurth. & ALDRET. l. iii. c. 31.

weight from these considerations, as also from the modern name of this city, *Tangier*, which we cannot help believing to have been of *Phœnician* extraction. If we suppose the antient *Tingis* to have occupied the spot on which *Tangier* at present stands, it was very near the streights of *Hercules*, at the bottom of a gulph of the western shore. Some writers will have *Ptolemy* to have called *Tingis Cæsarea*; but this is a controverted point. However, that geographer seems to have looked upon *Tingis* as the most noted and useful proper name of the city we are now upon. *Tangier*, supposed to be the antient *Tingis*, is in  $60^{\circ} 30' W.$  longitude from *London*, and in N. latitude  $35^{\circ} 56' E.$ .

*ZELIS* or *Zelis*, a maritim city in the neighbourhood of *Zelis*: *Tingis*, situated near a river of the same name. The inhabitants of this city were transported to *Spain*, as we learn from *Strabo*, and a colony of *Romans* or *Italians* transplanted thither, as should seem, in their room, according to *Pliny*. The kings of *Mauritania*, after the planting of that colony, exercised no jurisdiction over *Zelis*, it being under the dominion of the *Roman* governor of *Spain*. Some authors imagine, that the modern *Arzilla* answers to *Zelis*; which if we admit, it stood about seventy miles from the streights of *Hercules*. *Marmol* says, that *Arzilla* was built by the *Romans*; but this we must not give credit to, if it should be thought proper to countenance the aforesaid supposition; for if *Zelis* did not owe its origin to the *Indigenæ* of this country, it was undoubtedly of *Phœnician* extraction<sup>f</sup>.

*LIXUS* or *Lixos* seems to have been a place of considerable *Lixus*. repute in the earliest ages, since, according to *Pliny*, *Antæus* had a palace, and therefore probably resided here. This circumstance renders it likely, that *Lixus* was superior to *Tingis* itself in point of antiquity. But some authors seem to have confounded these two cities, as we shall find by comparing the names given the former by *Artemidorus*, *Eratosthenes*, and *Strabo*, with *Pliny*. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of *Eratosthenes* to that of the others in this point, since

• • POMP. MEL. I. ii. c. 5. PLIN. ubi sup. SOLIN. c. 24.  
PROCOP. & HYDE ubi sup. PLUT. in Sertor. STRAB. I. iii. &  
alib. PLIN. MEL. PTOL. MARTIAN. & al. apud Bochart. in Chan.  
I. i. c. 24. MOLL, DE LA CROIX, &c. ubi sup. VIDE & CHRIST.  
CELLAR. geogr. ant. I. ii. c. 1. I. iv. c. 7. ut & ISAAC. VOSS atq;  
JACOB. GRONOV. in Mel. I. ii. c. 6. f STRAB. I. xvii. p. 569.  
PLIN. I. v. c. 1. PTOL. geogr. I. iv. c. 1. ANTONIN. in itiner.  
ALDRET. ubi sup. I. iv. c. 8. Vide & CELLAR. I. iv. c. 7. p. 933.  
edit. Lips. 1732.

it is supported by *Pliny*. *Lixus* therefore and *Tingis*, in consequence of this preference, we must look upon as two different cities. *Pliny* relates, that *Hercules* vanquished *Antæus* near this place, which he makes to have been in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the *Hesperides*, and thirty-two miles distant from *Zelis*. The same author intimates, that a *Roman* colony was settled here likewise by *Claudius*. As *Lixus* was called by different writers *Linx*, *Linga*, *Tinga*, *Tigi*, in all probability it was mistaken by some antient historians or geographers for *Tingis*. *Pliny*, therefore, might be imposed upon by some of the authors he extracted his materials from, when he affirmed *Antæus* to have had his royal palace at *Lixos*; since it is more natural to suppose, that he resided at *Tingis*. The learned Aldrete asserts the word *Lixus* to be derived from *לָחִישׁ* *lachisu*, or *נַהֲרָה לָחִישׁ* *nahara lachisu*, *incantation*, or the *river of incantation*. In support of this sentiment he observes, with the antients, that the town stood near the banks of a river of the same name; and that such wonderful things had been related of *Antæus*, as well as his tomb, by various authors, that, to all those who believed them, he must appear as a magician. *Bochart* derives it from *לְבָבָה* *lion*, because such animals were common in *Mauritania*. But it may be further observed in favour (A) of Aldrete, that the inhabitants of this country were supposed to have an uncommon skill in sorcery and magic, as appears not only from *Virgil* and *Silius*, but likewise from what we find related of *Sidius Geta* by *Dio*. The river *Lixus* is mentioned both in the *peripl.* of *Hanno*, and that of *Scylax*, as also by *Ptolemy* and *Stephanus*. *Pliny* seems to turn this river into an estuary, which, by its winding course, he makes to resemble a dragon or serpent, intimating that it gave rise to the fable of the dragon guarding the golden apples of the *Hesperides*. Some learned men will have the present *Larache* to be the antient *Lixus*; and it must be owned, that the situation of that place gives great countenance to such a supposition<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> HANNO CARTHAG. in peripl. PLIN. ubi sup. ARTEMIDOR. & ERATOSTH. apud Strabon. l. xvii. ut & ipse STRAB. ibid. & alib. DIO, l. ix. VIRG. SIL. ITAL. POMP. MEL. SUID. &c. apud Aldret. l. iv. c. 9. ut & ipse ALDRET. ibid. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. PTOL. ubi sup. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. BOCHART. Cl. i. c. 37. Vnde Is. CASAUB. in Strab. ubi sup.

(A) In order to strengthen this conjecture, Aldrete observes, that the word *Tingin*, in Arabic, approaches pretty near the signification of *Lixus*; an observation, which, we believe, has escaped all other writers (1).

(1) Vnde Aldret. in loc. citat.

AT some distance from *Lixus*, to the southward, *Hanno*, in *Thymatius periplo*, says he built a city, which he called *Thymaterion*. In *Scylax* the name is *Thymaterias*; and in *Stephanus*, *Thymateria*. *Bochart* believes the *Punic* name to have been דְּמָתִירִיָּה *Dumathiria*, i. e. a city situated in a plain. *Hanno* himself justifies this etymology, as the reader will find, by consulting his *periplo*; for which reason he will not scruple giving his assent to it. Though this city was situated on the sea-coast, somewhere to the south of *Lixus*, the spot, on which it stood, cannot now be precisely determined <sup>b</sup>.

**PLINY** mentions *Sala*, a town near a river of the same name, *Sala*, not far from the *Atlantic ocean*, at a considerable distance from *Lixus*. All that he observes of this town is, that the district adjacent to it was desert, infested with vast herds of elephants, and the excursions of the *Autololes*, a tribe of *Gætulians*. The situation, as well as name, of this place, sufficiently indicates it to be the modern *Salle*, a city famous for its corsairs, who sometimes commit great depredations in the *Mediterranean* <sup>i</sup>.

THE port of *Rutubis*, where, it is probable, a town stood, *Rutubis*, was two hundred and thirteen miles south of *Lixus*. At some distance from this were the *Mons Solis*, the port of *Mysocaras*, the promontories of *Hercules* and *Ufadum*, and the frontiers of the *Autololes*. These frontiers terminated *Mauritania* to the south; and *Ptolemy* has undoubtedly carried them much farther in that direction, than is consistent with truth. As for *Tamusiga*, *Suriga*, and other obscure places mentioned by that geographer, extending still farther to the south, it is sufficient just to have taken notice of them. Thus much for the principal maritim towns of *Tingitania*, bordering on the coast of the *Atlantic ocean* <sup>k</sup>.

THE first maritim town to the eastward of *Tingis*, seems to *Exilissa*. be the *Exilissa* of *Ptolemy*. *Marmol* takes the *Cœta* of the moderns to correspond with this place, as it does likewise, in all probability, with the *Septa* and *ix Septensis* of *Procopius*. That author, together with *Isidorus Hispalensis*, and others, insinuates this name to have been derived from the seven hills, called the *Septem Fratres* by *Mela*, in its neighbourhood. *Exilissa*, *Septa*, or *Cœta*, was a place of great note and emi-

<sup>b</sup> *HANNO*, *SCYLAX*, *STEPH. BYZANT.* *BOCHART.* ubi supra.

<sup>i</sup> *MEL.* & *PLIN.* ubi sup. *PTOL.* ibid. *Vide I. LEO AFRICAN.* *MARM.* *CELLAR.* *MOLL.* *DE LA CROIX*, &c. <sup>k</sup> *PLIN.* *PTOL.* ubi sup. *ut & POLYB.* apud *Plin.* ibid.

nence in the time of the *Goths*, as we shall see, when we come to the history of that nation<sup>1</sup>.

**Rusadir.** RUSADIR, a city and haven, taken notice of by *Pliny*, not far from the country of the *Massefylis*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ryssadirum*; and, from the itinérairy, there seems to have been a Roman colony settled in it. Some authors will have *Melila* or *Melilla*, lately in the possession of the *Spaniards*, to be the *Rusadir* or *Ryssadirum* of the antients. If so, it stood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulph, and was commanded by a mountain on the west side<sup>m</sup>.

**Aſcurum.** THE first inland town, meriting any attention, near the frontiers of the *Massefylis*, was the *Aſcurum* of *Hirtius*. According to that author, this place was of some consequence, since *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania Tingitana*, had a strong garrison in it, which falling out upon a body of the *Pompeians*, repulsed them with great slaughter, driving many of them into the sea, and the rest on board their ships. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining<sup>n</sup>.

**Molo-** MOLOCHATH, or *Mulucha*, and *Galapha*, which *Ptolemy* chath and places in *Tingitania*, must belong to *Numidia*, if the (B) *Molo-* Galapha. *chath*, *Mulucha*, and *Malva*, be the same river, as Dr. *Shaw* has rendered probable; and therefore we shall say nothing more of them here<sup>o</sup>.

**Herpis.** HERPIS, a town upon the *Mauritanian* bank of the *Mulucha*, lying at a considerable distance from the city *Molochath* in a

<sup>1</sup> MEL. PTOL. & MARM. ubi sup. PROCOR. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. ISIDOR. HISPALENS. l. xv. c. 1. Vide etiam ANTONIN. MARTIAN. aliosq; apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 31. <sup>m</sup> PLIN. l. v. c. 2. PTOL. ubi sup. ANTONIN. itinerar. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c. <sup>n</sup> HIRT. de bell. African. c. 23. <sup>o</sup> PTOL. ubi sup. SHAW's geogr. observ. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. p. 10—16.

(B) This appears from *Florus* and *Frontinus*, who affirm the fortress of *Mulucha* to have been in *Jugurtha's* dominions, and consequently in *Numidia*. *Sallust* likewise confirms this, when he gives us an account of the siege and reduction of that place by the *Romans* in the *Jugurthine*

war. From *Cellarius*, in conformity to the old geographers, it seems probable, that *Galapha* was south-east of *Mulucha*; and therefore, that what has been observed of the former, holds more strongly with regard to the latter (2).

(2) Flor. l. iii. c. 1. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 3. Sallust. in *Jugurth.* Cellar. geograph. ant. l. iv. c. 7.

northern direction. As to any further particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark <sup>P</sup>.

MELA ranks *Volubilis*, *Gilda*, and *Prisciana*, amongst the *Volubilis*, principal inland towns of *Tingitania*. *Ptolemy* says, that *Volu* *Gilda*, and *bilis* was one of the most noted places of this country ; and the *Prisciana*, itinerary makes it a *Roman colony*. From various authors it appears to be the *Fez* of the moderns. *Gilda* is taken notice of likewise by *Stephanus*, as a city of good repute. They were all situated in the heart of the country ; but the spots of ground, occupied by them, cannot, with precision, be ascertained. However, *Marmol* asserts, that *Mequinez* answers to *Gilda*, which he corruptly calls *Silda* <sup>q</sup>.

A little to the south of *Volubilis* stood the *Tocolesida* of *Ptolemy*. *Tocolesida*. According to *Marmol*, *Amergue*, a city three leagues from the river *Eguile*, in the province of *Habat*, answers to the antient *Tocolesida* ; but, as that author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, intirely depend upon him <sup>r</sup>.

THE *Trifidis* of *Ptolemy*, according to that geographer, could *Trifidis*. not be far from the neighbourhood of *Tocolesida*. *Marmol* says, that it was built by the *Romans*, which we can scarce believe, upon a rising ground. The same author intimates, that *Aben Gezer*, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, some of whose bones, of an enormous size, he asserts to have been taken out of several antient tombs in his time.

GONTIANA stands south-west of *Tocolesida*, near the river *Gontiana*, *Sala*, and not far from mount *Atlas*. *Marmol* informs us, that a small town, by the *Moors* called *Gamaa*, upon the road between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, is the antient *Gontiana* ; as likewise, that this place, though strong by nature, has, for some time, been almost intirely depopulated and demolished <sup>s</sup>.

BANASA, *Banassa*, or *Banasa Valentia*, was seat'd in the *Banasa*, neighbourhood of the river *Subur*, at a very considerable distance, in a northern direction, from *Gontiana*. *lily* seems to intimate, that *Banasa* was seventy-five miles from *Lixus*, thirty-five from *Volubilis*, and as many from the *Atlantic ocean*. That author, in the same place, says, that *Babba*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Babba Julia Campestris*, was an inland town, forty miles from *Lixus* ; and that *Augustus* planted a *Roman colony* there. This likewise

<sup>P</sup> *Ptol.* ubi sup. <sup>q</sup> *Ptol.* ubi sup. *Mel.* l. ii. ex  
emend. *Is. Vossii.* <sup>r</sup> *STEPH. BYZANT.* de urb. *ANTONIN.* itinerar.  
*MARMOL, HARRIS* in biblioth. *MOLL.* <sup>s</sup> *Ptol.* &  
*MARMOL*, ubi sup. <sup>t</sup> *Ibidem ibid.*

the curious may find confirmed by the legends on some antique coins exhibited by *Goltzius*<sup>t</sup>.

### Chalce.

**CHALCE** or *Chalca*, a city of *Mauritania Tingitana*, mentioned by *Scylax* and *Hecataeus*; but in what part of that region we are to look for it, cannot now be determined. *Ptolemy* takes notice of a town called *Carcome* or *Carcoma*; which *Bochart* will have to be the *Chalce* of *Scylax* and *Hecataeus*, since those two words are of the same import in the *Syriac* and *Greek* languages. They signify *brass* or *copper*; which seems to intimate, that this place was near some copper-mine, from whence it deduced its name: and that there was a famous copper-mine in *Tingitania*, appears from *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* makes his *Carcoma* to be not very remote from *Jol*, or *Juliz Cæsarea*, but betwixt it and *Gades*. However, the inaccuracy of that geographer in many points will not permit us to infer from thence, that this place, which he asserts to be a maritim city, is to be sought for in *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. On the contrary, we can scarce doubt of its having pertained to *Tingitania*, from what we find advanced by *Strabo*. To what has been said we may add, that *Polybius* censures *Polyhistor*, for affirming *Chalcea* to be the proper name of a *Libyan* city, since, according to him, the copper-mine above-mentioned only was so called<sup>u</sup>.

### Calamintha.

**CALAMINTHA**, a town of *Libya*, probably of *Mauritania*, taken notice of by *Herodotus* and *Hecataeus*, whose situation is unknown. However, *Bochart* has ventured to assert, that it stood on an eminence or rising-ground. This notion has been suggested to him by the word itself; for he looks upon *Calamintha* to be equivalent to the *Syriac* or *Phœnician* גָּמִינַת *galminta*, an *eminence*, or a *city built upon an eminence*. From hence he likewise infers, that it must have been of a *Phœnician* original w.

### Marmol's inaccuracy.

We must here beg leave to inform our readers, that *Marmol* has discovered his inaccuracy, not to say ignorance, in many particulars. For he has either corrupted several of *Ptolemy*'s names of cities, or assigned names, pretended to be taken from *Ptolemy*, to several places, that are not to be found in his geo-

<sup>t</sup> *PLIN.* & *PTOL.* ubi sup. *GOLTZ.* apud *Cellar.* l. iv. c. 7. <sup>u</sup> *SCYLAX.* *CARYAND.* in *peripl.* *HECAT.* *perieg.* apud *Steph.* *Byzant.* de urb. *STRAB.* & *PTOL.* ubi sup. <sup>v</sup> *POLYB.* & *HERODOT.* apud *Steph.* & *BOCHART.* ubi sup. <sup>w</sup> *HERODOT.* & *HECAT.* apud *Steph.* *Byzant.* de urb. *BOCHART.* ubi sup.

graphy, as will appear to every one, who will be at the trouble to compare these two authors. His comparative geography is likewise frequently not to be relied upon ; for which reason we have made but few extracts from him. As for *Vobrix*, *Thicath*, *Ceuta*, and many more inconsiderable towns mentioned by the antient geographers, which are scarce ever taken notice of in history, nay, all traces of which are, in a manner, lost, we have thought proper to pass them over in silence. Nor are we apprehensive, that, for this, it will be deemed necessary to make any apology <sup>x</sup>.

THE first river of *Tingitania*, if it does not appertain to *Numidia*, is the *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Chylemath*, *Molochuth* or *Mulucha*; *Tingita-* for it went by all these names. That these names denoted the *nia*, same river, will appear from a careful examination of what the old geographers have advanced on this head. *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, give the same situation to the *Chylemath* and *Mulucha*, making it the common boundary of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. *Strabo* also affirms his *Molochath* to separate the country of the *Massælyi*, i. e. *Numidia*, from *Mauritania*, i. e. *Tingitania*; and lastly, the author of the itinerary, who was cotemporary with *Ptolemy*, positively asserts, that the *Malva*, or *Malvana*, limited the two *Mauritanias*, and that part of *Numidia* joining to them. From whence, as it does not appear from history, that the limits of those two kingdoms were ever changed, but, on the contrary, probable that they never were, we may fairly infer, that the above-mentioned variety of names points out one and the same river, the *Mulloïah* of the present western *Moors*. 2. The next river, meriting any attention, is the *Thaluda*, *Taluda*, or *Tamuda* of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, which emptied itself into the *Mediterranean* considerably nearer the streights than the former. *Pliny* represents this as navigable, and consequently as a considerable river. The different names given it by different geographers, seem to countenance what we have just offered in relation to the *Mulucha* (C). 3. The river *Zelis* or *Zilia*, near the city of the same name,

<sup>x</sup> *PTOL. & MARMOL*, pass. Vide etiam *ALDRET.* l. iii. c. 31. p. 457.

(C) *Ptolemy's Vallona* discharging itself into the sea not far from the narrowest part of the streights of *Gibraltar*, near the place where the town *Alcazar Soguir*, as *Marmol* calls it, or, according to *Moll*, *Alcazar Quivir*, i. e. *the great palace*, at present stands. It appears to us not improbable, that the present rivers *Sebon*, *Geron*,

name, already mentioned. 4. The *Lixus*, already taken notice of, when we gave some account of the city so called. *Scylax*, in his *periplus*, mentions a river not far from *Lixus*, but betwixt it and the straits, which, *Salmasius* thinks, ought to be called *Adonis*. But with regard to its course, or indeed any particulars at all relating to it, we are entirely in the dark. 5. The *Subur*, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the *Lixus*. It passed by the city of *Banasa*, as has been lately observed. 6. The *Sala*, which took its course, according to *Pliny*, near the confines of the *Sahara*. 7. The *Duus*, *Cusa*, *Afama*, *Pthuth*, and other rivers either in, or upon the borders of *Libya Interior*, recited by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are entirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to those geographers themselves (D).

## THE

y STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. & alib. ANTONIN. interrar. SCYLA<sup>x</sup> CARYAND. in peripl. ex emend. Claud. Salmasii.

*ron*, *Ommirabib*, and *Sus*, answer to the *Subur*, *Sala*, *Duus*, and *Cusa*, of *Ptolemy*. Our readers may possibly be of the same opinion, when they have diligently examined *Ptolemy's* geographical description of that part of *Mauritania* contiguous to the *Atlantic ocean*, and maturely weighed what has been advanced in a former note (3).

(D) That *Ptolemy* knew little of the geography of this part of *Mauritania*, is generally acknowledged; but will most evidently appear from several circumstances, which we shall beg leave to throw together here: 1. *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, is evidently the same name with *Dorath*, which *Ptolemy* makes to be the name of a town upon the *Diur*. As therefore that river, which is the southern limit of the king-

dom of *Sus*, is at this day called *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, by the *Moors*, it must be allowed, that *Ptolemy's* *Dorath*, not far from the borders of *Gætulia*, was a river, and probably that which he calls *Diur*. 2. As this was the southern limit of the country we are now upon, supposing it to extend as far to the southward as even the present kingdom of *Sus* does, the river *Pthuth* must be to the north of it, and not to the south, as *Ptolemy* asserts. Agreeably thereto, *Marmol* makes *Tinfis*, the next river to the *Darodus*, in a northerly situation, to be the *Pthuth* of *Ptolemy*. 3. As the mouth of the *Darodus* lies in about twenty-eight degrees north latitude, about four degrees and an half from the tropic of *Cancer*, it must have been in nearly the same latitude with

(3) *Ptol. Marmol, Moll, &c. ubi sup.*

THE chief capes or promontories of *Tingitania* were the following: 1. The *Metagonitis* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Metagonium* of *Strabo*. This promontory, *Marmol* tells us, in his time was called cape *Casasa*, having a town of the same name built upon it. *Strabo* intimates, that a considerable extent of territory, whose soil was of a dry and sandy nature, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the same name amongst the *Mauritanians*. This was different from the *Terra Metagonitis* of *Pliny*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, near the mouth of the *Ampsaga*. For their farther satisfaction on this head, we must refer our curious readers to the learned *Lucas Holstenius*, who has favoured the world with a particular account of both the *Metagonia*, in his notes upon *Ortelius*. 2. The *Septiarium* promontorium of *Ptolemy*, or the *Fussadi* of the *Itinerary*. 3. The *promontorium Oleastrum*, so called, according to some, from the prodigious number of wild olives growing upon it. 4. The *Phœbi* promontorium. 5. The cape *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Anzelufia*, not far from *Tingis*, taken notice of by *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. The moderns call it cape *Spartel*. From *Alcla* and *Bochart* it appears, that *Cotes* and *Anzelufia* were words of the same import in the *Phœnician* and *Greek* languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory abounded with. 6. *Mons Solis*, *Promontorium Herulis*, and *Ujadianum*, of

*Ptolemy's Promontorium Ujadianum*, and, consequently, much farther to the southward than he extends the *Diur*. 4. Even the *Promontorium Ujadianum*, the *Mons Solis*, *Portus Myscaras*, *Portus Herculis*, *Tanisiga*, and all the other places he has fixed to the south of the *Diur*, either are to be placed to the northward of it, or else, in antient times, belonged to *Liby: Interior*, and not *Tingitania*. 5. From *Marmol*, *Gramaye*, and some of the most accurate modern observations, it appears, that the towns of *Surig*, and *Vala*, the rivers *Una*, *Agnat*,

*Sala*, &c. to which *Ptolemy* assigns a southern situation, in respect of the *Diur*, or *Durod*, are really north of it.

Some of our readers may possibly imagine, that *Ptolemy's Dardanus*, or *Durus*, which he places in about fifteen degrees north latitude, was the same river as the modern *Darek*, or *Dardar*, which in Mr. S. map of *Africa* is likewise called *Durus*. But, admitting this supposition, *Ptolemy* will be out in the parallel he assigns it about thirteen degrees; which is a greater error than any of the preceding (4).

(4) *Marmol*, *Gramaye*, *De la Croix*, *Mouette*, *Dupper*, *M.L.H.*, *ult.*

which Ptolemy has handed down to us nothing but the bare names <sup>z</sup>.

Moun-  
tains.

AMONGST the principal (E) mountains of *Mauritania Tingitana* we are to rank, 1. *Abyla*, *Abyla*, *Abila*, *Abina*, *Abinna*, or *Abenna* (for such a variety of names it had), a mountain on the *African* side of the straits of *Hercules*, called, by the antients, one of *Hercules's pillars*. *Abinna* and *Abenna* seem to have been names given it by the *Arabs*, and the others it received from the *Phœnicians*. They were all derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by *Aldrete* and *Bochart*. It has been mentioned by *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, *Silius Italicus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Festus Avienus*, and others. If we are not mistaken, it is now called, by our countrymen, *Apes Hill*; an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the antients, or, at least, the country adjacent to it. 2. The *Septem Fratres* of *Mela*, and the *Heptadelphi* of *Ptolemy*, almost contiguous to *Abyla*. 3. Mount *Cotta*, not far from the *Lixus*. 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount *Atlas*, which, according to *Orosius*, separated the fruitful land from the barren, or in the stile of the natives, the *Tell* from the *Sahara*. The antients likewise inform us, that these mountains were known by the names; *Dyris*, *Adyris*, *Dyrim*, and *Adderim*, i. e. *great*, *high*, *lofty*, or *the southern limit*, as mount *Atlas* is generally esteemed to be with respect to *Tingitania* and *Numidia*. However, Dr. *Shaw* assures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his observation, in height could not stand in competition either with the *Alps* or *Apennines*. He tells us, that if we conceive a number of hills, usually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with an easy ascent, and several groves of fruit and forest-trees,

<sup>z</sup> STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. LUCAS HOLSTENIUS ad Ortel. p. 121. BOCHART. Chan. I. i. c. 24.

(E) To these may be added, from *Ptolemy*, 1. Mount *Diur*, which might possibly have been near the river of the same name. 2. Mount *Phocra*, extending from the ~~Ariss~~ <sup>Misra</sup> to *Rusadir*, between the promontories *Metagonitis* and *Sestiarium*. The mo-

dern name of this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, is *Jibbel el Hadith*, i. e. the *mountain of iron*, according to *Ortelius*. 3. The *Dardus*, already mentioned in the history of *Numidia* (5).

(5) PTOL. ibid. ORTEL. aliij; geographb.

rising up in a succession of ranges one behind another; and that if to this prospect we here-and-there add a rocky precipice of a superior eminence, and difficult access, and place upon the side or summit of it a mud-walled *Dashkrab*, or village of the *Kahyles*; we shall then have a just and lively idea of these mountains. We need not inform our readers, that no regard is due to the nocturnal flames, melodious sounds, or the lascivious revels, of such imaginary beings, as the antients have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to this place <sup>a</sup>.

THE chief ports of this country were, 1. The *Rufadir of Ports.* *Pliny*, or *Ryssadirum* of *Ptolemy* already mentioned. The *Itinerary* makes the town here a *Roman colony*, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape *Russadi*. 2. That at the bottom of the *Sinus Emporicus*, where there seems to have been a town furnished with inns, warehouses, and all manner of accommodations for the *Phœnician* merchants, who frequented this place from almost the earliest ages to the time of *Augustus*. *Pliny* calls the bay the *Sinus Saguti*, which *Bochart* would willingly have read *Sinus Saguri*; since that lection would enable him to deduce the word from σαγού, *sachur, mercator*, the η being frequently, amongst the *Orientals*, pronounced as the α, of which he produces some instances, and consequently to assign it the same signification as *Emporicus*. 3. *Cotes, Cottes, or Cotta*, a port or bay mentioned by *Scylax*, which may possibly have been in the neighbourhood of cape *Cotta* above-mentioned; and if so, that author has not given it a right situation, since he places it between cape *Mercury* and the straits of *Hercules*. 4. *Rufibis, or Rutubis*, an harbour taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, in the south-western part of *Mauritania*, between the rivers *Cusa* and *Diur*. 5. *Mysocaras*, a port some miles to the south of *Rufibis*, not far from the river *Pthuth*. This was the last southern port of *Mauritania*, mentioned by the antients, being almost contiguous to the northern confines of *Gætulia* <sup>b</sup>.

WE shall now proceed to the principal islands, on the coast *Islands.* of *Tingitania*, which were known to the old geographers: 1. The *Tres Insulæ* of the *Itinerary* already mentioned, where

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. *FESTUS AVIENUS, SIL. ITAL. AMMIAN, MARCELLIN. OROSIUS, PHILOSTRATUS, EUSTATHIUS, TZETZES, aliiq; mult. Vid. & ALDRET. I. ii. c. 2. & alib. SCHIND. BOCHART. & SHAW, ubi sup.*

<sup>b</sup> *SCYLAX, PLIN. PTOL. ANTONIN. itinerar. ubi sup. & alib. BOCHART. ubi sup. AGRIP. comment. apud PLIN. I. v. c. 1.*

there is now good shelter for small vessels, were situated to the north-west of the *Mulucha*, at the distance of ten miles. 2. *Gezira*, or rather *Jezeirah*, a small island in the river *Lixus*, about three leagues, according to *Marmol* and *Leo*, from the sea, and thirty from the city of *Fez*. *Pliny* tells us, that in his time this island abounded with olives; and intimates, that the ancients placed the gardens of the *Hesperides* here. He farther relates, that there was an altar, sacred to *Hercules*, still remaining in it when he wrote. *Aldrete* believes, that this island, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in process of time, laid intirely under water, and at last converted into that lake called, by the *Spaniards*, *Laguna grande*, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of *Larache*. 3. *Ptolemy's* *Tæna* and *Erythia* (F), two small obscure islands in the *Atlantic* ocean, opposite to the tract between his *Major* and *Minor Atlas*. 4. The *Insulae Purpurariae*, which *Pliny* assures us faced the country of the *Autololes*. The natives of these islands were famous for dying that colour called the *Gætulian* purple, which brought great advantage to king *Juba*, who, according to the same author, first discovered them. Father *Hardouin* asserts, that they are the islands called at this day *Madera* (G) and *Porto Santo*,

(F) The island *Erythia* is now called *Mogador*, and has a castle in it of considerable strength. This is defended by a garrison of two hundred men, who are posted there to secure the gold-mines in the neighbouring country, from which it is about five miles distant (6).

(G) *Madera*, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, *Madira*, is an island of the *Atlantic* ocean, betwixt thirty-two and thirty-three deg. north lat. about sixty miles broad, seventy-five long, and an hundred and eighty in circumference. Though it seems to have been known to the *Spaniards*, yet it lay concealed for many generations; and was at

last discovered by the *Portuguese*, commanded by Don *Juan Zarco*, and Don *Tristano Vaz*, A. D. 1419. Others maintain, that one *John Macchin*, an *Englishman*, discovered it in the year of our Lord 1344. Be that as it will, the *Portuguese* took possession of it in the year above-mentioned, and are still almost the only nation inhabiting it. The modern name *Madera*, or *Madira*, was derived from the vast store of wood with which it was stocked, the *Portuguese*, at their first landing, finding it little better than a thick forest. In order therefore to render the ground capable of cultivation, they set fire to this wood, which, according

(6) *M. II, de la Croix, &c.*

*Santo*, being induced thereto by *Pliny*, who places them betwixt the *Straits* and the *Fortunate Islands*. 5. The *Insulae Beatae* (H), or *Fortunatae*, of *Statius Sebosus*, *Juba*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* gives these islands too southern a situation, affirming them

to their writers, occasioned a conflagration of seven years continuance. It is now very fertile, producing, in great abundance, the richest wine, sugar, the most delicious fruits, especially oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, together with corn, honey, and wax. It also abounds with boars and other wild beasts, as likewise with all sorts of fowls, besides numerous groves of cedar-trees. The air of *Madera* is more temperate than that of the *Canaries*; and consequently its condition cannot be inferior to that of any of those islands. The towns are *Monchico*, *Santa Croce*, and *Funzal*, its metropolis, so called from the prodigious quantity of *fennel* at first found growing in its neighbourhood. It is now the see of a bishop, who is suffragan to the archbishop of *Lisbon*; and the seat of a Portuguese governor. Notwithstanding father *Hardouin*'s opinion, some authors make it the *Cerne*, or *Cerne Atlantica*, of the antients. If this be admitted, it was famous for the production of those hawks so well known in *Maffylia*, according to *Pliny*. As that author places this *Cerne* in the *Atlantic ocean*, and from the circumstance just mentioned it appears to have been not remote from *Maffylia*, such a sentiment

cannot well be deemed intirely groundless. Whichever of these notions we espouse, *Madera* seems formerly to have appertained to *Mauritania*.

*Porto Santo* lies at a small distance from *Madera*, and is under the jurisdiction of the same bishop and governor as *Mader*. It is only eight miles in compass; but the soil is extremely fruitful. It is remarkable, that this island produces the best honey and wax in the world.

Besides the two aforesaid islands, there is another, called by the Spaniards *Isla Desierta*, i. e. the desolate island, seven miles distant from the eastern coast of *Madera*. But this being inconsiderable, on account of the sterility of its soil, and its small extent, it is sufficient just to have mentioned it (7).

(H) The *Fortunate Islands*, or, as they are at present called, the *Canary Islands*, are seven in number. They lie to the southward of *Madira*, west of the southern coast of *Mauritania*, and betwixt twenty-seven and thirty degrees north lat. Their names are *Palma*, *Hicrro*, *Gomera*, *Teneriffe*, *Gran Canaria*, *Fuerteventura*, and *Lanzarote*. *Palma* and *Hicrro* lie most to the west. Their soil is rich;

(7) *Plin. I x. c. 8. l. vi. c. 3. &c. olib. Vide etiam Momo, Dav. Puff. ad Mel. Moll, Pory, &c. Hakluyt, tom. ii. p. 2, &c.*

built of stone. *Capraria* abounded with monstrous lizards. *Nivaria* was always covered with snow; and *Canaria* over-run with dogs of an enormous size, two of which were presented to king *Juba*. From hence they had their names assigned them. They all abounded with apples, and other sorts of fruit, as well as honey, and all kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the *Siluri*, a kind of shadfish, &c. In short, the antients so highly esteemed them, on account of their happy climate, salubrious air, and fertile soil, that they styled them *the Fortunate islands*, and fixed here their *Elysian* fields<sup>c</sup>.

*Curiosities.*

CURIOSITIES, most worthy of observation, were, 1. The vines, grapes, reeds, &c. towards the confines of *Libya Interior*, of a most prodigious and incredible size, mentioned by *Strabo*. 2. The trees growing in the island *Ombrion*, or *Pluvialia*, and the liquor extracted from them; which some learned men have imagined to be the sugar-canæs and molosæs of the moderns. 3. The river, in the southern parts of *Tingitania*, which overflowed all the adjacent country, and fertilized it in the same manner as the *Nile* did *Egypt*; for, that there was such a river in this district, appears from the best modern observations compared with *Strabo*. 4. The several remarkable ruins of *Roman* antiquities still remaining. 5. The narrow descent of many fathom deep, a few miles from *Tangier*, which leads into a sort of cave, from whence are passages into subterraneous apartments, designed undoubtedly by the antients as repositories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and statues with *Punic* inscriptions upon them. We shall reserve all other curious particulars for the history of the *Sharifs* in *Fez* and *Morocco*<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> PTOL. ubi sup. & l. iv. c. 6. PLIN. l. vi. c. 32. STATIUS SEBOSUS & JUBA apud PLIN. ibid. STRAB. sub init. MARCELLUS in Æthiopic. apud PROCLUM, l. i. in Timæ. PLUT. in Sertor. SOLIN. c. 24. Is. VOSS. ad Mel. l. iii. c. 10. & JACOB. PERIZON. ad Ælian. l. iii. c. 18. Vide etiam JOAN. HARBUIN. ad Plin. ubi sup. & ALDRET. l. iv. c. 9. <sup>d</sup> STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. I. LEO AFRICAN. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c.

## S E C T. II.

*The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, &c. of the Mauritanians.*

THAT the descendants of *Phut* first peopled *Mauritania*, *The anti-*  
*as well as the tract between the Triton and the Mulucha,* quity of the  
*has been already observed from various authors.* That the *Maurita-*  
*Phœnicians* likewise planted colonies here in very early ages, *nians.*  
*appears from the testimonies already produced.* To which we  
*may add, that, from Hirtius, Appian, and Dio, as explained*  
*by Aldrete, it may be inferred, that the *Arabs* are to be ranked*  
*amongst some of the most antient inhabitants of this country.*  
*Their authority is supported by that of the *African* historians,*  
*or rather a tradition of the *Africans*, as we learn from Leo*  
*and Marmol.* The *Mauritanians* bordering upon the con-  
*fines of *Gætulia*,* particularly those in the neighbourhood of  
*the *Pharusii*,* who were probably intermixed with them,  
*might have been the progeny of the *Perſians*,* whom several  
*authors of repute affirm to have settled here in very remote*  
*times.* As the *Egyptians*, in the reign of *Ammon*, conquered  
*the *Atlantides*,* a nation seated on mount *Atlas*, we may look  
*upon them likewise as progenitors of the antient *Maurita-**  
*nians.* Should it be admitted, that any number of *Perſians*  
*ever fixed their habitations in so remote a region,* it is likely,  
*that they either attended *Hercules* in his *Libyan* expedition,* as  
*several writers assert,* or formed part of the body of *Arabs*  
*above-mentioned;* for, that they came by sea, in the manner  
*related by Sallust,* is utterly improbable. Be that as it will,  
*that the *Pharusii* deduced their origin from the *Perſians*,* seems  
*to be insinuated by the near resemblance of the word *Pharusii**  
*to a name given the *Perſians* in Scripture, to wit, פָרָס (A), *Pharas*,*  
*or *Pharus*;* for it may be pronounced all these  
*ways.* This seems not a little to support the authority of

(A) It may not be improper, in order to strengthen what is here observed, to take notice, that פָרָס *Pharsi*, a *Perſian*, approaches very near the word *Pharusii*; especially if we give it a plural Chaldee or Syriac termina- tion. From the passages of Scripture in which the word is used, it appears pretty plain, that it was a *Perſian* proper name; and from others, that the *Hebrews* called *Perſia Elam*, and the *Perſians Elamites* (1).

(1) *Nebem.* c. xii. n. 22.

*Mela*, *Pliny*, and others. As the *Persian* and *Indian* dominions were contiguous, it is no wonder we should find the ancient *Mauri*, considered as the attendants of *Hercules*, called *Indians* by *Strabo*. According to *Leo*, some of the *Moors*, and other *Africans* in his time, believed themselves to be descended from certain tribes of *Sabaeans*, a people of *Arabia Felix*, who were chased out of their native country either by the *Assyrians* or *Ethiopians*. Others, if we may credit the same author, gave out, that their ancestors were driven out of *Asia* by a powerful enemy, and pursued into *Greece*; from whence they made their escape into *Barbary*, leaving their pursuers in possession of the country they last abandoned. But this, he adds, was to be understood only of the white nations inhabiting some parts of western *Barbary* and *Numidia*. *Marmol* relates from the *African* historians, that five tribes of *Sabaeans*, under the conduct of *Melec Ifiriqui* king of *Arabia Felix*, first spread themselves over some of the eastern parts of *Barbary*; and that *Tut*, the grandson of *Cham*, settled first in *Tingitania*, giving name to the *Tuteii*, a people of that region. The *African Tut*, we apprehend, must either be *Phut*, one of *Ham*'s younger sons, or *Lud* his grandson. Nothing absurd is implied in the last supposition; for it appears, from the *Jerusalem Targum*, in conjunction with the sacred historian, that *Lud*, the son of *Misraim*, may be considered as one of the first planters of *Mauritania*<sup>a</sup>.

#### *Govern- ment.*

It is generally imagined, that absolute monarchy prevailed in *Mauritania* from the earliest ages, as well as in *Egypt* and *Numidia*. *Bocchar*, *Bocbus*, and *Bogud*, from what we find related of them by the *Roman* historians, seem to have governed here with an uncontrollable sway; which is a sufficient intimation, that their predecessors likewise were despotic. However, we must observe from *Appian*, that several tribes of *Moors*, whom he calls *durbroquois*, were governed by their own laws, or, at least, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in opposition to that form of government which was established in the greatest part of the country we are now upon. The independent *Arabs*, mentioned by *Dr. Shaw*, who are seated in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, and sometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of *Morocco*, may pro-

<sup>a</sup> *Univ. hist.* vol. xviii. c. 14. sect. 2, 3. *HIRT.* de bel. *Afric.* *APPIAN.* de bel. civil. l. 4. *DIO*, l. xlviij. l. i. *LEO AFRICAN.* l. i. *MARMOL.* l. i. c. 1, &c. *POMP. MEL.* l. iii. c. 10. *PLIN.* l. v. c. viii. *STRAB.* l. xvii. *SALLUST.* in *Jugurth.* *DIOD.* *SIC.* l. iii. p. 132, 133. *edit.* *Rhodoman.* *EST.* c. i. ver. 3. *DAN.* c. vi. ver. 9. & ver. 29. *Targ.* in *Gen.* c. x. ver. 13. *ALDRET.* l. iii. c. 24.

bably be the posterity of these free-born *Moors*. Be that as it will, most of the provinces of *Mauritania*, if not the whole region, were subject to one prince in the reign of the elder *Dionysius*. This we learn from *Justin*, who says, that *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* nobleman, in order to attain the sovereignty of *Carthage*, to which he then aspired, had recourse to the king of the *Mauri* for assistance. *Appian* insinuates, that not only in *Numidia*, whilst regal government flourished there, but likewise in other neighbouring parts of *Africa*, and therefore probably *Mauritania*, several *reguli*, or heads of the *Kabyles*, as they now are called, were engaged in bloody wars one with another; which evidently implies, that they must have exercised a sovereign power. Notwithstanding which, the great figure the *Mauri* or *Maurusii* made in *Africa*, that name extending even to the borders of *Africa Propria*, before the *Romans* grew formidable there, as appears from *Justin*, is a sufficient indication, that most of them were united under one common head. The names *Mauritania Propria* or *Tingitania* received from those of its kings, to wit, *Bogudiana*, &c. clearly demonstrate the vast extent of power they enjoyed. The form of government in use, from the remotest antiquity, amongst those nations that first sent colonies hither, evinces the same thing; as does that of the antient *Numidians*, who agreed with their neighbours the *Maurusii* in almost all points whatsoever<sup>b</sup>.

THAT some of the *Mauritanians* had laws, or at least *Laws*, certain political maxims and institutions, which served as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from *Appian*; but none of these have been conveyed down to us. Nay, the *Mauritanian* monarchs themselves, however absolute, might have had some immutable laws, to steer their political course by, as we find the *Medes* and *Persians* had. *Appian's ἀντίτοιχοι*, just mentioned, seem to suggest such a thing, or, at least, that laws were not intirely unknown in *Mauritania*<sup>c</sup>.

NEPTUNE seems to have been one of the principal objects *Religion*, of adoration in this country; which is a sufficient proof,

<sup>b</sup> LIV. lib. xxix. c. 29. SALLUST. in Jugurth. PLIN. lib. v. c. 2. HIRT. de bel. Alex. STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. xli. & alib. APPIAN. in Libyc. lxvii. PLUT. in Cæs. in Pomp. in Anton. & alib. JUSTIN. lib. xxi. c. 4. APPIAN. de bell. civil. lib. iv. JUSTIN. ubi supra, & l. xix. c. 2. PLIN. ubi supra. CÆLLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 5. & c. 7. ALDRET. ubi sup. & l. iv. c. 20. Dr. SHAW in pref. p. 8, & alib. <sup>c</sup> APPIAN. in Libyc. lxvii. EST. c. i. ver. 19. & c. viii. ver. 8. DAN. c. vi. ver. 3. 12. 15.

that the *Naphthuhim*, or *Nephthuhim*, of *Moses*, extended themselves into it ; though the first seat of that people might probably, as *Bochart* and *Arius Montanus* imagine, have been in *Marmarica* and *Cyrenaica*. This deity and his wife *Neptys* might receive their names from hence, *Neptune*, *Neptys*, and *Naphthuhim*, signifying the king, queen, and people, of the sea-coasts. It is certain, that the *Egyptians* called the exterior parts of the earth promontories, and whatever bordered upon the sea, and was washed by it, *Neptys*. The *Sun* and *Moon* likewise, in common with the other *Libyan* nations, they paid religious honours to. That they offered human sacrifices to their gods, in imitation perhaps of the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, or some other antient nation, from whom their ancestors came, is asserted by *Seneca*. From what *Nonnus* and others have advanced, it seems probable, that *Bacchus* was worshiped by the *Mauritanians*, especially as the *Indians* and *Arabs* adored him in a most particular manner. In short, we are to form a notion of the *Mauritanian* religion from that of the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Persians*, and *Carthaginians*, already described, as well as from that of the old *Arabs*, which we hope soon to give our readers a succinct account of. What peculiarities, in this particular, the *Mauritanians* had, as doubtless they had some, have many ages since been buried in oblivion. However, it seems probable from *Mela*, that they either worshiped *Antæus*, or paid divine honours to his shield <sup>d</sup>.

*Language.* THE *Mauritanian* language undoubtedly differed from the *Numidian* in such a manner only as one dialect of the same tongue does from another ; so that there is no room for us to be prolix on this head. As for the *Mauritanian* character, that seems to have been the same with the *Numidian*, those letters on the coins formerly mentioned bearing an equal relation to the inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. What has been just observed of the religion of the people we are now upon, to wit, that it bore a near resemblance and affinity to those of the nations from whom the *Mauritanians* deduced their origin, will hold equally strong with regard to

<sup>d</sup> HERODOT. l. ii. APOLLODOR. pass. PIND. in Pyth. od. iv. APOLLON. Argonaut. l. iv. PLUTARCH. de Isid. NON. Dionysiac. lib. iii. v. 28. Gen. c. x. v. 13. D. HIERONYM. quæst. Heb. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. PLAT. in Timæo, & in Crit. DIODOR. SIC. lib. v. p. 233. PAMPHUS apud Pausan. lib. vii. c. 21. PLUT. de Isid. DIONYS. HALICARN. ant. Rom. l. i. &c. SENEC. in Octav. NON. in Dionysiac. ubi sup. & alib. DIONYS. in perieg. v. 623. HERODOT. l. i. MEL. l. c. 5. Vid. ALDRET. & NAWT. in chronol. pass.

their language. The tongue of the present *Kabyles* Dr. Shaw has given us a specimen of, and possibly some traces of that of the antient *Moors* are still remaining in it; but of this we are far from being certain. However, several words of the *African vocabulary*, which that learned and ingenious gentleman has obliged the world with, are deducible from the *Oriental languages*, whatever he may insinuate to the contrary (B). The *Arabesca*, at present spoken in *Fez* and *Morocco*, as well as over all other parts of *Barbary*, was not so much derived from the *Saracens*, who over-ran this vast tract, as the antient inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. The *Punic* tongue, not very remote from the *Arabic*, prevailed thro' that part of *Africa* extending from the *Triton* to the *Atlantic ocean*, even to the time of St. *Austin*<sup>e</sup>.

I. THE *Mauritanians*, as well as the other *Africans*, from *Customs*. what *Hyginus* insinuates, seem to have fought only with clubs, till one *Belus*, the son of *Neptune*, as that author calls him,

\* HENDREICH, BOCHART. ALDRET. pass. SHAW's physical and miscellaneous observat. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. and Tun. p. 288. & E. 52.

(B) The very learned and ingenious Dr. Shaw positively affirms, that there is no affinity at all betwixt what may be supposed to be the primitive words in the *Showiab*, as the present *African Kabyles* call their language, and the words which convey the same meaning in the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues. From whence he seems to infer, that this language bore no relation at all to any of those that are now called the *Oriental languages*; and that it is difficult, if not impossible, even to form any conjectures about it. But that there is a possibility at least, if not a good degree of probability, of deducing it from the Eastern tongues, will best appear from the following *Showiaban* words:

1. *Akel*, to see, may naturally be deduced from *לְקַח bbaqal*,

red, coloured, &c. or *לְקַל Akal*, be understood, perceived, &c. 2. *Atbrair*, a mountain, from *אֶתְרָא Atbar*, a place, and *רִא bar*, an hill. 3. *Allen*, the eye, from the *Arabic* article *al*, the, and *עֵין ein*, or *en*, eye. 4. *Aman*, water, from *מְאָן main*, or *man*, waters, and *הַ ha*, the, i. e. *הַמְּאָן Hamain*, or *Haman*, the waters. 5. *Elkau*, the earth, from the *Arabic* article *al*, the, and *كَوْه kaa*, barren soil. 6. *Affa*, to-day, from *אַשְׁוֹר asa*, or *affa*, the time from noon to the next day break. As all the other *Showiaban* words we have examined are equally deducible from the *Oriental languages*, we doubt not but Dr. Shaw's whole *Showiaban* vocabulary may be deemed of *Oriental* extraction (2).

(2) *Vid. Schind. lex. pers. & Gal. lex. Arabic.*

taught them the use of the sword. Sir Isaac Newton makes this *Belus* to have been the same person with *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, who over-ran a great part of the then known world. 2. All persons of distinction in *Mauritania* went richly attired, wearing much gold and silver in their cloaths. They took great pains in cleansing their teeth, and curled their hair in a curious and elegant manner. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails pared extremely close. When they walked out in any numbers, they never touched one another, for fear of disconcerting the curls into which their hair had been formed. 3. The *Mauritanian* infantry, in time of action, used shields made of elephants skins, being clad in those of lions, leopards, and bears, which they kept on both night and day. 4. The cavalry of this nation was armed with broad short lances, and carried targets or bucklers, made likewise of the skins of wild beasts. They used no saddles. Their horses were small and swift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were so much under the command of their riders, that they would follow them like dogs. The habit of these horsemen was not much different from that of the foot above-mentioned, they constantly wearing a large tunic of the skins of wild beasts. The *Phutæi*, of whom the *Mauritanians* were a branch, were eminent for their shields, and the excellent use they made of them, as we learn from Homer, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Scripture. Nay, Herodotus seems to intimate, that the shield and helmet came from them to the *Greeks*. 5. Notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, the poorer sort of the *Mauritanians* never took care to manure the ground, being strangers to the art of husbandry, but roved about the country in a wild savage manner, like the antient *Scythians* or *Arabes Scenitæ*. They had tents, or *mapalia*, so extremely small, that they could scarce breathe in them. Their food was corn, herbage, &c. which they frequently did eat green, without any manner of preparation; being destitute of wine, oil, and all the elegancies as well as many necessaries of life. Their habit was the same both in summer and winter, consisting chiefly of an old tattered, though thick, garment, and over it a coarse rough tunic; which answered probably to that of their neighbours the *Numidians*, already described. Most of them lay every night upon the bare ground, though some of them strewed their garments thereon, not unlike the present *African Kabyles* and *Arabs*, who, according to Dr. Shaw, use their *bykes* for a bed and covering in the night. 6. If the most approved reading of a passage in *Horace* may be admitted, the *Mauritanians* shot poisoned arrows; which clearly intimates, that they had some skill in the art of preparing poisons, and

and were excellent dartmen. This last observation is countenanced by *Herodian* and *Aelian*, who intirely come into it, affirming them to have been in such continual danger of being devoured by wild beasts, that they durst not stir out of their tents or *mapalia* without their darts. Such perpetual exercise must render them exceedingly skilful in hurling that weapon. 7. The *Mauritanians* sacrificed human victims to their deities, as the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, &c. did. This is not only probable from the authority produced in the *Carthaginian* history, but from the express testimony of *Seneca* and *Eusebius*. 8. As the other customs of the nation we are now upon coincide with those of the *Numidians* already related, for their farther satisfaction in this particular, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the *Numidian* history <sup>f</sup>.

WITH regard to the arts and sciences of the *Mauritanians*, *Arts.* we have not much to say. The country-people were extremely rude and barbarous, as appears from what has been just laid down. Those inhabiting cities must undoubtedly have had, at least, some smattering in the literature of the several nations they deduced their origin from. That the *Mauritanians* had some knowledge in naval affairs, seems probable, not only from the intercourse they had with the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, as well as the situation of their country, but likewise from *Orpheus*, or *Onomacritus*, who asserts them to have made a settlement at the entrance into *Colchis*, to which place they came by sea. Magic, sorcery, divination, &c. from what has been observed in the last section, they appear to have applied themselves to in very early times. *Cicero* and *Pliny* say, that *Atlas* was the inventor of astrology, and the doctrine of the sphere, i. e. he first introduced them into *Mauritania*. This, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, gave rise to the fable of *Atlas*'s bearing the heavens upon his shoulders. The same author relates, that *Atlas* instructed *Hercules* in the doctrine of the sphere and astrology, or rather astronomy, who afterwards brought those sciences into *Greece*. Some say that *Neptune*, and others that *Atlas*, first fitted out a fleet, and invented tall ships with sails. Be that as it will, it is generally acknowledged, that both *Neptune*,

<sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. HOM. pass. HERODOT. in Melpom. XENOPH. Cyropaed. lib. vi. JER. c. xliv. ver. 9. EZECH. c. xvii. ver. 10. & c. xxxviii. ver. 5. SALLUST. in Jugurth. HYGIN. fab. ccxxv. HORAT. l. i. od. 22. HERODIAN. pass. AELIAN. l. xiv. §. 5. SENEC. ubi sup. EUSEB. in orat. in laud. Constant. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. THEOPHAN. in vit. Justinian. SHAW ubi sup. p. 289, 290. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. c. 14. sect. 2.

and *Atlas* his son, reigned in this country ; for which reason it cannot be denied probable, that astronomy, astrology, geography, geometry, navigation, &c. were known to some of the *Mauritanians* in early ages. Let this be admitted, and it will almost necessarily follow, that a competent knowledge in history, chronology, &c. could not have been wanting amongst them. That some of them were not deficient in point of genius, is evident from the great and illustrious figure the younger *Juba* made in the learned world, an account of which will be given towards the close of the *Mauritanian* history <sup>g</sup>.

### Power.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Mela* represents *Tingitania* as a poor despicable country, scarce deserving any notice, yet *Strabo* assures us, that it was a rich and opulent kingdom. The antiquits in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the *Hesperides* here, seem to concur with him in that opinion. *Sallust*, in particular, discovers himself to have entertained the same sentiment, when he tells us how formidable *Jugurtha's* army was rendered by its junction with the *Mauritanian* forces ; and *Dio*, when he intimates, that *Bogud* king of *Mauritania* caused victory to declare in favour of *Cæsar*, at the battle of *Munda*. We cannot well conceive it to have been otherwise, if we consider its extraordinary fertility, the genius of its inhabitants for trade, the gold it abounded with, the bravery of its troops, and other instances of its power mentioned by writers of the best authority. The *Carthaginians* had generally some bodies of *Mauritanians* in their service, which is a proof, that they were highly esteemed by that famous republic. The name of *Mauri*, or *Maurusii*, seems to have extended itself from the *Atlantic* ocean to the borders of *Africa Propria*, or, at least, to the *Ampsaga*, as may be inferred from several authors. Now, it survived those of the *Maffyli* and *Mafafyli*, which must have been occasioned by the superior eminence of the *Mauritanian* nation, and consequently is an additional argument in favour of what has been just advanced <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> ORPHEUS, vel ONOMACRITUS, in Argon. ver. 741. CIC. in quest. Tuscul. l. v. & de natur. deor. STATIUS in Theb l. viii. MANIL. l. iii. EUSEB. de praep. evang. l. ii. c. 4. PLIN. l. ii. c. 8. & l. viii. c. 56. DIOD. Sic. l. iii. TZETZ. hist. l. i. chil. 5. PLAT. PAMPH. HEROQOT. PAUSAN. PLUT. ubi sup. ALDRET. l. iv. c. 14, & alib. <sup>h</sup> POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 5. STRAB. l. xvii. SALLUST. in Jugurth. APPIAN. de bell. civil. & in Hispan. DIO, l. xlivi. PLIN. ubi sup. & alib. Vid. etiam PLUT. in Syl. & in Mar. CELLAR. lib. iv. c. 5. ALDRET. BOCHART. Univ. hist. vol. xvii. pass. & vol. xviii. c. 15. §. 1.

## S E C T. III.

*The History of the Mauritanians, to the entire reduction  
of their country by the Romans.*

THE accounts transmitted down to us by the antients of *Accounts* the most early transactions in *Mauritania* are so enveloped of the earliest with fable, that it is impossible for us from thence to form any tolerable idea of them; though these accounts are so prolix, that they would fill a considerable volume. It will therefore be sufficient, for the information of our readers, to give a concise relation of the principal of them, stripped as much as possible of fable, and rendered as consistent with itself as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philosophers, and historians, will permit it to be <sup>a</sup>.

THE two earliest princes of this country, except *Neptune*, *Neptune* mentioned by antiquity, were *Atlas* and *Antæus*. From several circumstances, with which we are supplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that these were the same person. They were both of them the sons of *Neptune*, who reigned over *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, and a great part of *Libya*; as may be naturally inferred from his having such particular marks of distinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of those regions. They both ruled with an absolute sway over a great part of *Africa*, particularly *Tingitania*. *Hercules* defeated and slew *Antæus* in the same war wherein he took the *Libyan world* from *Atlas*. Both *Atlas* and *Antæus* invaded *Egypt*, and contended with *Hercules* in the wars of the gods, and were both overcome by him. *Antæus*, as well as *Atlas*, seems to have been famed for his knowledge in the celestial sciences. From whence, as well as from other considerations that might be offered, we may

<sup>a</sup> HESIOD. PIND. SOPHOCL. EURIPID. MEI. STRAB. PLIN. APOLLODOR. CIC. HYGIN. PHILOSTRAT. LUCAN. APOEION. LUCRET. SENECA. STAT. MART. OVID. JUVEN. PROPERT. SIL. ITAL. PLUT. VIRG. SOLIN. SERV. DIOD. SIC. TACIT. EUSEB. PROCOPI. SALLUST. FLOR. OROS. PTOL. DIO, PALÆPHAT. CLAUDIAN. ALBERIC. ATHEN. C<sup>t</sup>S. GERMANIC. in Arat. phærom. JUBA apud Athen. omnēsq; fere script. antiqu. pass.

fairly conclude them to have been the same king of *Mauritania*<sup>b</sup> (A).

Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, in his wars with *Hercules*, who seems to have commanded an army of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, behaved with great bravery and resolution. Receiving several large reinforcements of *Libyan* troops, he cut off vast numbers of *Hercules's* men. But that celebrated commander, having at last intercepted a strong body of *Mauritanian* or *Libyan* forces, sent to the relief of *Antæus*, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he, and the best part of his forces, were put to the sword. This decisive action put *Hercules* in possession of *Libya* and *Mauritania*, and consequently of all the riches in those kingdoms. Hence came the fable, that *Hercules*, finding *Antæus*, a giant of an enormous size, with whom he was engaged in single combat, to receive fresh strength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at last lifted him up in the air, and squeezed him to death. Hence likewise may be deduced the fable, intimating, that *Hercules* took *Atlas's* globe upon his own shoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the *Hesperides*, and made himself master of all the golden fruit there. Bochart thinks, that the fable alluded chiefly to naval engagements, wherein *Hercules*, for the most part, was victorious, though *Antæus*, from time to time, received succours by sea. But at last *Hercules*, coming up with one of his squadrons having a strong reinforcement on board, made himself master of it; which rendered *Antæus*, for the future, incapable of making head against him. The same author likewise insinuates, that

<sup>b</sup> PIND. Pyth. od. ix. HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iii. APOLLON. Argon. l. iv. PLAT. in Timæo, & in Crit. DIOD. Sic. l. i. & l. iii. PAMPHUS apud Pausan. l. vii. c. 21. PLUT. de Isid. AGATHARC. apud Phot. HYGIN. fab. cl. LUCIAN. de saltat. ALDRET. l. iv. c. 9.

(A) The oblique cases of the word *Atlas*, to wit, *Atlantis*, *Atlante*, &c. are apparently compounded of the names *Atlas*, or *Atal*, i. e. *tall*, *lofty*, &c. and *Ante*, or *Antæus*. This is a presumptive proof, that they both belonged to the same person, and consequently, that *Atlas* and *An-*

*tæus* were the same king of *Mauritania*. The old nominative case in the Greek language, of all such words, bore a near relation to the oblique cases, tho' altered in process of time. The word *Atal* answers very well to the stature of *Antæus*, according to Pliny and Plutarch (1).

(1) Cumberl. in Sanch. p. 727. Plin. l. v. s. 2. Plut. in Setior.

the notion of *Antæus*'s gigantic stature, prevailing for so many centuries amongst the *Tingitanians*, pointed out the size of the vessels of which his fleets or squadrons did consist. As for the golden apples, so frequently mentioned by the old mythologists, they were the treasures that fell into *Hercules*'s hands upon *Antæus*'s defeat, the *Greeks* giving the oriental word Χρυσοί, riches, the signification affixed to their own term μήλα, apples. Bishop *Cumberland* seems, with *Sanchoniatho*, and the *Atlantian* theology in *Diodorus*, to allow *Atlas* to have been the son of *Ouranos*, i. e. according to him, *Noah*; and likewise to take for granted, with *Eusebius*, that *Antæus* was his son. But, should this be admitted, we must allow *Hercules*, and consequently *Antæus*, to have been cotemporary with *Misraim*; that the remotest western parts of *Africa*, even those bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, were then fully inhabited; and that they had, even for some time, then formed a powerful kingdom. So that the north-western part of *Libya*, according to this hypothesis, made a considerable figure before *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence its first colonies were drawn, could in reality make any figure at all. Nay, from hence it will follow, that those countries, particularly *Egypt*, sent colonies into, and attempted the conquest of, almost the remotest regions, when they themselves were in a manner uncultivated, and without inhabitants: absurdities these so glaring, that even none in *Ctesias* can exceed them! Besides, if *Eusebius* espoused this opinion, as he seems to have done, by his citation from *Diodorus*, provided we fall in with bishop *Cumberland*'s explanation of *Sanchoniatho*, he is inconsistent with himself. For he asserts *Hercules* to have vanquished *Antæus* about three hundred and ninety-three years before the destruction of *Troy*, as we find by consulting his *Chronicon*. Now, allowing that event to have preceded the Christian æra twelve hundred years, which is higher than it has even been fixed by the followers of *Ctesias* and *Eratosthenes*, both *Hercules* and *Antæus* must have lived betwixt seven and eight hundred years after the deluge; which, though much too early, in our opinion, must bring them down several hundred years lower than the age of *Misraim*. The Greek mythic writers, particularly *Apollodorus*, will have *Atlas* to be the son of *Iapetus*, and grandson of *Noah*, according to bishop *Cumberland*; but this hypothesis likewise, from what has been just advanced, must be acknowledg'd void of the least shadow of probability. In fine, after the most diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheses of historians and chronologers, relating to *Atlas* and *Antæus*, we find none so little clogged with difficulties, as that of the incomparable Sir *Isaac Newton*. According to that illustrious

author, *Ammon*, the father of *Sesac*, was the first king of *Libya*, or that vast tract extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic ocean*; the conquest of which country was effected by *Sesac* in his father's life-time. *Neptune* afterwards excited the *Libyans* to a rebellion against *Sesac*, slew him, and then invaded *Egypt* under the command of *Atlas* or *Antæus*, the son of *Neptune*, *Sesac*'s brother and admiral. Not long after *Hercules*, the general of *Thebais* and *Ethiopia* for the gods or great men of *Egypt*, reduced a second time the whole continent of *Libya*, having overthrown and slain *Antæus* near a town in *Thebais*, from that event called *Antæa* or *Antæopolis*: this, we say, is the notion advanced by Sir *Isaac Newton*, who endeavours to prove, that the first reduction of *Libya*, by *Sesac*, happened a little above a thousand years before the birth of *Christ*, as the last, by *Hercules*, did some few years after. Now, though we do not pretend to adopt every particular circumstance of Sir *Isaac Newton*'s system, yet we cannot forbear observing, that it appears undeniably plain from Scripture, that neither the western extremity of *Libya*, nor even the other parts of that region, could possibly have been so well peopled before the time of *David* or *Solomon*, as to have sent a numerous army to invade *Egypt*. For *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence the greatest part of the ancestors of the *Libyans* came, and which were much nearer the place from whence the first dispersion of mankind was made, could not themselves have been greatly over-stocked with inhabitants any considerable time before the reign of *Saul*. And that such an invasion happened in the reign of *Neptune*, or at least of his son *Antæus*, has been fully evinced by that most excellent chronologer <sup>c</sup>.

*A farther argument in support of Sir Isaac Newton.* To what has been already offered on this head we may add, that the *Libyans* are not taken notice of by Scripture, as a nation of any strength or power, till the fifth year of the reign of *Rehoboam* king of *Judah*, who was then invaded by *Sesac*. A body of *Libyan* troops attended that prince in this expedition; and therefore *Libya* must be considered as then newly become subject to him. About thirty years afterwards they made likewise something of a figure; since in the fifteenth of *Asa*, *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* advanced to *Mareshab* with an army of a million of men, of which the *Libyans*

\* Idem ibid. & quamplurim. ex aucto. supra laudat. BOCH. Chan. l. ii. c. 24. & præfat. in Chan. EUSEB. in chron. ad num. 498. 835, &c. CUMBERL. in Sanchoniath. p. 327, & seq. & in orig. p. 265. 277, &c. NEWTON's chronol. of the emp. of Egypt. and of the Greeks, p. 99. Gen. xiv. & alib. Exod. i. Jud. i. NEWTON's chronol. of the Greeks, p. 185—191.

formed a considerable part. As this was but a short time after the death of *Sesac*, and as *Zerab* must then have been master of *Egypt*, since otherwise he could not have marched his *Libyan* forces through that country, to attack *Aja*'s dominions, it seems to us extremely probable from hence, in conjunction with what has been just observed, that *Libya* was annexed to the *Egyptian* monarchy by *Sesac*, and not before. From hence likewise it appears, that *Sesostris*, and *Sesonchoisis*, must have been the same *Egyptian* prince with *Sesac*, since those names denoted that conqueror who first reduced *Libya*, and formed the great *Egyptian* monarchy, according to profane authors. No mention is made of the *Egyptians* on this occasion, since soon after the death of *Sesac*, i. e. a little before the *Trojan war*, the *Ethiopians*, for a short time, were masters of *Egypt*, as appears from *Pliny* and *Herodotus*. If therefore all that vast tract, known by the name of *Libya*, was so inconsiderable, that it deserved little or no attention, till the days of *Rehoboam* and *Aja*, how obscure must the country, called by the *Phœnicians* *Mauritania*, a small part of it, have been in every age preceding *Sesac*! We may therefore infer from hence, that *Antæus*, or *Atlas*, could not have lived much earlier than the age Sir *Isaac* has assigned him; however early some particular colonies of *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, a sea-faring people always intent upon discovering unknown countries, might have settled in the western parts of *Africa*. However, we are far from insisting upon what is here advanced as true; but only beg leave to submit it, with all possible deference, to the judgment of our learned and impartial readers<sup>4</sup>.

THE sentiment we would here recommend to the consideration of the learned is also countenanced by *Virgil*, and *Trogus Pompeius*, who hint the following remarkable particulars relating to it: 1. About nine hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra, *Libya* was independent on *Egypt*, since the eastern, if not the western, part of it, was governed by a king of its own name, called *Iarbas*. This tallies extremely well with what Sir *Isaac* has observed of the fall of the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammon* and *Sesac*. For, according to him, that empire was broken to pieces about the year before *Christ* 940. by the civil wars in the reign of *Amenophis*, which, in a great measure, occasioned the revolt of the nations upon the coasts of the *Mediterranean*

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chron. xii. 3. xiv. 9. & xvi. 8. MANETHO apud Joseph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 110. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. NEWTON's chronol. p. 235—239. & alib.

and *Euxine* seas. 2. The *Libyans* much nearer *Egypt*, a polite and civilized kingdom, than those bordering on the *Atlantic* ocean, had only a few villages, consisting of small huts, probably the same as the modern *Dashkras*, mentioned by Dr. *Shaw*, when *Dido* arrived in *Africa*; though possibly *Utica*, built and inhabited by *Phœnicians*, might then have made a better figure. *Tingis* likewise, as it appears to lay claim to a more antient founder than *Antæus*, being on the sea-coast, was perhaps a town of some note before the time we are now upon. Nay, as we have observed from *Procopius*, some parties of *Canaanites* might erect a castle there, though before that time, if any traces of a town were in being, it could only have been an inconsiderable *Dashkra*, or perhaps little better than a collection of thickets and caves of the earth. 3. The *Libyans*, even in and near the territory of *Carthage*, were a sort of barbarians at *Dido*'s arrival there, living, in a manner, like wild beasts, and standing in need of *Dido*'s *Punician* followers to polish and civilize them. These, and some other inferences, that might be drawn from the above-mentioned authors, add no small weight to what Sir *Isaac* has advanced with regard to *Atlas* or *Antæus*, as well as the rise and fall of the *Egyptian* empire. But this we must supercede, as not so properly belonging to that branch of antient history, to which we are obliged at present to confine ourselves <sup>e</sup>.

*Nothing further remarkable till be Roman times.* WE find nothing worth relating recorded of the *Mauritanians* from the defeat of *Antæus* to the *Roman* times. *Livy* only tells us, that *Syphax*'s kingdom bordered upon the *Mauri*; which is nothing more than an implication, that such a nation did then exist. *Justin*, indeed, from *Trogus*, intimates, that, in some of the earliest ages of *Carthage*, the *Mauri* were neighbours to the *Carthaginians*, and had some disputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of moment concerning that people. *Diodorus Siculus* likewise says, that, in the interval between the overthrow the *Carthaginians* received from *Gelon*, and the first *Punic* war, they had sometimes *Mauritanian* mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing further relative to the nation we are now upon. Nor ought this to be wondered at, since we are informed by *Sallust*, that nothing of the *Mauri*, besides their name, was known to the *Romans*, so late as the *Jugurthine* war; and the most antient Greek writers scarce ever considered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the *Libyans*. How

<sup>e</sup> VIRG. Eneid. i. JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 6. Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 330, 121. NEWTON, ubi sup. pass.

*Bocchar*, king of *Mauritania*, lent *Masinissa* a body of troops to escort him to his dominions, and what was consequent thereupon, our readers will find related at large in the *Numidian history* <sup>f</sup>.

PLUTARCH insinuates, that the elder *Juba* pretended to be lineally descended from *Hercules*; but that biographer seems not to give overmuch credit to such a pretension. However, it is natural enough to suppose, that the person who obtained this country, upon the dissolution of the *Egyptian* empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Possibly *Bocchar* and *Bocchus*, son-in-law to *Jugurtha*, were of this family; since the affinity of names, and the country they governed, sufficiently intimate them to have been of the same family, and of the blood royal of *Mauritania*. Be that as it will, *Bocchus*, from the account *Sallust* gives us of him, seems to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats the *Romans* menaced and cajoled him into an infamous action, i. e. to deliver (B) his father-in-law *Jugurtha* into their hands, after the most solemn engagements to support him, and even a promise made to put *Sylla* into his power. *Jugurtha* indeed was a prince not only capable, but even guilty, of the most enormous crimes; but this will not vindicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of (C) *Bocchus*. What is here hinted at may be found related at large in some former parts of this work <sup>e</sup>.

## HISTORY

<sup>f</sup> LIV. I. xxiv. c. 42. I. xxix. c. 30. & alib. JUSTIN. I. xix. c. 2. & I. xxi. c. 4. DION. SIC. past. SALLUST. de bell. Jugurth. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. c. 14. §. 3. <sup>e</sup> PLUT. in Sertor. LIV. & SALLUST. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. xii. p. 482.

(B) *Orosius* intimates, that *Bocchus* did not enter into an alliance with *Jugurtha* till after *Marius* had taken *Capua*, which contradicts *Sallust* and *Plutarch*. He also describes the first general action betwixt the two *African* princes and *Marius*, which he affirms to have happened near *Cirta*, as the most bloody and dubious one the *Romans* were ever concerned in. But as this description, in many particulars, runs counter to *Sallust* and *Plu-*

*tarch*, or rather seems to be a confused account of several actions mentioned by them, we shall leave our readers to give what credit to it they please (2).

(C) Either this prince, or another of the same name, undertook an expedition against the western or *Hesperian Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to that author, *Bocchus* found, in the country of these *Ethiopians*, some reeds of such an enormous size, that the largest

(2) *Oros.* I. v. c. 15. *Vid.* & *Flor.* I. iii. c. 1.

What happened to Bogud.

HISTORY is silent as to any farther particulars of the Mauritanian affairs, till the time of *Bogud* (D), who was contemporary with *Julius Cæsar*, and his adopted son *Octavius*. *Bogud*, in conjunction with *Publius Sittius*, not a little contributed to *Cæsar's* great success in *Africa*, as has been already observed. In *Spain*, likewise, he assisted *Cæsar* when he gained the ever-memorable victory at *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic. After that emperor's death he sided with *Antony* against *Octavius*; and endeavoured to make a diversion, in favour of the former, in *Spain*. But, whilst he was employed in this expedition, the *Tingitanians* revolted from him, and, being supported by a body of *Spaniards* in the interest of *Octavius*, and some of *Bocchus's* troops, defeated him upon his return into *Africa*; which put *Bocchus* in possession of *Tingitania*. *Octavius*, or *Augustus*, afterwards confirmed this acquisition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of *Tingis* with the privileges of *Roman* citizens. *Bogud* was at last killed by *Agrippa* at *Methona*, as our readers will elsewhere find; and after *Bocchus's* (E) death *Tingitania* was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province<sup>h</sup>.

Augustus gives the younger Juba the Mauritanie, and part of Gætulia.

AUGUSTUS gave the younger *Juba*, a prince extremely in his favour, the two *Mauritanie*, together with part of *Gætulia*, some time after his marriage with the younger *Cleopatra*.

<sup>h</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. xli. HIRT. de bell. Afric. APPIAN. de bell. civil. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. ii. PLUT. in Pomp. & in Cæs. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. DIO, l. xliv. xlvi. l. STRAB. l. viii. Univ. hist. vol. xiii. p. 474.

joint of them would contain eight *cœnizes* of corn; which, together with some *asparagus* equally large, he sent as curiosities to his wife. What success attended this expedition, we neither find in *Strabo*, nor any other author (3).

(D) *Suetonius* informs us, that *Julius Cæsar* fell in love with *Bogud's* queen *Eune*, or *Eunoë*, a *Masritanian* lady. As he made both her and her husband presents of an immense value on this account, it is not improbable, that he enjoyed her by her husband's consent (4).

(E) *Pliny* relates, that one king *Bocchus*, having fastened thirty men to stakes, in order to their being destroyed by the same number of elephants, ordered certain persons to irritate those animals; but that, notwithstanding all their efforts, they found it impossible to make them subservient to that prince's cruelty. The same author likewise mentions an *African* historian of this name; but whether or no he was of royal extraction, he tells us not (5).

(3) STRAB. l. xvii. p. 569. (4) Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 52. (5) Plin. l. viii. c. 5. & l. xvi. c. 40.

*patra*, instead of his father's kingdom; *i. e.* *Numidia*, which still remained a Roman province. It is true, *Strabo*, as has been observed by Mr. Bayle, affirms, that *Augustus* restored *Juba* to the kingdom of his father, and moreoyer granted him the *Mauritania*; but this geographer limits the Roman-province, and the kingdom of *Juba*, in such a manner, as shews, that *Numidia* belonged to the Romans. We must not omit observing here, that the translator of *Dio* has committed an egregious blunder in his *Latin* version, which seems to have proceeded purely from inattention: *Cæsar*, says he, gave *Juba*, &c. *IT* (*i. e.* *Egypt.*), and his father's kingdom; whereas *Dio* there affirms, that *Cæsar gave* (F) *Juba HER*, (*i. e.* *Cleopatra*) and his father's kingdom. That this observation, made first by Mr. Bayle, is indisputably true, appears

(F) *Juba* had a noble education bestowed upon him at *Rome*, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the most learned *Grecians*. He did not leave that city, till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. By the lenity of his government he so won the hearts of all his subjects, who ever retained the most grateful sense of the felicity they enjoyed under him, that they ranked him among the gods, and, according to *Pausanias*, erected a statue in his honour. He was extremely well versed in the *Affyrian*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Punic*, *African*, and *Latin* histories, as well as those of other nations. He wrote the history of *Arabia*; the antiquities of the *Affyrians* and *Romans*; the history of theatres, of painting, and painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different animals; a particular treatise upon the herb *Euphorbia*, which he so called from his phy-

fician, who first discovered the many excellencies of it, in which he greatly celebrates its singular virtues; and a piece concerning the source of the *Nile*. Many other works are also ascribed to him by *Suidas*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, *Abenus*, &c. a few fragments only of which are now extant. *Pliny* intimates, that his learning rendered him more illustrious than his crown; and frequently cites him, as asserting or confirming the most curious particulars. According to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Juba*, from some *Punic* authors, affirmed the *Nile* to have had its source in an high mountain of *Mauritania*. The abbé *Sevin* has favoured the world with a short dissertation on the life and writings of the younger *Juba*, wherein he has inserted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of *Rome* 776. or 777. may be inferred from *Strabo* and *Tacitus* (6):

(6) *Plin.* *I. v. c. 1.* & alib. *paff.* *Plut.* in *Cæs.* *Suid.* in *ose.* *Io'Bag.* *Abeni de pnoseph.* *I. i.* *Juba rex de Nili origine a fud Ammian. Marcellin. I. xxii.* *Strab. I. vi. & xvii.* *Tacit. I. iv. c. 5.* *Vid. M. Bayle in *Juba*, & M. l'abbé de Sevin, en 't'm. iv. desquem. de l'acc. de belles lettres.*

The History of the Mauritanians. B. IV.

sufficiently from hence, that this *Juba* was never king of *Egypt*. *Suidas* relates, that the younger *Juba* was whipped publicly when led in triumph. But this seems highly improbable, and has not the countenance of any other author to support it. *Ptolemy* (*G*), his son by *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, surnamed *Selene*, succeeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by *Caius*, either through a principle of avarice or jealousy, we may learn from *Suetonius* and *Dio*, as well as a former part of this history <sup>i</sup>.

Tacfari-  
nas raises  
troubles in  
Africa,  
but re-  
ceives se-  
veral de-  
feats, and  
is at last  
killed.

TACFARINAS, a native of *Numidia*, who had served among the *Roman auxiliaries*, a little before the third consulate of *Tiberius*, occasioned fresh troubles in *Africa*. At first he assembled a great number of barbarians, inured to robberies, and all kinds of rapine, by the allurement of plunder; out of which he formed a considerable army, and disciplined it after the *Roman manner*. The chiefs of the army consisted of *Musulanians*, a powerful nation, bordering upon the *Sahara*, still wild, and without towns, of whom *Tacfarinus* declared himself general. These were joined by a large body of *Mauritanians*, commanded by their general *Mazippa*, whom *Tacfarinus* had found means to draw into the war. The *Cinithians*, likewise, a nation by no means despicable, he forced to come into his measures. With the regular forces he encamped, and detached *Mazippa* to make

<sup>i</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. *Dio*, l. liii. ad an. ubi. cond. 729. *Suid.* in voc. *Τιβέριος*. TACIT. an. iv. *Sueton.* in *Caio*, c 26, 35. *Dio*, l. lix. PLUT. in *Anton.* SSNEC. de *tranquill.* vit. P. NOR. cenotaph. *Pisan.* p. 235. Univers. hist. vol. xiv. p. 299.

(G) *Ptolemy's pedigree* has been discovered by the following *Ro-*  
*man inscription*, communicated to Dr. *Shaw* by father *Ximenes*, which exhibits that of his father *Juba*:

REGI IUBAE REGIS  
IUBAE FILIO REGIS  
IEMPSALIS N. REGIS GAVD.  
PRONEPOTIS MASINISAE  
PRONEPOTIS NEPOTI  
II VIR QVINO. PATRONO  
COLONI.

This inscription differs some-  
thing from the authors who have  
supplied us with an account of *Mafinissa's* family in the *Numi-*  
*dian history* (7).

(7) *Aiken. diphysoph.* l. vi. *Dr. Shaw in excerpt.* p. 59. *vid. & Reineccius in*  
*l. fl. Jul. de famil. Lat.* xliii. p. 329. *& Univers. hist. vol. xviii. c. 14. sect. 3.*  
*t. t. ult.*

excursions,

excursions, and harass the *Romans* by perpetual alarms, with the irregular troops. *Furius Camillus*, the *Roman* commander, advanced against the *Africans* with only a single legion, and what troops the allies could spare him. This he did in order to draw them to a general action, since they seemed willing to decline an engagement, it being their interest to protract the war. Though *Camillus*'s troops were but an handful, in comparison of the barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle, posting the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with two wings of horse, on the right and left. He had no sooner made this disposition than the barbarians attacked him, but were quickly routed, with great slaughter. However, the next year *Tacfarinas* renewed the war, making dreadful incursions into the very heart of the country, and doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. He posted from place to place with such celerity, that none of the *Roman* detachments could come up with him. After he had committed many devastations, he surrounded a *Roman* cohort, commanded by one *Decrius*, an officer of distinguished merit, in a fort near the banks of the *Pagida*. The *Romans* behaved with great bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were obliged to abandon the fort to the enemy, and betake themselves to flight. *Lucius Apronius*, *Camillus*'s successor, caused this ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man, drawn by lot, in conformity to the antient custom, to be executed with a club. This rigour had such an effect, that *Tacfarinas*'s army was routed, and forced to raise the siege of *Thala*, by a squadron of five hundred veterans only. This defeat determined *Tacfarinas* to resolve never, for the future, to attempt a siege, but to carry on the war in a desultory manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, assaulting the rear. As long as the *African* observed this method, he eluded all the efforts of the *Romans*; but, withdrawing to the maritim places, and being, by the prospect of an immense booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by *Apronius Cæstianus* with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The dispute was neither long nor bloody; for the barbarians were soon overthrown, many of them slain, and the rest obliged to disperse themselves in the *Sahara*. However, *Tacfarinas*, though often repulsed, still repaired his forces, and arrived at such a pitch of arrogance, as to send embassadors to *Tiberius*, threatening him with eternal war, if he and his army had not a proper settlement assigned them. *Tiberius*, incensed to the last degree at such unparalleled impudence, ordered *Blaesus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Africa*, to offer a general indemnity to the *Africans*,

*Africans*, and to endeavour, by all means possible, to get *Tacfarinas* into his hands. *Blæsus*, in order to put an end to this war, made the following disposition of his forces; he detached *Scipio*, his lieutenant, to a post from whence *Tacfarinas* committed his depredations upon the citizens of *Leptis*, and then retreated amongst the *Garamantes*; his son he sent to protect the territory of the *Cirtensis*; and between both he marched himself with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. These measures, with some others equally good, had the desired effect; for *Tacfarina's* forces were dispersed, his brother taken, and he obliged to hide himself in the desert. Notwithstanding which, a great body of *Mauritanians*, through *Ptolemy's* indolence, having joined him, as likewise a strong reinforcement from the king of the *Garamantes* (H), he once more made head against the *Romans*. But *Dolabella*, having fortified the proper posts, and executed the chiefs of the *Musulani*, who were meditating a revolt, advanced against the enemy, who, he was informed, had taken post near the castle of *Auzæa*. After a forced march he came up with them, and intirely defeated them, putting to the sword *Tacfarinas* himself, and a vast number of his followers. A body of *Mauritanians*, king *Ptolemy* sent to assist *Dolabella*, did not a little contribute to this victory, which, for some time, settled peace in the *Roman* provinces, *Mauritania* and *Gætulia* <sup>k</sup>.

*Mauritania reduced to a Roman province.*

*Ptolemy* having been cut off by *Caius*, as related above, *Ædemus*, one of his freedmen, in order to revenge his death, assembled a body of forces in *Mauritania*. *Caius* being soon after assassinated, his successor *Claudius*, in order to disperse this corps, sent thither a *Roman* army, which was the first that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the first campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the senate persuaded *Claudius* to accept of triumphal honours for the success of his arms in *Mauritania*.

\* TACIT. ann. I. ii. iii. iv.

(H) *Tacitus* intimates, that *Tacfarinas* drew together at this time a powerful army of *Africans*, by giving out, that the *Romans* were so embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon *Africa*; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite,

they might soon cut off all that remained there. The same historian also informs us, that, before the general action here mentioned, *Dolabella* forced *Tacfarinas* to raise the siege of *Tubuscum*, which he abandoned at the *Roman* general's approach (8).

(8) Tacit. ann. I. iv. c. 24.

The following year, *Suetonius Paulinus*, the *Roman* general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount *Atlas*, and penetrated into *Gætulia*. *Sidius Geta*, who succeeded *Paulinus* in the command of the *Roman* army in *Africa*, gave *Salabus*, the *Mauritanian* general, two overthrows, and pursued him into the *Sahara*. Having been supplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of perishing, *Geta* concluded a peace with *Salabus* upon his own terms. It is probable, that, by this treaty, *Mauritania* was delivered up intirely into the hands of the *Romans*; since we find it soon after divided into two provinces, the one called *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, from the city *Tingis*, and the other *Mauritania Caesariensis*, from *Cæsar*, a surname *Claudius* had in common with the other *Roman* emperors. That prince appointed two *Roman* knights to preside over these provinces. Soon after, the *Romans* routed a body of *Gætulians* that infested some parts of *Numidia*, and thereby restored tranquillity to all their *African* dominions. It is observable, that *Augustus* settled nine colonies, and *Claudius* three only, here; which, in a region of so vast an extent, could neither have sufficient power thoroughly to subjugate the natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the *Romans*<sup>1</sup>.

## C H A P. XVI.

### *The History of the Gætulians.*

AS the limits of *Gætulia* have not been settled, either by *Limitis of Ptolemy*, or any of the other ancient geographers, it is *Gætulia*. impossible for us to define them. From several authors it may, however, be inferred, that they were not always the same. In *Pliny's* time the *Gætulians* possessed a considerable part, at least, of *Tingitania*; the *Maurusi* having been so extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not make head against them. *Virgil* affirms this people to have extended themselves from the *Regia Syrtica* to the *Atlantic ocean*; and *Festus Avienus* seems to have fixed their eastern boundary not far from the western confines of *Marmarica*. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and situation of their country can be drawn either from those authors or *Strabo*, who only intimates the *Gætulians* to have been a large nation, taking up a considerable part of *Libya Interior*, and

<sup>1</sup> *PLIN.* lib. v. c. 1, & alib. *DIO*, lib. ix. *ALDRET.* lib. iv. c. 20.

possessing some territories in the neighbourhood of the *Syrtes*. Pliny says, that *Gætulia* was terminated on the south by the river *Nigris*, or, as Ptolemy calls it, *Nigir*, which, according to him, separated it from *Ethiopia*. But, notwithstanding the indefinite terms in which the antients have laid down this region, by comparing their several accounts and descriptions, we shall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the southern parts of *Numidia* and the *Mauritanæ*; and, by consulting the best observations of the moderns, that it could not have reached to any great distance in the *Sahara*. Dr. Shaw (A), in one place, seems to insinuate, that the proper *Gætulia* did not extend farther to the east than the meridian of *Siga*, i. e. about  $^{\circ} 10$  E. of *London*, provided *Tackumbreit* be the ancient *Siga*, as he imagines; since he there tells us, that the *Melanogætuli* and *Garamantes* occupied the tract behind *Numidia*, *Africa Propria*, and the *Regio Syrtica*, from that meridian to *Cyrenaica*: whereas in another place he fixes some *Gætulian* tribes in the remotest part of the district of *Zaab*, and meridian of *Constantina*, above six degrees more to the eastward than *Siga*. Whether or no either of these seemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is so, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only observe, that *Guzula*, or *Gezula*, a province of the kingdom of *Morocco*, at the foot of mount *Atlas*, seems to have preserved some traces of the ancient *Gætulia*. Could we lay any great stress upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of *Gætulia*; in which case Dr. Shaw's first notion would have probability on its side. But, as the concurrent testimony of the antients favours the latter, we know not what to say. However, the ascertaining the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a matter of such importance, as to deserve any great regard. We shall therefore leave our geographical readers to choose which of these notions they please, or to reject both of them, if they think proper<sup>2</sup>.

As

<sup>2</sup> PLIN. I. v. c. 2. VIRG. EN. iv. ver. 40. & SERV. in loc. PHILOSTRAT. I. v. STRAB. I. xvii. FESTUS AVIEN. PTOL. geogr. lib. iv. AGATHEM. geogr. lib. ii. c. 5. SHAW ubi supra, p. 132. & 136. LEO AFRICAN. part. ii. MARM. I. iii. c. 51.

(A) Dr. Shaw also tells us, that *Gætulia* extended into the desert or *Sahara*; which supposes, that nothing but desert must be left to the direct southward of it. Therefore *Melanogætulia*, and the country of the *Garamantes*, in conformity to the situation assigned

As the *Gætulians*, before the time of *Jugurtha*, led their *its towns*, flocks from pasture to pasture, living, for the most part, in *rivers*, tents, without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Some, however, *Vir-* &c. *gil* insinuates there to have been, though his commentator *Servius* appears to be of a different opinion. *Philostratus* makes the *Gætulians* to have inhabited the interior part of mount *Abinna*, or *Abyla*, and consequently, by intermixing them with the *Maurusi*, allows some of them to have dwelt in towns. *Pliny* also intimates, that the *Gætulians* in his time were masters of a good part of *Massetylia*; and *Apuleius* assigns them some districts, at least, of *Numidia Propria*; which testimonies, if admitted, evince the same thing. But *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* render it indisputable, when they mention the cities of *Autolala*, *Talubath*, &c. as appertaining to the *Gætulians*. The principal tribes of *Proper Gætulia* were the *Baniuræ*, *Darræ*, and *Autololes* (B), according to the last-mentioned geographers. It is probable, that the *Baniuræ* bordered upon *Tingitania*, as the *Darræ* did upon the *Ethiopians* called *Perorsi* and the *Pharusi*. The *Autololes* seem to have been by much the most powerful, and to have spread themselves over that part of *Tingitania* bordering on the coast of the *Atlantic ocean*. Their capital city *Autolala*, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it stood betwixt the *Subus* and the *Salathus*, the only two rivers of note, except the *Gir* and the *Nigir*, that watered *Gætulia*. Of *Talubath* nothing has been transmitted down to us by the antients, but the bare name. As the *Sahara* began not far from the southern foot of mount *Atlas*, this country was undoubtedly, for the most part, sandy and desert; however, it was interspersed with several fruitful spots. Mount *Sagapola*, eminent for nothing but its being the limit of *Gætulia* on the side of the *Melanogætuli*, and containing the sources of the *Subus* and *Salathus* above-mentioned, seems to have been the only mountain of any note in the region we are now upon. As for the promontories, &c. we meet with none meriting any attention; though from *Pliny* it may be

signed them by the antients, must have lain E. S. E. of *Gætulia*, and consequently have begun in an eastern direction from it (1).

(B) *Pliny* says, that the *Vesuvi*, or, according to some MSS. the *Nefuni*, were a branch of the *Autololes*, who, separating from

their brethren, settled upon the borders of *Ethiopia*, and afterwards formed a distinct nation. *Orosius* informs us, that the *Autololes*, or, as the MSS. falsely have it, *Auloles*, were called, in his time, *Galaules* (2).

(1) *Shaw ubi sup.* p. 136.

(2) *Plin. in loc. citat.* *Orosf. l. i. c. 2.*

inferred, that the *Promontorium Solis*, and some ports already mentioned, might have been in a territory afterwards annexed to the *Proper Gætulia*. The only curiosity here, deserving a place in history, was the vast quantity of the purple-fish produced in that part of the *Atlantic ocean* washing the *Gætulian* shore, with which the rocks on this coast were frequently covered. The *Teladusii*, *Soræ*, *Dryitæ*, *Elulii*, *Mazices*, *Nacmusii*, and other obscure nations, inhabiting either *Numidia*, or the confines of that country and *Gætulia*, in the time of *Ptolemy*, deserve so little regard, that our readers will scarce expect a bare enumeration of their names. However, we must not omit observing, that, as *Ptolemy* places the *Pharusii* to the north of mount *Sagapela*, they may be considered as a clan or canton of the *Gætulians*; especially since *Pliny* affirms their district to have stretched itself out as far as the *Atlantic ocean*, and *Mela* makes them to have attended *Hercules* in his expedition against the *Hesperides*. It is not therefore probable, that mount *Pbruræsus*, near four degrees east of the *Mulucha*, should have been so denominated from the *Pharusii*; except we will suppose this ridge of mountains to have been the eastern limit of that nation, and that they were so numerous and powerful as to have spread themselves over a tract extending from thence to the *Atlantic ocean*. In such a case we might, with Dr. *Shaw*, allow, that the inhabitants of mount *Pbruræsus* were part of the *Pharusii*. Perhaps this notion may be countenanced by *Mela* and *Pliny*, when they intimate the *Pharusii* to have been an opulent people in antient times, and to have bordered upon the *Nigritæ*, in the neighbourhood of the river *Nigir*, which, with *Ptolemy*, they make one of the boundaries of the *Gætulians*. The vicinity of the *Nigritæ* and *Pharusii* is likewise taken notice of by *Dionysius Afer* and *Strabo*<sup>b</sup>.

*The antiquity of  
the Gætu-  
lians.*

ACCORDING to *Josephus* and St. *Jerom*, *Chavilah*, or *Ha-  
vilah*, the son of *Cush*, was the father of the *Gætulians*; for which reason we find them called *Evilæi* or *Havilæi*. As it is well known, that *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, settled in *Arabia Felix*, and that from him his descendants there assumed the name of *Clauotæi* and *Chaulasii*, it cannot well be doubted, but that *Gætulia* was first peopled from *Arabia Felix*, as has been already hinted. This likewise renders probable the authority of the antients, who assert, that the *Gætulians* intermixed themselves with the *Persians*, and that the *Pharusii*, in particular, were of *Perse* extraction. For,

<sup>b</sup> *SALLUST.* in *Jugurth.* *VIRG.* & *SERV.* ubi supra. *APUL.* in *Apol.* *PLIN.* & *PHILOSTRAT.* ubi supra. *MEL.* l. iii. c. 10. *PTOL.* ubi sup. *DIONYS.* AF. v. 215. *PRISCIAN.* v. 200. *STRAB.* ubi sup. *SHAW* ubi sup. p. 155.

*Perſia* and *Arabia* being, in a manner, contiguous regions, many *Perſians* probably attended some of the *Arabian* colonies passing into *Africa*, or at least followed *Sesac* and *Hercules* in their *Libyan* expeditions. We find no obscure traces of the *Daræ*, a *Gætulian* tribe above-mentioned, in *Leo* and *Marmol*, who describe a province, bounded on the west by those of *Gezula* and *Sus*, called *Dara*, corresponding nearly with the tract affiſed that people by *Pliny*; and it is well known, that the *Darræ* are a nation of *Arabia Felix*, taken notice of by *Stephanus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*. This may serve as an additional argument in favour of an early migration of *Arabians* into *Gætulia*. To which we may farther add, in support of that migration, that the word *Gætulia*, or *Chetulia*, bears no inconsiderable resemblance to *Chavilah*, *Chevilah*, *Chavilath*, *Chevilath*, *Chavilat*, or *Chevilat*. Both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have remembred the river *Daras*, or *Darat*, which they say produced great numbers of crocodiles. If our readers should be disposed to allow the modern *Darodus*, or *Darodt*, to be that river, as it is not improbable some of them may, they would be convinced, that *Ptolemy* had not only placed his *Darat*, or *Daradus*, vastly too much to the southward, but likewise made his *Mauritania Tingitana* to comprehend a great part of *Gætulia*, if not the whole country. It is certain, that the names and situation of the provinces of *Gezula* and *Dara* render this not a little probable. The word *Dara* seems to signify a generation or habitation of shepherds, and is therefore very applicable to a tribe of *Gætulians*, who, as well as the modern *Darans* and *Gezulians*, had scarce any other possessions than their flocks. Some ancient authors related, that the *Tyrians* had, in very early ages, many cities here, and in the neighbouring parts of *Libya Interior*, which were destroyed by the *Nigrites* and *Pharusii*; but this notion is rejected as fabulous by *Strabo*.

THE first *Gætulians*, according to the *Punic* historians, <sup>Their government,</sup> were some of the most antient inhabitants of *Africa*, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, &c. laws, or manners, especially such as ever prevailed in a civilized state. They lived upon the flesh of wild beasts, eating upon the ground, after the manger of cattle. They roved about the country, taking up their lodging where-ever the night surprised them. Some of the *Pharusii*, or *Phaurusii*, at first, if any credit may be given to *Strabo*, lived in caves

<sup>c</sup> JOSEPH. & D. HIERONYM. apud ALDRET. lib. iii. c. 9. MEL. PLIN. STRAB. ubi sup. DIONYS. AF. ver. 953. FESTUS AVIEN. ver. 1136. ALDRET. ubi sup. c. 10. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. LEO AFRICAN. l. vi. MARM. l. vii. c. 9. ALDRET. ubi sup. c. 14.

like the *Troglodytes*. But this state of barbarity, *Sallust* tells us, continued only till *Hercules* came amongst them ; which is a farther proof of what Sir *Isaac Newton* has advanced with regard to the age of that hero. For, as we have lately observed, the *Gaetulians* were far from being perfectly civilized in the time of *Jugurtha*, and therefore *Hercules* did not probably precede that age so long as the generality of the antient chronologers supposed. It is believed by some good authors, to whose sentiments we pay a great deference, that the *Gaetulians*, however rude and barbarous, at least towards the *Roman* times, were under the direction of certain (C) phylarchs, or heads of *Kabyles*, as their posterity are at this day. However, if they had then any fixed or stated laws, we are now intirely ignorant of them. If they had any (D) customs likewise, different from those of their neighbours the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*, the knowlege of them has not reached us. As all the authors mentioning them are utterly silent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we must suppose it to have been the same with that of their neighbours already taken notice of, or with that of their progenitors the antient *Arabs*, which will hereafter be briefly described. *Leo* relates, that many of the antient *Africans* erected magnificent temples in honour of the *Sun* and *Fire*, which they worshiped, wherein they had a perpetual fire ; though others of them adored another planet. Probably the *Gaetulians* were some of the former, as being partly descended from the *Persians*, who professed the *Magian* religion. Their language must undoubtedly have borne a near resemblance to the antient *Arabic*, and the other *Oriental* tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewise from the *Showianah* vocabulary given us by Dr. *Shaw*, most, if not all, of whose words are easily deducible from the *Arabic*, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or

(C) *Strabo* calls these phylarchs kings ; and tells us, that they so delighted in horses, that, amongst them, they brought up yearly an hundred thousand colts. He likewise informs us, that these horses, as well as the *Gaetulian* larger cattle, had hoofs longer than those of any other nation (3).

(D) One custom, however, we must not pass over here. *Lucan*

seems to observe, that the *Getulians* were mixed with their cattle in their *mapalia*, as Dr. *Shaw* relates of the *Bedowees* in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis* at this day. The former author also insinuates, that many of the *Gaetulians* were carried about the country, with their *Penates*, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the antient *Scythians* (4).

(3) *Strab. l. xvii.*

(4) *Lucan. l. iv.* *Shaw ubi sup. p. 288.*

erudition in such a country as *Gætulia*, and therefore will not suppose, that we have any thing to offer on that head here<sup>4</sup>.

WITH regard to the transactions of this nation, we have *A brief* not much to say. *Herodotus* and *Scylax* take no notice of the account of *Gætulians*; which renders it probable, that, when those writers lived, they were very obscure. The first authors that mentioned them were probably some of those old historians *the time of Vespasian.* from whom *Livy* extracted the materials for his work; since he gives us to understand, that a corps of them served under *Hannibal* in the second *Punic war*. That general, according to him, having taken and rased *Acerre*, formed a design upon *Casilinum*, and sent a body of *Gætulians*, under the command of their general *Isalca*, to attack it. *Isalca* soon took post before the town, when, finding every-where a profound silence, and not observing a creature to appear, he imagined that the garison kept themselves still within the town through fear; which encouraged him to attempt forcing open the gates. But he was repulsed by two *Prænestina* cohorts; who, falling out upon him, cut many of the *Gætulians* to pieces, and obliged the rest to retire, with great precipitation, to the *Carthaginian army*, which was advancing to support them. Whether or no *Masinissa*, who so greatly extended his conquests in *Africa*, ever subdued them, history informs us not; but we are assured by *Sallust*, that his grandson *Jugurtha* taught them to keep their ranks, and instructed them in military discipline. However, they served that prince more by plundering the allies of the *Romans*, than by their bravery in time of action; for the army he had raised and disciplined in *Gætulia* was easily routed by *Marius* near *Cirta*. That part of *Gætulia* under the dominion of *Juba* (for it does not appear, that the whole country was ever subject to him) revolted to *Julius Cæsar*. But, that with *Numidia* it was reduced into a *Roman province*, we cannot positively affirm; especially since *Augustus* gave a part of *Gætulia*, probably this, with the *Mauritanie*, to the younger *Juba*, as an equivalent for *Numidia*, his father's kingdom, which, says *Dio*, had before put on the form of a province. Be that as it will, it was ravaged by *Sittius*, as has been already observed, when *Juba* had drawn all his forces out of it, in order to join the *Pompeians*; which might possibly occasion the aforesaid revolt. About the year of *Rome* 759. the *Gætulians* rebelled against king *Juba*, massacring all the *Romans* settled in his dominions, and committing most dreadful ravages in all the

<sup>4</sup> STRAB. & SALLUST. ubi sup. NEWTON's chronol. of the emp. of Egyp. ALDRET. ubi sup. c. 31. p. 445. I. LEO AFRI-CAN. ubi sup. SHAW in excerpt. p. 52.

provinces subject to him. *Dio* ascribes this defection to the resentment of the *Gætulians*, who were extremely incensed against the *Romans* for imposing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under the *Roman* government. But, however this may be, *Cornelius Cossus* gave them so complete an overthrow, that they were obliged to submit upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe. This was looked upon at *Rome* as so considerable an exploit, that he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permitted to assume the cognomen *Gætulicus*. Notwithstanding which, this people so recovered themselves, that in the elder *Pliny's* time they had settlements in *Numidia* and *Tingitania*, as may be inferred from that author and *Philostratus* <sup>c</sup>.

## C H A P. XVII.

*The History of the Melanogætuli, Nigritæ, and Garamantes.*

*PTOLEMY* places the *Melanogætuli*, or black *Gætulians*, between the mountains *Sagapola* and *Uſargala*, in *mogætuli*, a district south-east of *Gætulia Propria*, to which it is contiguous, and north of the river *Nigir*. They were a nation undoubtedly different from the *Gætulians*, and considered in that view by *Ptolemy*, though *Cellarius* insinuates them to have been a tribe of that people. Their complexion not only evinces this, but likewise, that their progenitors were different from those of the *Gætulians*. Of course, therefore, the *Dara* ought not, as *Cellarius* imagines, to be looked upon as a clan of the *Melanogætuli*; nor does the situation of *Leo's Dara* above-mentioned quadrate with such a supposition. Mount *Uſargala* is called by *Leo Guargala*, and by Dr. *Shaw Huergla*. The former of those authors informs us, that near the foot of this ridge of mountains there were, in his time, some castles, and a great number of villages, whose inhabitants were very rich, as being adjacent to the *Agades*, an opulent trading nation, and all of them perfectly black. *Ptolemy* says, that the *Bagrada* derives its streams from some fountains on mount *Uſargala*; but the latest observations demonstrate this to be a mistake. The modern district of *Wad-reag* in the province of *Constantina*, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, ranged in a N. E. and S. W. direction, seems

<sup>c</sup> *Liv.* lib. xxiii. c. 18. *SALLUST.* ubi sup. *Dio*, lib. xlvi. sub init. *HIRT.* de bell. Afric. *Dio*, l. iv. p. 567. ad A. U. C. 359. *PLIN.* & *PHILOSTRAT.* ubi sup.

to correspond with a part of the country of the *Melanogætuli*, according to Dr. Shaw. *Ma-jyre*, the nearest of these villages to *Zaab*, a territory answering, as should seem, to the south-eastern part of *Gætulia*, is ten leagues to the S. of *El-Fythe*, the last village of *Zaab*. *Tum-marnah*, the next place of note, is six leagues to the westward of *Ma-jyre*, and twelve to the N. E. of *Tuggart*, the capital of *Wad-reag*, and the *Tegort* of *Leo*. *Tuggurt* stands in a plain, without any river running by it; the inhabitants, as well as those of the other villages of *Wad-reag*, being supplied with water by 'wells, dug 100, and sometimes 200, fathom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourse to, their territory being in a manner destitute both of rivulets and fountains. They dig through different layers of sand and gravel, till they come to a leaky kind of stone like slate, which is known to lie immediately above the abyss, called by them *The sea below-ground*. This stone is no sooner broken through, than a flux of water ascends so suddenly, and in such abundance, that the person let down to perform the operation has sometimes been overtaken and suffocated by it, though raised up with the greatest dexterity. The country likewise of the *Beni Mezzab*, situated thirty-five leagues to the S. of the mountains of the *Ammer*, supposed to be a part of the *Mons Phruræsus* of *Ptolemy*, the large village of *En-gousah*, thirty leagues to the S. W. by W. of *Tuggurt*, and the populous city of *Wurglah*, with their dependencies, even to the banks of the *Nigir*, our learned and ingenious traveler believes might have been included in *Melanogætulia*. As *Ptolemy* places the *Melanogætuli* next to the *Pharufi* in a southern direction, fixing his *Nigritian Ethiopians* in a tract lying to the N. of the *Nigir*; and as *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, seem to give the *Nigritæ* exactly the same situation with regard to the *Pharufi* and the *Nigir*, but are quite silent as to the *Melanogætuli*; we cannot help thinking the *Melanogætuli* and *Nigritæ* one and the same people. If this be admitted, it will appear extremely probable, that their territories extended to the *Nigir*, and that they had some places of note in those parts; since, according to *Ptolemy*, many towns stood not far from that river, of which the principal were *Pesside*, *Saluce*, *Nigira*, *Thige*, *Cuphe*, *Thamondicana*, and *Vellegia*. The most noted rivers of this country were the *Gir* and the *Nigir*. The *Gir*, or, as it is now called in our best maps, *Ghir*, had its fountains on mount *Pbruræsus*, or, according to Dr. Shaw, the mountains of the *Ammer*. It took its course through part of the *Sahara*, in a S. E. direction, some degrees to the southward of the tropic of *Cancer*. The ingenious traveler just mentioned believes the modern *Wed Adje-dee* to be the *Gir* of *Ptolemy*, *Agathomerus*,

*merus*, and *Claudian*. But the principal river of *Nigritia*, and one of the most famous in the world, is that called by *Ptolemy* the *Nigir*, by the *Nigritians* *Wed*, or *Huid Nijar*, i. e. *The black river*, and by the *Europeans* the *Niger*. This river, according to the best modern geographers, has its source near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of *Gorhan*, not far from the confines of *Abassia*, or *Upper Ethiopia*. It crosses the whole region of *Nigritia* in a western direction, and, after being swelled by the accession of several rivers in its course, at last discharges itself into the *Atlantic ocean*. The *Negroes* likewise call it the river of *Senegal*, and the *Arabs* the *Nile* of the *Nigritians*; this last nation considering it as a branch of the *Nile*, or rather the *Nile* and the *Niger* as two branches of the same river. According to *Pliny* and *Leo*, it overflows the adjacent territories in the same manner as the *Nile*; which, if true, may be another reason for the *Arabic* appellation. If any credit may be given to *Leo*, and the *African* historians, *Sabtecha*, the son of *Cush*, first peopled the *Sabara* betwixt the mountains of *Atlas* and *Nigritia*, and therefore probably *Nigritia* itself, or at least part of it. From the same author it appears, that the various *Nigritian* dialects bear an affinity to the *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Egyptian* tongues; to which we may add, and consequently to the *Ethiopic*, which does not differ widely from them. As for the customs, &c. of the people we are now upon, they must be reserved for that branch of the modern history to which they most properly belong. Our readers may likewise there expect to find as accurate a geographical description, and natural history, of this country, as can be drawn from the best observations that have hitherto been made. For it would be absurd to insert them here, as the antients were so little acquainted with *Nigritia*. The *Carthaginians*, however, had undoubtedly some knowlege of the 'Nigritæ, since it appears probable from *Frontinus* (A), that one part of their armies consisted of *Nigritian*

(A) From the passage of *Frontinus* here referred to, it is evident, that the *Carthaginians* had *Melanogætulan* or *Nigritian* troops in their service before the time of *Gelon*, and consequently that they had some knowledge of the *Blacks* above five hundred years before the birth of Christ. This will enable us to account for a strange phænomenon in antiquity, i. e. several antique coins

with a *Negro's* or *Nigritian's* head upon them. One of these coins is to be found in the Earl of *Pembroke's* invaluable cabinet, and another in that of the reverend and learned Mr. *Wise*, *custos archivorum*, and Fellow of *Trinity-college*, in the university of *Oxford*. That of my Lord *Pembroke*, being well preserved, is a most noble curiosity. Mr. *Wise* received his from one of the *authors*

*Nigritian* troops. The *Nigritæ* used scythed chariots in their wars, and were armed after the manner of the western *Ethiopians*, i. e. with bows and arrows of the same make, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to the same author, the *Pharusii*, and therefore, probably, the *Nigritæ*, adjacent to them, traveled in caravans through the deserts to *Cirta*, and kept open a communication with the *Maurusii*. On these occasions they carried with them bottles filled with water, tied to their horses bellies, lest they should die of thirst in the vast deserts they were obliged to traverse. From hence it is undeniably clear, that these *Pharusian* and *Nigritian* merchants lived at a vast distance from *Cirta*, and those places of *Mauritania* to which they resorted; as also that the *Negroes*, or *Blacks*, held an early correspondence with the ancient *Mauritanians*, *Numidians*, and *Carthaginians*<sup>a</sup>.

THE *Garamantes* were situated to the S. E. of *Gætulia*, *The Garamantes* and E. of the *Nigritæ*. The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to ascertain (B); though, from what the ancients

<sup>a</sup> PTOL. l. iv. c. 6. CELLAR. geogr. antiqu. l. iv. c. 8. sect. 2. p. 943. ed. Lips. 1732. STRAB. l. ii. & l. xvii. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 4. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. & c. 8. CLAUDIAN. l. i. AGATHEMER. l. ii. c. 10. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 11. ex. 18. I. LEO AFRICAN. & MARM. pass. Gen. c. 10. ver. 7. GOLII nota ad Alfraganum, p. 89. ut & ipse ALFRAGAN. p. 36. Geograph. Nubiens. clim. iv. part. i. SHAW, p. 58. 87. 136, & alib.

authors of this history, who had it from Mr. *Beswick*, whose brother was for some time the *British* consul at *Tripoly*, near which city it was found. As the *Carthaginians* had a communication with *Nigritia*, it is probable, that they sent some of their artificers upon certain occasions thither. And, since they coined money in a very elegant manner, as above observed, we may conclude, that, upon some extraordinary event, either in *Nigritia*, or their own dominions, they struck those pieces. This will receive a further accession of strength from

the country wherein Mr. *Wise's* was dug up, which was subject to the *Carthaginians*; that nation being in possession of all the maritim territories extending from their capital city to the borders of *Cyrenaica* (1).

(B) That the *Misulani*, *Misulami*, or *Musulani*, were seated near the country of the *Garamantes*, or at least not at a very great distance from it, appears from *Tacitus*. But we can neither precisely determine the situation of this *Namidian* tribe, though at the foot of mount *Andus*, nor that of many others, to

(1) *Frontin. strat.* l. i. c. 22. ex. 18. *Unit. bish. vol. xvii. p. 329 (A).*

antients have delivered in general concerning it, we may presume, that it extended to the borders of, the (C) *Proper Ethiopia*. That it consisted of many large territories, may likewise be inferred (D) from *Herodotus*, *Virgil*, *Pestus Avienus*, and others. However, it was not of any very considerable breadth, according to *Strabo*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that part of the ancient *Garamantes* spread themselves over that tract comprehending the districts of *Gad-demz*, *Fexzan*, and some of the more distant cities and villages of the kingdom of *Tripoli*. Be that as it will, the region we are now upon abounded with wild beasts, and its most antient inhabitants were so savage, that they fled at the sight of a person belonging to any other nation. They were at the same time intirely destitute of arms, and had not the courage to defend themselves, if attacked ; from which circumstances it is apparent, that at first they industriously avoided all kinds of correspondence with other nations. However, in process of time they built towns, or rather *dashkras*, the principal of which were *Garama*, the metropolis, near mount *Girgiris*, and the source of the *Cinyphus*, *Debris*, and *Matelgæ*. They like-

wit, the *Nasabutes*, *Mucuni*, *Tulenfi*, *Macbusfi*, *Taladufi*, &c (2).

(C) *Virgil* joins the *Garamantes* with the *Indians*, only to denote, that they were both very remote nations ; and that the *Roman* empire was to extend, or ra-

ther did extend, to the farthest parts. For they were not contiguous to each other, *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *Perfia*, &c. lying between them. So *Horace*, when he would intimate, that the merchant traversed the remotest regions for gain, says,

*Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos :*

where he is not to be understood as intending precisely the *Indians*, but any nation at a vast distance from *Rome*. *Servius* and others confirm what we here suggest (3).

(D) We might here give our readers a catalogue of the names of towns and clans, said to have appertained to the *Garamantes* by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. But, as the situation of none of them can be defined, and nothing but their

names has been transmitted down to us by those authors, we think an insertion of it intirely superfluous. No rivers of note, belonging to the country of the *Garamantes*, except the *Cinyp*, or *Cinypus*, and the *Gir*, are taken notice of by the antients ; nor do they mention any mountains in it, except those called by *Ptolemy* *Girgiris* and *Vallis Garamantica* (4).

(2) *Torit. annal.* ii. iii. iv. *Plin.* & *Ptol. ubi sup.* viii. & *AEn.* vi. *Serv. in Ite.* *Hor. l. i. ep. i.*

(3) *Virg. aet.* (4) *Herodot. l. iv. Plin.* & *Ptol. ubi sup.*

wise, when they became a little more civilized, associated with the *Marmaridae*, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the *Carthaginians*, *Arabs*, *Persians*, and *Ethiopians*. This could scarce be avoided, if one branch of the *Carthaginian* commerce extended to those remote countries by means of caravans, passing to *Carthage* from thence through the sandy deserts of the *Garamantes*; which we cannot think improbable. Though several arguments might be offered in support of this opinion, we shall content ourselves here with observing, as a strong presumption of its truth, that, according to several authors, the *Garamantes*, *Persians*, and *Ethiopians*, supplied the *Carthaginians* with vast numbers of gems, which were almost invaluable. Notwithstanding the coincidence of the most ancient *Garamantes* mentioned by *Herodotus*, yet, in after-ages, their posterity seem to have been of another disposition, as may be collected from *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Festus Avienus*. Some of them roved about the deserts of *Libya* in the same manner as their successors the modern *Bedouines* do at this day; whilst others inhabited the (E) *dash-kras* scattered up and down these parched and unfruitful plains. The former lived very frugally in their *mapalia*, and supported themselves by hunting, which sometimes they continued to the winter-solstice; the wild beasts being refreshed by the copious rains which fell at that time, and affording them excellent diversion. Nay, according to *Herodotus*, they hunted the *Troglodytes* themselves, a barbarous nation living in caves under-ground, in vehicles, drawn by two pair of horses, made for that purpose. *Nigritia*, and the country of the *Garamantes* seem, for the most part, to have been peopled at first from *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, and consequently to have been the descendants of *Misraim* and *Cush*, though we doubt not but some colonies of *Arabs* likewise settled here. It appears from some of the most perfect *Egyptian* mummies now remaining, that the features of the ancient *Egyptians* much resembled those of the present *Negroes*; which is a proof, that the latter must have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore, spoken in these re-

(E) *Herodotus* informs us, that, in the country of the *Garamantes*, there was a pillar, or rather mountain, of salt, with a fountain issuing from the summit of it, and palm-trees covering the adjacent lands; that the natives first

laid fresh earth upon the salt, and then sowed their corn there; and that they bordered upon the *Lotophagi*, whom we shall presently have occasion to mention (§).

gions, bore a great affinity at first to the *Egyptian, Arabic, and Ethiopic*; and may at this time, probably, be impure dialects of them. We have no farther particulars of moment relating to the religion of the *Garamantes*, than that they, in common with the *Arabs, Indians, and Ethiopians* (F), worshiped *Jupiter Ammon* (G), representing him, for the most part, with a ram's head, or, at least, with ram's horns, and had a famous temple sacred to him. *Pliny* mentions a surprising fountain near *Debris*; whose waters, from noon to midnight, grew extremely warm, but from thence to the sun's next approach to the meridian were so cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongst the *Garamantes*, the men making use of the women just as they found them in their way. At first they were governed by heads of tribes, or *phylarchs*, as the *Gætulians, Arabs, &c.* but afterwards monarchy seems to have taken place amongst them, as we learn from *Tacitus*. *Pliny* mentions a king of the *Garamantes*, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that resisted all who opposed them. Though *Ptolemy* asserts them to have been a large and powerful nation, extending themselves from mount

(F) The great veneration in which the nations here mentioned had *Jupiter Ammon*, as well as the form under which he was exhibited to public view in this temple, appears from the following lines of *Lucan*:

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*Venit erat ad templum, Libycis quod gentibus unum  
Inculti Garamantes habent : stat corniger illic  
Jupiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmina vibrans,  
Aut similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus, Ammon.  
Non illic Libycæ posuerunt dicta gentes  
Templa, nec Eois splendent donaria gemmis ;  
Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis  
Gentibus, atque Indis unus sit Jupiter Ammon.*

*Herodotus* says, that *Ammon* was represented by an image with a ram's head, because *Hercules* saw his statue covered with the skin of a ram; and *Diodorus*, because *Jupiter*, in all his wars, wore an helmet resembling the head of that animal. But this representation seems to have been rather an allusion to the great numbers

of sheep produced in *Libya* (6).

(G) It is intimated by *Virgil* and *Silius*, that *Iarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, was a descendant of *Ammon*, and that he reigned over this country. But the authors, from whom they extracted this notion, are now lost (7).

(6) *Herodot. l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Lucan. l. ix. S. I. Bal. L. i.*

(7) *Virg. AEn. iv.*

*Usargala* to the like or morals *Nuba*, yet we find scarce any of their affairs recorded in history. *Masinissa* took refuge amongst them; after he had been driven out of his dominions by *Syphax*. As the roads to their country from *Mauritania* were rendered impracticable by robbers, the *Romans* knew little of them till after the expiration of the republic. *Lucius Cornelius Balba* intirely subdued them, for which he had a triumph granted him by *Augustus*. However, by some means or other, they afterwards shook off the *Roman* yoke; since we are informed by *Florus*, that, some years after, *Cossus* de ached *Curtinius* with a body of troops against them, and the *Marmaridae*; and by *Tacitus*, that the king of the *Garamantes* joined *Tacfarinas* in the reign of *Tiberius*, against the *Romans*. After the last defeat and death of *Tacfarinas*, they sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to appease the resentment of *Tiberius*; which, we suppose, was done by an absolute submission to him, since it appears probable, that the *Roman* empire extended on that side almost, if not intirely, to the northern bank of the *Nigir*<sup>b</sup>.

As for the *Nubæ*, *Perorsi*, *Tarualtæ*, *Mimaci*, *Astacus*, *Arancæ*, *Dermones*, *Matiæ*, *Gingalæ*, *Nabathræ*, and many other obscure nations inhabiting that part of *Libya Interior* called by the antient *the western Ethiopia*, and extending from the *Nigir* to the *Lige*, we have nothing to say of them; the old geographers having transmitted to us only their bare names. However, it will be proper to observe, that the vast tract occupied by them comprehended the *Upper* or *Proper* *Guiny*, together with the kingdoms of *Gago*, *Guber*, *Bito*, *Temian*, *Owingara*, *Dauma*, *Biafara*, *Mujac*, *Medra*, and some districts of that of *Qorhan*. Hence it appears, that the antient *Nigritia* was but a part of the modern *Negreland*; and that in early times the *Nigritæ*, or *Negross*, went by the general name of *Ethiopians*. As we find likewise the promontory *Soloes*, or *Soloentia*, situated in the country we are now upon, and several places to the south of it, taken notice of by *Hanno* in his *periplus*, we may conclude from hence, that the

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. I. iv. VIRG. I. vi. & SERV. in loc. LUCAN. I. iv. FESTUS AVIENUS. v. 320. MEL. I. i. c. 8. TACIT. annal. i. ii. iii. iv. STRAB. I. xvii. PLIN. I. xxxviii. c. 7. & DALECHAMP. in loc. PETRON. ARB. in satyric. Vide & CHR. HENDR. de Carthag. repub. I. ii. sect. I. c. 8. SIL. ITAL. I. ii. & alib. PTOL. ubi sup. PLIN. I. viii. c. 4. FLOR. I. iv. c. ult. LEO AFRICAN. & MARM. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. xiii. p. 513. vol. xiv. p. 188, & alib. SHAW ubi sup. p. 136. GORDON's essay towards explaining the hieroglyp. fig. on the copy of an ant. mummy belong. to Capt. Lethiellier, p. 2. Lond. 1737.

*Carthaginians* had a knowlege of the *Blacks* some hundred years before the destruction of their state by the *Romans*. That the *Greeks* also were not ignorant of them in the age of *Scylax*, may be inferred from that author ; but, as both he and *Hanno* stuffed their journals with fables, scarce any thing probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* have given us faint descriptions of the customs and dispositions of some few of their clans, which will hereafter be touched upon. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* were greatly in the dark with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the western *Ethiopians* ; and *Strabo* only intimates, that, as scarce any intercourse had ever been kept up between them and the *Roman* empire, the accounts published of them, in his age, were little better than downright fictions. To insert therefore a collection of such idle tales, would be unbecoming an historian ; since it could neither afford instruction, nor give any real entertainment, to the rational part of his readers<sup>c</sup>.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The History of the Libyans and Greeks inhabiting the Tract between the Borders of Egypt and the River Triton, comprehending Marmarica, Cyrenaica, and the Regio Syrtica.*

## S E C T. I.

*The History of the Libyans of Marmarica.*

*The Libyans of MARMARICA*, according to *Scylax*, *Pliny*, and *Aga-themerus*, with whom *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* agree in the main, was bounded on the east and west by *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*; on the south by the *Sabura*, or deserts of *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. After passing the *Glaucum Promontorium*, cape *Deris*, the port *Lencaspis*, and other incospiderable promontories and harbours, just mentioned by the antient geographers, we come to *Paratonium*, called *Ammonia* by *Strabo*, a city of considerable note. Flo-

<sup>c</sup> *HANNO CARTHAG.* in peripl. *SCYLAX, CARYAND.* in peripl. *HERODOT.* *DIOD. SIC.* *STRABO, MEL.* *PLIN.* *PTOL.* ubi sup. *LEO AFRICAN.* *MOLL,* *SENECK,* *MAXW.* aliquie recent. *Geogr.*

*rus* styles this city and *Pelusium* the two horns of *Egypt*; from whence it appears, that he looked upon *Marmarica* as part of *Egypt*, and *Parætonium* as a fortress of great strength. The last article is confirmed by *Hirtius*, who seems to intimate, that he received some annoyance from it, though the garrison could not hinder him from supplying himself with water. We learn from *Procopius*, that it remained for a long time dismantled, but at last had its fortifications repaired by the emperor *Justinian*. At some distance from *Parætonium*, towards the frontiers of *Cyrenaica*, stood *Apis*, a town so denominated from the *Egyptian* deity of that name. *Pliny* relates, that it was famous on account of certain sacred mysteries celebrated in it; which, in conjunction with the name, insinuates vast numbers of the *Egyptians* and *Marmaridæ* to have resorted thither, in order to pay their devotions to *Apis*. *Tri-sarchis*, *Zagylis*, and other places on the sea-coasts, enumerated by *Ptolemy*, are so obscure, that they merit no regard. The principal *Libyan* nations inhabiting this region were the *Adyrmachidæ* and *Ammonii*, as appears from *Scylax* and *Herodotus*. As for the *Zygritæ*, seated near the *Greater Catabathmus*, and the *Buzes*, lying more to the south, they are rarely mentioned by the antients. However, it may not be improper to observe, that the chief towns of the former were *Azicis*, *Tuccitora*, and *Tachorfa*; and the capital of the latter *Thanuthis*. *Pliny* mentions the *Mareotæ* as a people seated near the *Adyrmachidæ*. Some authors seem to make the *Marmaridæ* a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the *Greater Catabathmus*; but we are inclined to believe, that *Marmaridæ* was a name common to all the *Libyans* of *Marmarica*. If so, all these *Libyans* drank chiefly beer brewed at *Alexandria*; though sometimes they used *Libyan* wine. The *Adyrmachidæ*, according to *Silius*, fought with an *enfis falcatus*, or scymetar; and, if *Scylax* may be credited, were seated not far from the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile*. *Ptolemy*, on the contrary, places them, in his *nomenclature* of *Libya*, more remote from the sea. It was a common custom with their wives to wear a chain of brass on each leg; to take great pains in dressing their hair; and, if they happened to find a louse, to kill it with their teeth, in revenge of the bite they had received. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's presence, that, if any one of them pleased him above the rest, he might lie with her. We learn nothing farther concerning them, except that they wore the *Libyan* habit, from whence probably they derived their name, *Addermuch* in *Arabic* denoting a particular kind of garment, and agreed almost in all points with the *Egyptians*; which tallies with what

what has been already observed. The (A) *Ammonii*, so called from *Jupiter Ammon*, or *Ammun*, their chief deity, lay nearer *Cyrenaica*, and about ten days journey from *Thebes* in the *Upper Egypt*. *Ptolemy* mentions a place named *Alexander's camp*, and the city of *Amman*, as appertaining to this nation. *Arrian*, on the other hand, will not allow *Ammon* to have been a city; but says, that it was only the spot of ground on which the temple of *Ammon* stood. It seems probable from *Herodotus*, that the *Ammonii* were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and made war upon their neighbours; though part of their territories could be considered only as a barren sandy desert. *Pliny* makes the temple of *Ammon* fifteen days journey from *Mempis*, and mentions the *Ammoniac nome of Egypt*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that though the aforesaid temple (B) was surrounded by a sandy desert, yet its proper

(A) *Herodotus* affirms the *Ammonii* to have been originally a colony of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*; and says, that they spoke a language composed of words taken from both those nations {1}.

(B) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that this district was fifty stadia square, and that the inhabitants there enjoyed a perpetual spring. He likewise intimates, that, within the first wall of the castle stood the palace of the antient kings of *Ammonia*; within the second the *Cyneceum*, containing the apartments of the royal family; and, within the third, places for the houshold troops to lodge in. He farther relates, that, at a small distance from the walls, there was another temple of *Ammon*, shaded with fruit-trees, and having a fountain close by it, called *Fons Sulis*, from the surprising effects of the sun upon its water. The image of *Ammon*, according to him, was adorned with emeralds, and other precious stones of great value, and gave responses

to those who came to consult the oracle, in a singular and unusual way. It was carried about in a golden ship by eighty priests, who advanced to the place whither the god, by a nod, directed them, great multitudes of matrons and virgins at the same time celebrating his praises in songs composed after the manner of their country.

*Diodorus* also gives us to understand, that, when *Alexander the Great* was introduced into the temple of *Ammon*, the senior priest addressed himself to him in the following terms: *God save thee, my son, and assume to thyself this title, which AMMON confers upon thee*. To whom, according to the same author, that prince replied: *I accept it, father; and, provided you will enable me to conquer the world, I shall ever esteem it as the greatest honour to be called your son*. Upon which the priest approached the altar; and when the persons lifting up the image, according to custom, upon a sig-

{1} *Herodot. l. ii.*

proper district abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was beautified with fountains. It had also several streets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a castle fortified with a triple wall, and near it an holy fountain, called the fountain of the *Sun*, since the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. *Pedonia, Pnigeus, Climax,* and other inconsiderable mediterranean towns, deserve not the least attention ; nor are the small islands on the coast, *Pedonia, Phocusa, Enesipasta, Edonis, or Edonia*, important enough to be described. We learn from *Herodotus*, that *Cambyses*, having advanced to *Thebes*, in his way to *Ethiopia*, detached from thence a body of fifty thousand men, to lay waste the country of the *Ammonii*, and burn the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. But, after several days march over the deserts, a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, raised the sands to such a degree, and brought in such a torrent upon them, that the whole corps was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. *Alexander the Great*, near two hundred years after, met with better success in his journey to the temple aforesaid. Authors are not intirely agreed whether the *Marmaridae* are to be looked upon as *Libyans* or *Egyptians* ; but the greatest part rank them amongst the former. Father *Calmet*, in particular, thinks, that *Marmarica* was first peopled by the descendants of *Lehabim* the son of *Misraim*, mentioned by *Moses*. However, he believes, that the limits of the *Lehabim*, or *Lubim*, are not known, and consequently, that they might have reached much farther than the borders of *Cyrenaica* ; especially, since almost the whole continent of *Africa* is sometimes called *Libya*. If then the *Marmaridae* were *Libyans*, what has been already delivered concerning the origin, religion, customs, &c. of the *Numidian* and *Libyan Nomades*, &c.

nal given, moved forwards, the priest answered, *That the god had granted his request*. He then inquired whether any of his father's murderers had escaped justice. To which the oracle cried out : *Express thyself better, since no mortal can kill thy father ; but all the murderers of PHILIP have been brought to condign punishment*. The pretended deity afterwards told him, *That the uninter-* rupted course of success he had met with, was a full proof of his divine origin ; and that he should, for the future, ever continue to be victorious. In this manner did the artful priests of *Ammon* sooth Alexander's vanity, and draw from him many valuable presents ; after which he returned with his army to the confines of *Egypt* (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic. l. xvii.*

will, in a great measure, hold true of them. Be that as it will, *Herodotus* assures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in most points of moment. Though therefore, in compliance with the general opinion, we have here detached *Marmarica* from *Egypt*, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was subject to the kings of *Egypt*, for an account of the transactions of which it was the theatre, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the history of that country, as well as those of the *Perians*, *Macedonians*, and *Romans*, who successively subdued this kingdom <sup>a</sup>.

## S E C T. II.

*The history of Cyrenaica.*

*Limits of Cyrenaica.*

CYRENAICA was bounded on the east by *Marmarica*, on the west by the *Regio Syrtica*, on the north by the *Mediterranean*, and on the south by the *Sahara*. In the geography of *Cyrenaica*, we find none of the antients inconsistent with themselves but *Strabo*, who, almost in the same breath, asserts it to have extended as far as *Egypt*, and maintains that *Marmarica* lay betwixt those two regions. The maritim towns *Darnis*, *Chersis*, *Phycus*, *Aptungis*, &c. were of no great repute, and therefore we shall pass them by; as likewise the promontories *Phycus* and *Zephyrium*, the ports *Parætonius*, *Naufragathmus*, &c. with several other places of less note. The principal towns in this tract were *Cyrene* the metropolis, *Argine* or *Tewlira*, *Berenice*, *Ptolemais* or *Barce*, and *Apollonia*, from whence the best part of it was named *Pentapolis*. *Adriane* or *Hadrianopolis*, so denominated from the emperor *Adrian*, could not vie with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no despicable place. The castle *Diacheris*, *Tower of Hercules*, port *Diarrhœa*, promontory *Boreum*, near the *Greater Syrtis*, deserve little attention; nor is any thing further to be said of *Automala*, or *Automalax*, than that it was a fortress of considerable strength upon the frontiers of the *Regio Syrtica* <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. I. iv. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. POLYB. in exterp. 115. DIOD. SIC. I. §§. STRAB. I. xvii. sub fin. PLIN. I. v. c. 5. & c. 6. CÆSAR apud Hirt. in bell. Alex. MEL. I. i. c. 9. FLOR. I. iv. c. 11. PTOL. geogr. I. iv. PROCOR. I. vi. c. 2. SIL. ITAL. I. iii. v. 278. HERODOT. I. ii. c. 42. & I. iv. c. 181, & alib. ARRIAN. I. iii. c. 4. DIOD. SIC. I. xvii. AGATHEMER. I. ii. c. 5. CALMET in voc. Libya. <sup>b</sup> HERODOT. SCYLAX, STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. I. vi. c. 38. p. 996. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. I. xxii. c. 40. SUID. STEPH. BYZANT. August. fab. August. &c.

THE city of *Cyrene*, now called *Cairoan*, or *Corene*, stood at some distance from the sea, upon a spot of ground in figure resembling a table, according to *Strabo*. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as necessities, of life. Its territory produced vast numbers of excellent horses, which probably made the *Cyreneans*, whether *Libyans* or *Greeks*, apply themselves to the study and practice of every thing relating to those animals more than most other nations. *Berenice*, *Teuchira*, *Ptolemais*, *Apollonia*, and *Adriane*, stood along the coast of the *Mediterranean*; and their inhabitants carried on a considerable trade. *Cyrene* derived its name from the fountain (C) *Cyre*, near which it was situated. *Bochart* deduces *Cyre* from the *Phœnician* מָקֻר *kur*, the radix of מָקָר *makur*, *fons*; which, considering that the *Carthaginians* assisted the *Greeks* in settling themselves here, and were acquainted with the country long before their arrival, is by no means improbable. We shall pass by here the religion, language, customs, &c. of the proper *Cyreneans*; since whatever has been said of their *Greek* ancestors, on each of these heads, is eqnally applicable to them (D).

THOUGH a great part of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* *Nature of* was a perfect desert, yet there were some fruitful plains in *the soil*, both those countries. The inhabitants were very subject to *&c. of Cy-* fevers, which some have attributed to the insalubrity of the air. Except the *Lathon*, we find no considerable river of *Cyrenaica* taken notice of by the antients, and some of them have even fixed this in *Mauritania*. The *Montes Volpi* and *Anagombri* are the only mountains that seem to claim any re-

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. ubi sup. PIND. in od. ad Argesilaum Cyren. HERO-DOT. l. iv. XENOPH. Cyropaed. l. vi. LUCIAN. in encom. Demosth. PAUSAN. l. vi. p. 366, & alib. ALEXIS apud Athen. in deipnosoph. ut et ipse ATHEN. pass. Vid. etiam CASAUB. animad-verf. ad Athen. l. iii. c. 21. MAX. TYR. serm. vii. MARMOL, l. viii. c. 10. CALLIMACH. hymn. in Apoll. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

(C) *Justin* says, that this *Cyre*, or *Cyra*, was a mountain, but at the same time intimates, that it abounded with fountains; which countenances *Bochart's* etymon, as well as the notion we have followed (3).

(D) It may not, however, be improper to take notice of one

particular custom of the *Cyreneans*, which seems to have been peculiar to them: When any person of distinction amongst them was invited to an entertainment, he brought a great number of friends, chariots, &c. with him (4).

(3) *Justin*. l. xiii. c. 7.

(4) *Athen. deipnoph. l. xii. sub init.*

lation to the country we are now upon ; as the *Palus Paliuri* is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the *Hesperides* here, but others in *Mauritania*. The latter opinion appears to us the most probable, since it better corresponds with the word *Hesperides*, which imports a western situation ; and therefore we have already taken notice of those gardens in the history of *Mauritania*. Some parts of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* were famous for the production of the *Silphium*, a plant or shrub greatly celebrated by the antients. The *Libyans* looked upon the stalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant, as most precious ; and consequently esteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. *Strabo* intimates, that the *Libyan* barbarians had destroyed almost all the roots of the *Silphium* in their excursions before his time, which is confirmed by *Scribonius Largus*. *Pliny* relates it to have been so scarce in his age, that a stalk of it was presented to *Nero* as a singular curiosity ; and yet, that the *Lasfer*, a gum proceeding from the *Silphium*, or *Lasferpitium*, as we find it sometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of *Severus*, may be inferred from *Galen*. *Aristotle*, *Aristophanes*'s schoialist, *Tzetzes*, *Hesychius*, and *Suidas*, insinuate the figure of the *Silphium* to have been struck on the *Cyrenean* coins ; which is confirmed by many of them, that are still to be found in the cabinets of the curious. The *Carthaginians* carried vast quantities of the *Lasfer* and *Silphium* from *Charax*, a city near the confines of *Cyrenaica*, into their dominions, for which they supplied the *Cyreneans* with wine. This vegetable the *Cyreneans* offered to their first king *Battus*, whom they deified, looking upon it as the most valuable produce of their country ; for which reason we find it on the reverses of several of that prince's coins. That *Cyrenaica* likewise abounded with a rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by *Theophrastus*. *Athenaeus* relates, that the roses, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except the saffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted ; and that, in the time of *Berenice*, a most charming ointment was made of the *Cyrenean* roses. As for the *Silphium*, great quantities of it were imported into *Greece*, and many other countries. The antients prepared it various ways, both for food and physic, as appears from *Athenaeus* and *Hippocrates*, to omit many other authors<sup>4</sup>.

THE

<sup>4</sup> HERODOT. SCYLAX, STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. VIRG. EN. iv. v. 480, & seq. ARISTOT. de Cyren. repub. SCRIBON. LARG. c. 16. PLIN. I. 19. c. 3. & I. xxii. c. 23. ARISTOPH. schol. ad Plut. p. 92. SUID. TZETZES, & HESYCH. in BARRA SIAQIS. GALEN. de temperant. I. iii. c. 3. simplic. medic. fac. I. viii. &

THE principal nations of this tract, or at least contiguous Principal to it, were the *Barcæi*, the *Psylli*, and the *Nasamones*; the nations of *Abyrtæ*, *Macatutæ*, &c. being too obscure to merit any regard. *Barce* or *Barca*, the capital of the *Barcæi*, we find mentioned by *Strabo*, *Piiny*, *Scylax*, and *Ptolemy*; the two former of which make it to have occupied the same spot that *Ptolemais* afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It seems to have stood to the west of *Cyrene*, and had a port near the *Greater Syrtis*. As *Ptolemais* was a maritime city, it is most probable, that it stood by the port of the *Barcæi*, and not where *Barce* did; especially, since that capital was an hundred stadia from the sea, according to *Scylax*. *Herodotus* affirms *Barca* to have been built by the brothers of *Arcesilaus III.* king of *Cyrene*, above a generation before the beginning of *Cyrus's* reign. But we rather think, that it was of *Phœnician*, if not *Egyptian*, or *Libyan* extraction; for *Barca* was a *Phœnician* name, well known in these parts of *Africa*, as appears from *Silius Italicus*, and others. *Servius* intimates the citizens of it to have come originally from *Carthage*, which would tempt one to believe, that *Barca*, *Dido's* brother, who attended her into *Africa*, with some of his countrymen, settled here. It is evident from *Virgil* and *Silius*, that the *Barcæi* spread themselves over several considerable parts of *Libya*; and from *Servius*, that their metropolis made the greatest figure of any city in the region we are now upon, except *Cyrene*. *St. Jerom* confirms the last authorities, when he asserts this town to have been situated in a desert; and its inhabitants, or at least their descendants, to have dispersed themselves over several districts lying as far to the westward as *Mauritania*, and the eastward as *India*. The *Barcæi* learned, says *Stephanus*, the art of managing horses from *Neptune*, and of driving chariots from *Minerva*; which evidently points out their high antiquity. They agreed, in most particulars, with the other *Libyan* Nomades already mentioned. The modern kingdom and desert of *Barca*, extending from *Egypt* to the confines of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, correspond with the antient *Marmarica* and *Cyrenaica*; though they undoubtedly received their name from the *Barcæi*. This may be looked upon as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held among the various nations of *Libya*.

## THE

& de antidot. l. ii. p. 440. ed. *Basil*. *CATUL.* ep. 7. *DIOSCORID.* l. iii. c. 97. *ATHEN.* deipnosoph. l. xv. & alib. *THEOPHRAST.* plant. l. iv. c. 3. Vid. etiam *CASAUB.* animadvers. in *Athen.* l. iii. c. 21. & *EZECI.* *SPANHEM.* de us. & præstant. num. ant. dissert. vi. \* *HERODOT.* *SCYLAZ.* *STRAB.* *PLIN.* *PTOL.* ubi sup. *SIL.* *ITAL.* l. i.

THE *Psylli* and *Nasamones*, according to *Pliny*, *Silius*, and *Lucan*, must have been seated near the *Greater Syrtis*; or behind the *Regio Syrtica* and *Cyrenaica*, if we choose to follow *Strabo*. The *Psylli*, as *Herodotus* informs us, having once had all their reservoirs of water dried up by the south wind, advanced into the *Sahara*, in order to make war upon that wind; but, it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of sand, and all perished. After which tragical event, their neighbours the *Nasamones* annexed the territories they possessed to their own dominions. *Herodotus* represents the *Nasamones* as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for some singular customs then prevailing amongst them. During the summer-season, they left their cattle on the coast, and dispersed themselves over the plains of *Agila*, in order to get the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewise they found an immense quantity of grasshoppers, which, having dried in the sun, they pulverized, and infused them in milk. The liquor composed of these two ingredients was highly esteemed by them, as a most pleasant and rich kind of drink. They had many wives, which they used in public, like the *Massegetæ*, after having erected a staff for a mark. The bride, amongst them, lay the first night with all the guests invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a present, which he had brought with him for that purpose. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the sepulcres of those who were generally esteemed to have been the most just and excellent persons amongst them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their ancestors; where, after certain prayers, they fell asleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then happened to them. In pledging their faith to each other, they mutually presented a cup of liquor; and, if they had none, the parties took up some dust from the ground, which they put into their mouths. From some authors it appears, that the *Nasamones* were looked upon by the antients as little better than a great gang of robbers; since they made frequent incursions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a dreadful manner. We learn from *Philostratus*, that a people of the same name was seated in *Ethiopia*. The *Libyan* nations here mentioned possessed the countries they inhabited long before the *Greeks* built *Cyrene*.

1. i. *VIRG.* *Æn.* iv. ver. 41. & *SERV.* in loc. *D. HIERON.* ep. 129. ad *Dard.* *STEPH. BYZANT.* de urb. *SOPHOCL.* in *Electr.* & alib. *D. BERN. ALDRET.* de *Africa*, l. iii. c. 20. *REINEC.* hist. Jul. tom. ii. de repub. *Carthag.* <sup>f</sup>*HERODOT. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL.* ubi sup. *LUCAN.* l. ix. v. 439, & seq. *SIL. ITAL.* l. i. v. 408. *PHILOSTRAT.* l. vi. c. 12.

BATTUS the *Theræan*, according to *Herodotus*, with a co-*Trans-*  
lony of his countrymen, settled first in *Platæa*, an island on *actions of*  
the coast of *Libya*. From thence they removed to that part Cyrenaica  
of the continent opposite to this island, and seated themselves *till subject*  
in a delightful province, surrounded with agreeable hills, and to the Ro-  
watered by two rivers running on each side, called *Azirisus*. mans.

After six years residence here, the *Libyans* conducted them  
to *Irasa*, a most charming country to the west of *Azirisus*.  
In this region, near a fountain sacred to *Apollo*, they fixed  
their habitations, and built *Cyrene*, about the third year of  
the thirty-seventh Olympiad, according to *Eusebius*. We find  
nothing farther remarkable related of *Battus I.* except that he  
lost the stammering in his speech by the following accident :  
Being one day wandering alone in a desert place, he was sur-  
prised by a lion, which, unexpectedly rushing upon him,  
struck him with such terror, that he lifted up his voice in an  
extraordinary manner. This, according to some authors, so  
frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the same  
time delivered *Battus* from the impediment he before laboured  
under. His son *Arcefilaus* the first probably made no great  
figure, since history is intirely silent as to any particulars of  
his reign. *Battus II.* son to *Arcefilaus*, built the city of  
*Zoa*, and reigned forty years, and his son *Arcefilaus II.* six-  
teen ; which is all that we know of them. *Battus III.* son  
to *Arcefilaus II.* surnamed *The happy*, being strengthened by  
the accession of a vast number of *Greeks*, who came to live  
under his government, defeated *Apries* king of *Egypt*, in a  
great battle, near the fountain of *Thestis* in *Irasa*. The victory  
was so complete, that scarce any of the *Egyptian* troops re-  
turned home ; so that *Adieran*, a neighbouring *Libyan* prince,  
who had drawn *Apries* upon *Battus*, could not afterwards  
make head against the *Cyreneans*, nor consequently give them  
any obstruction in the possession of those territories they had  
before wrested from him. *Arcefilaus III.* the son of *Battus*  
*III.* succeeded him ; whose brothers, on account of some  
disputes they had with him in the beginning of his reign, re-  
gired out of his dominions, and, as *Herodotus* will have it,  
built *Barca*. Before that city was finished, they found means  
to excite *Arcefilaus's* *Libyan* subjects to a revolt. However,  
he marched against them with an army, and pursued them  
into the eastern parts of *Libya*. But, having there assembled  
a strong body of troops, they came to a resolution to give  
him battle ; which soon after they did, and totally routed him,  
cutting seven thousand of his men in pieces. *Arcefilaus*, in  
a short time after this disaster, was dispatched by his brother  
*Aliarchus*, who, in his turn, was put to death by that prince's  
wife

wife *Erioxo*. *Battus IV.* *Arcefilaus's* son, surnamed *the Lame*, mounted the throne after his father's death. In his reign *Demonax*, a *Mantinea* legislator, arrived at *Cyrene*; and, at the king's desire, introduced several alterations into the preceding form of government. *Arcefilaus IV.* son to the former prince, endeavouring to put the *Cyrenean* constitution upon its former footing, was driven by his subjects to *Samos*; his mother *Pheretima* at the same time escaping to *Salamis* in the island of *Cyprus*: *Euelthon*; who then reigned there, made her many magnificent presents; but found means to evade sending an army to reinstate her son in the possession of his dominions. *Arcefilaus* afterwards retired to *Barca*, having married the daughter of *Alazar*, king of the *Barcæi*; but was assassinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the market-place. In the mean time *Pheretima* established her authority at *Cyrene*; and, after her son's death, applied to *Aryandes*, the *Persian* governor of *Egypt*, for assistance, to revenge *Arcefilaus's* death, who, she pretended, was murdered for his close attachment to the *Medes*. She had some grounds for such an application, since her son had put himself under the protection of *Cambyses*, and acknowledged himself a tributary to him. *Aryandes* first sent an herald to *Barca*, to demand whether the *Barcæi* had been guilty of the assassination of *Arcefilaus*; and, upon their acknowledging it, he sent a land-army, commanded by *Amasis*, and a fleet, under the conduct of *Badres*, to take vengeance of the assassins. The *Perians* soon invested the city of *Barca*, and carried on the siege ineffectually for the space of nine months. However (E), at last they made themselves masters of it

(E) *Herodotus* relates, that when the *Perians* endeavoured to sap the foundations of *Barca*, an artificer in brass discovered their subterraneous approaches in the following manner: He carried a brazen shield round the city within the walls, and, applying it to the ground, heard no noise where the earth was solid; but, when he came to the parts which were undermined, the shield rung. Upon which discovery, the besieged fell to countermining, killed all the *Perians* they found in the mines, and dismounted all the enemy's

engines of battery. *Amasis*, therefore, finding he could not take the city by force, had recourse to the following stratagem: He opened a large trench in the night, which he covered with slight planks of wood, and threw a proper quantity of earth upon them; which rendered that part like the adjacent ground. Early the next morning, after a conference with the besieged, he concluded a treaty with them upon the spot that was undermined; the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the agreement should continue

" in

it by treachery. *Amasis*, after the reduction of *Barca*, put the city into the hands of *Pheretima*; who caused all the men concerned in the murder of *Arcefilaus* to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breasts of their wives, which she ordered to be cut off for that purpose. The place, by her consent, the *Persian* general gave up to his soldiers to be plundered; though he spared those persons who had been averse to the assassination of *Arcefilaus*, and permitted *Pheretima* to put *Barca* into their hands. *Badres*, the *Persian* admiral, had a strong desire, before his return to *Egypt*, to plunder *Cyrene*; but was prevented by *Amasis*. The *Libyans* extremely harassed the *Persians* in their march, cutting in pieces all the stragglers they met with, which must have been many, since they attended the enemy to the borders of *Egypt*. All the prisoners were sent to *Darius Hydaspis*, in whose reign those transactions happened, who settled them in a district of *Baetria*, which was from them denominated *Barca*. *Pheretima* is said afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms, which the historian looks upon as a punishment inflicted upon her by Providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the *Cyreneans*, and *Libyans* with whom they were intermixed, till the conquest of the *Persian* empire, are not very remarkable in history. *Aristotle* gives us to understand, that in his time *Cyrene* was a republic; which seems to imply, that, upon the extinction of *Battus's* line, *Demonax's* form of government took place; though the *Cyreneans* might have been tributary to, or at least under the protection of, the *Persians*. It appears from *Sallust*, that the people of *Cyrene* were free, when the contention happened betwixt them and the *Carthaginians* about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the *Macedonians* subdued *Egypt*, we find asserted by *Strabo*. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, one *Ariston* seized upon *Cyrene*, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were soon after composed, and all former acts of hostility

"In force as long as the earth on which they stood should remain in the present condition; that the *Barcae* should pay a competent tribute to the king of *Perisia*; and that the *Persians* should introduce no innovations into *Barca*." The *Barcae* then opened their gates

to *Amasis*, upon the faith of this treaty. That general, finding himself master of the town, in order to free himself from the oath he had just taken, ordered the covering of the trench to be broken down, and afterwards treated the inhabitants in the manner here related (5).

\* (5) *Herodot. l. iv. sub fin.*

buried in oblivion. Alexander had not been long dead, when Thimbro invaded Cyrenaica, overthrew the Cyreneans, and obliged them to buy a peace with five thousand talents of silver, and half of their armed chariots. However, *Mnasiclus* a Cretan, one of his officers, afterwards spirited them up against him, forced him to abandon the port of Cyrene, and obtained several considerable advantages over him. Notwithstanding which, Thimbro, bringing them to another general action, intirely defeated them, though he was soon after overthrown by Ophellas, and taken prisoner. This victory rendered that general master of Cyrenaica, and he delivered it into the hands of Ptolemy. However, it seems probable, from what we have observed in the history of the Carthaginians, that Ophellas, by some means or other, obtained the sovereignty of this country. Magas, the brother of Ptolemy Lagus, whose daughter Ptolemy Philadelphus married, reigned at Cyrene fifty years, as we learn from Agatharchides. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from Polyænus, who has transmitted to us an account of one of his stratagems. Plutarch intimates, that Nicocrates, tyrant of Cyrene, being in love with Aretaphila, the wife of one Phædimus, or, as Polyænus will have it, Melanippus the priest of Apollo, killed her husband in order to enjoy her; and that she dissembled her resentment, till she found an opportunity of destroying him; which she at last did, and thereby delivered her country from servitude. But whether this last event happened before the time of Magas, or afterwards, we are not given to understand.<sup>1</sup> Be that as it will, it remained under the kings of Egypt, till Ptolemy Physcon made it over to his bastard son surnamed Apion, who, in the year of Rome 658. left it by will to the Romans. The senate, instead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; which immediately filled the country with tyrants, those who were most potent in every district endeavouring to make themselves sovereigns of it. This threw the kingdom of Cyrenaica into great confusion; but Lucullus in a good measure restored the public tranquillity, on his coming hither during the first Mithridatic war. The descendants of those (E) Jews, settled here by the first Ptolemy, are said to

(E) Amongst the descendants of these Cyrenean Jews may be ranked Jason, who wrote the history of the Maccabees in five books, of which the second book of Maccabees, still extant, is an abridgment; Simon, who carried our Saviour's cross; and others mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (5).

(6) *Act. c. ii. v. 1, & c. vi. v. 9.*

have greatly contributed to the disturbances just hinted at. Be that as it will, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province, which happened about twenty years after the death of *Apion*, and seventy-six before the birth of *Christ*. *Straho* tells us, that in his time *Crete* and *Cyrenaica* formed one *Roman* province. Upon a revolt *Cyrene* was ruined by the *Romans*; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In process of time it fell to the *Arabs*, and last to the *Turks*, who are the present possessors of it<sup>s</sup>. For some of the principal learned men it produced, we shall refer our readers to the following note (F).

## S E C T.

<sup>s</sup> HERODOT. I. iv. PIND. Pyth. od. iv. & v. PAUSAN. in Phoenic. DIOD. SIC. I. xiv. POLYÆN. I. ii. c. 23. ex. 1, 2. & I. viii. c. 28, 41. PAUSAN. in Attic. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. AGATH. RICHID. CNID. apud Athen. diegnosoph. I. xii. PLUTARCH. de virtut. mulier. JUSTIN. I. xiii. c. 7. CALLIMACH. in hymn. SOLIN. c. SOLIN. c. 30. SALLUST. in Jugurth. STRAB. I. xvii. EUSTATH. in Dionys. EUSEB. in chron. ad an. 3. Olymp. 37. p. 122 PLUT. in Lucul. APPIAN. de bell. civil. I. i. LIV. epit. lxx. Justin. I. xxix. EURIP. I. vi. c. 11. Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 458—462.

(F) This country produced several persons who made an illustrious figure in the republic of letters, amongst the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. *Aristippus*, a disciple of *Socrates*, and the chief of the *Cyrenaic* sect. He lived about the ninety-sixth Olympiad, and the year of *Rome*, 60. He was the first that took money of his scholars for teaching them philosophy. He once sent his master *Socrates* twenty minæ; but that philosopher refused it, saying, "God would not permit him to receive it." *Xenophon* was an enemy to him; on which account he wrote a treatise against pleasure, in order to expose him. *Theodore* and *Plato* likewise were very severe upon him. He could adapt himself to all persons, places, and times, and, without difficulty, act any part;

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which rendered him agreeable to *Dionysius*. He went frequently to court; kept several mistresses, and, amongst the rest, the famous *Leis*; and fared deliciously, in conformity to the principles of his philosophy. When he was censured by an acquaintance for living too luxuriously, he said, "That if it were not a good thing to feast and eat well, people would not practise it on their holy festivals." He was extremely quick at repartees, as appears from *Diogenes Laertius*. He asked a certain person, who reproached him for having had a sumptuous entertainment, "Whether he would not have lived in as elegant a manner, if he could have done it for three oboli?" To which the other replied, he would. "Then," said he, "I find you are fond of money, and not I of pleasure." One time a fellow pursuing him

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with

## S E C T. III.

*The History of the Regio Syrtica.*

*Description of the  
Regio  
Syrtica.*

**T**HE *Regio Syrtica*, so called because the two *Syrites* were the northern extremities of its eastern and western limits, was bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on

the

with opprobrious and scurrilous language, and asking him, "Why " he made such haste away?" " Because (said he) thou art " accustomed to give foul lan- " guage, and I am not accustomed " ed to hear it." *Dionysius* had once three harlots to wait upon *Aristippus*, out of whom he ordered that philosopher to choose one; but he carried them all three off, saying, " That *Paris* " had greatly suffered by pre- " ferring one goddess to an " other." One desired to know of him what he would have for educating his son; to whom he answered, " Five hundred drachmas. " I can buy a slave" (answered the other) " for that sum." " Do so (replied *Aristippus*), and " then you will have two." He wrote three books of the history of *Libya*, which he dedicated to *Dionysius*; and a volume consisting of twenty-five dialogues, composed partly in the *Attic*, and partly in the *Doric* dialect. The principles of his philosophy were these: The soul has two particular motions, or sensations, to wit, pain and pleasure; all pleasures are alike; virtue is only so far to be esteemed, as it conduces to sensuality. For all the other particulars of his life, we must refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*. His name seems to confirm what several authors have

suggested of the *Cyreneans*, to wit, that they were famous for being good horsemen.

2. *Areta*, daughter to *Aristippus*, who presided over the *Cyrenaic* school after the death of her father.

3. *Aristippus* the younger, son to *Areta*, by whose instructions he became a famous philosopher, and from thence was styled *Metrodaios*.

4. *Anniceris*, who reformed the *Cyrenaic* sect, or rather founded another that was called the *Annicerian*.

5. *Callimachus*, a celebrated poet and historian, the son of *Battus* and *Mesatma*, and disciple of *Hermocrates* the grammarian. He married the daughter of *Euphrates Syracuseanus*, and lived in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, being then the royal librarian. Several pieces we find ascribed to him, though he was no voluminous author, it being a trite observation with him, *That a great book was a great evil*. The principal of these were: 1. A satirical poem upon his adversary, whom he called *Ibis*. 2. Those hymns which are still extant. 3. *Λιτίον*, or a treatise upon the origin and causes of sacred things, taken notice of by *Martial*. 4. A poem intituled *de coma Berenices*. *Suidas* mentions another *Callimachus*, nephew

the south by the country of the *Nasamones*, and the *Sahara*; on the east by *Cyrenaica*; and on the west by *Africa Propria*.

nephew to this, as a tolerable poet; but it is generally agreed, that he did not make any great figure in the learned world.

6. *Eratosthenes*, the son of one *Aglaus*, or, according to others, *Ambrofius*, a celebrated philosopher and mathematician, in great favour at the *Egyptian* court. He was the scholar of *Aristo the Chian*, *Lysanias* the grammarian, and the poet *Callimachus*. He flourished in the hundred twenty-sixth Olympiad, being about that time librarius to the king of *Egypt*. He first asserted the ambit or circumference of the earth to be two hundred and fifty-two thousand stadia; on which account we find him styled *the measurer of the earth*. Besides his philosophical pieces, he wrote some poems, several historical and astronomical tracts, a collection of dialogues, and some observations relating to comedy. He died at eighty-one years of age.

7. *Carneades*, the son of *Epicemus*, or *Philoxenus*, and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the second founded by *Arcesilaus*. He pretended to discover an uncertainty in the most evident notions, and was a grand stickler against the *Stoics*, attempting vigorously to confute *Chrysippus*, one of their principal pillars. *Carneades* did not much apply himself to physic

and natural philosophy, but cultivated morals with particular diligence. His surprising eloquence made him feared by the *Roman* senate, during his residence at *Rome* with two other ambassadors. Whilst he was there, he is said to have disputed admirably well for justice one day, and the next against it. He gave himself up so intirely to study, that he neglected frequently all other things; insomuch that he sometimes sat at table, and forgot to eat, till roused from his thoughts by his maid *Malissa*. According to *Diogenes Laertius*, he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, about the fourth year of the clxiid Olympiad, though *Cicero* stretched his life to ninety; which makes it difficult to determine precisely the time of his death. The former author says, that when *Carneades* understood, that *Antipater* had poisoned himself, he did the like; and likewise makes an eclipse of the moon to have then happened. He is said to have written many letters to *Ariarathes* king of *Armenia*. For a fuller account of him we must beg leave to refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*, *Cicero*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and others.

8. *Cronus Apollonius*, the master of *Diodorus* the logician, whose name was assumed by his scholar (6).

(6) *Strab.* l. xvii. p. 576. *Diog. Laert.* in *Carnead.* § 9. *ib.* *Positor.* apud *Athen.* desprof. h. l. viii. *Suid.* in 'Επικεμονη, in *Platonicorum*. & alibi. *Sext.* in *Aristoph.* ran. act. iv. sc. 2. *Paut.* de placit. phys. aduers. *Stoic.* § 5. *ibid.* *Mart.* al. l. x. *Ad. Gell.* l. xiii. c. 14. § l. xvii. c. 16. *Val.* *Max.* l. viii. c. 8. *Cic.* in *Academ.* quæst. l. i. in *Tuscul.* quæst. l. v. de orat. l. ii. § 3. alibi. *Ouzelius* in *Aul.* *Gell.* ubi sup. *Galen.* in lib. de opt. di. et. gen. ab *Hannic.* *Stephan.* edit. an. 1562. ali. 3. s. p. mult.

The tower of *Euphrantas*, and the town of *Charax* above-mentioned, were the principal maritim places in the neighbourhood of *Cyrenaica*, as *Auxiqua*, *Lepcis Magna*, *Garapha*, *Abrotonum*, *Sabrata*, and *Tacape*, were on the sea-coast betwixt the rivers *Cinyps* and *Triton*. As for *Gerisa*, *Iscina*, *Amundia*, *Sicapha*, *Musta*, *Butta*, and several other obscure mediterranean towns mentioned by *Ptolemy* and the *Itinerary*, we scarce ever find them taken notice of by any antient historian. The *Cinyps* of *Scylax*, however, seems to have been a city of some repute. *Pliny* and *Herodotus* intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful district called *Cinyphe*, which, as well as the city above-mentioned, might have been so denominated from the river of the same name. To pass by the *Samamycii*, *Damenii*, *Nigbeni*, *Nycpii*, *Nigintimi*, *Muclothufii*, and many other inconsiderable tribes recited by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the only nations of this country deserving any regard were the *Cinethii*, *Gindanes*, *Macæ*, and *Lotophagi*. The *Cinethii*, or *Cinithii*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, situated behind the *Machyni*, about the *Lesser Syrtis*, were a respectable nation, as we learn from *Tacitus*. The *Gindanes*, according to *Herodotus*, were seated not far from the *Cinyps*: their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and she who had the greatest number was the most esteemed. The *Macæ* bordered upon the *Garamantes*, and were a pretty potent nation. They shaved their heads all over, except the middle of the crown, where they permitted a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they wore the skins of ostriches instead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks to the sea-side, and in summer to the inland places near some fountain or river, for the sake of water, according to *Scylax*. They are called likewise by the antients *Macæ Cinyphii*, and *Macæ Syriæ*, from their vicinity to the *Cinyps* and the *Greater Syrtis*. But the *Lotophagi* were the most famous people of the tract we are now upon. If we may believe *Scylax*, they extended themselves almost from the *Greater* to the *Lesser Syrtis*. That author calls them *Libyes Lotophagi*, and tell us, that the *Lotus* served them both for meat and drink; from which circumstance they derived their name. *Pliny* says, that some authors called them *Alachroæ*, and that many of them were found about the *Philenorum iræ*. *Strabo* likewise affirms the country of the *Lotophagi* to have extended from the *Lesser Syrtis*, which he calls *Lotophagitis Syrtis*, to the confines of *Cyrenaica*; and that this people were not sensible of the want of water in the burning sandy region they inhabited, since the root, stalks, &c. of the *Lotus* supplied them

them with rich liquor, as well as delicious food. *Homer* relates, that in his time the island *Meninx*, on the coast of *Byzacium*, abounded with the *Lotus*, and was the chief seat of the *Lotophagi*; as also, that *Ulysses* touched here in his return to *Ithaca*. A good part of the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect desert; but the other part productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly both the tree and plant of the *Lotus*. *Herodotus* tells us, that the fruit of the tree was of the same size with that of the *Lentiscus*, but exceedingly sweet like the date; as also that the *Lotophagi* made wine of it. *Pliny* says, that the *Lotus* was transplanted to *Italy*, but that its qualities were pretty much altered by that transplantation. He likewise asserts its fruit to have been of the size of a bean, and of the colour of saffron, when ripe; though he allows this to have been different, according to the different degrees of maturity at which it arrived. In *Africa* it resembled that of a myrtle. The best species of this tree produced a fruit without any kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard as a stone. The wine expressed from it tasted like mead, being extremely sweet; which quality it derived from the fruit itself, but would not keep above ten days. The berries, bruised and mixed with wheat, the *Libans* laid up in large vessels, which served them for food. *Theophrastus* and *Dioscorides* make the plant *Lotus* to have resembled a lily, and represent it both as physic and food. Some of the moderns think one species of it to have been the same as the *Cocloasia*, or *Faba Egyptia*, and the other as the *Nymphaea Nilotica*. But though it might agree with these plants in many particulars, yet that it differed considerably from them, is evident from the figure of it, which we find on the reverses of many antient *Egyptian* coins. Several of these coins, struck in the times of *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*, exhibit the leaves, stalk, and fruit, of the plant *Lotus*, and consequently give us a tolerable idea of it: however, the moderns can arrive at no certain conclusions concerning either the plant, or the tree. The principal river of this tract was the *Cinyps*, which derived its stream from a fountain, or an hill, called *Zuchabari* in the country of the *Macæ*, and emptied itself into the *Sinus Syrticus*. The word *Zuchabari*, in *Punic*, *Phœnician*, or *Libyan*, signified the *hill of the Graces*, as we find it called by *Herodotus*. The river *Cinyps*, according to *Bochart*, derived its name from the great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief inmountains of the *Regio Syrtica* were *Gigius* and *Thizibi*, of which yet we find nothing related but the bare names. The promontories *Hippus* and *Cephalæ* scarce deserve to be mentioned.

tioned. Of the islands appertaining to this country the most noted were *Meninx* and *Cercina*; *Ptolemy's Gaia*, *Pontia*, and *Misynus*, being quite obscure. The island *Myrmex* more properly belonged to *Cyrenaica*, as it was not far distant from the port of the *Barcae*. *Pliny* makes *Meninx* (F), near the *Lesser Syrtis*, to be twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and further observes, that it had two towns, to wit, *Meninx* facing the coast of *Africa*, and *Thoar*, opposite to the *Lesser Syrtis*. We find it named *Lotophagitis*, not only by the authors above mentioned, but likewise by *Polybius* and *Eratosthenes*. As for *Cercina*, it lay N. E. of *Meninx*, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the same name, and two most commodious harbours. Thus stands the geography of the *Regio Syrtica*, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of *Tripoli* seems at present to correspond<sup>b</sup>.

*Its inhabitants subject to the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Cyreneans,*

*Numidians, and Romans.*

As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all points of moment with the other *Libyan Nomads*, whose history has already been given, we can say nothing of their antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, &c. c. (G) without being guilty of a repetition. The transactions they were concerned in, before they became subject to *Carthage*, could not, we

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. SCRAB. MEL. PLIN. PROT. ubi sup. VIRG. EN. i. v. 110 & EN. iv. v. 41. LUCAN. I. i. v. 367. & I. viii. v. 184. SENEC. de beat. vit. c. 14. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. ANTONIN. itinerar. SALIUST. in Jugurtha. CLAES. in civ. I. i. c. 28. DIONYSIUS CHARACENUS. ver. 480. DIOD. SIC. I. iii. l. v. & alib. PLIN. I. xiii. c. 17. SIL. ITAL. I. iii. v. 210. HERODOT. I. x. p. 457. HERODOT. ubi sup. THEOPHRAST. hist. pl. I. iv. c. 10. PLUT. de Isid. p. 355, 378, & alib. HERODUL. I. ii. c. 92. THEOPHRAST. hist. pl. I. iv. c. 5. p. 87. DIOSCORID. I. iv. c. 114. SOLIN. evercit. p. 683. PLUTARCH. & IAMBULIC. apud Tritton tom. I. p. 605. SEGUIN. num. select. p. 121. EZECCHI. SPINKHEM. de praest. & us. num. ant. dissert. vi. p. 291 — 308. TACIT. annal. I. ii. c. 52. LIV. I. xxxiii. c. 48. POLYBL. I. i. c. 39. ERATOSTHENES apud Plin. I. v. c. 7. HOMER. II. I. v. 84, & alib.

(F) This island was called *Girba* about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name *Zerbi* or *Zarbi* (7).

(G) From *Egypt* to the lake *Tritonis* the *Libyans* were breeders of cattle, eat flesh, and drank milk; but abstained from beef and pork, as well as the

*Egyptians*. The women of *Cyrene* accounted it a crime to strike a cow. For the customs, manners, and religion, of the *Libyans* inhabiting the country to the west of the *Triton*, we must refer our readers to *Herodotus* (8).

(7) Cellar. geogr. art. I. iv. c. 3.

(8) Herodot. I. iv.

apprehend,

apprehend, have been very considerable. However, we believe them to have been subdued by the founder of the *Egyptian empire*, whom *Josephus* and *Sir Isaac Newton* take to be the same prince with *Sesac*. How long they remained subject to the *Egyptians*, history informs us not; but it is probable a corps of them formed part of *Zerah's* numerous army, for the reasons already offered. Part of the *Regio Syrtica* seems to have been under the dominion of the *Cyreneans* till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the *Carthaginians* mentioned by *Sallust*; but when this happened, cannot be precisely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, till it was wrested out of them by *Masinissa*; for that it was wrested out of them by that prince, appears clearly from *Appian*. In after-ages it met with the same fate as the rest of his dominions, an ample account of which has been already exhibited to our readers in the history of the *Numidians*<sup>1</sup>.

THUS have we gone though the history of all the principal *Libyan nations*, which, we may venture to assure our readers, <sup>Some particulars relating to Libya hitherto omitted.</sup> has not been done by any other author. Some few particulars, however, relating to them, hitherto omitted, we must not pass over in silence. *Herodotus* observes, that the *Libyans* in general went by the name of *Atlantes* or *Atlantides*, though at the same time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation; who, he tells us, cursed the *Sun* every day, as he advanced towards the meridian, pursuing him with the bitterest invectives, because he consumed both them, and their country, with his burning rays. From that author and *Diodorus* it likewise appears, that the *Atlantides* were seated upon, and in the neighbourhood of mount *Atlas*, which, from its height, the *Libyans* styled the *pillar of heaven*, i. e. the *high or lofty pillar*; which evinces the *Libyan language* or languages to have been related to the *Oriental tongues*. *Herodotus* also intimates, that no one of this nation did either eat flesh, or was ever disturbed in his sleep by dreams; the last of which properties was probably the consequence of the first. In the territories of the *Atlantides*, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped considerable advantages from several mines of salt, which was of two colours, to wit, white and purple. *Herodotus* farther says, that many of the *Libyans* built houses of this salt, which, as no rain ever fell in those parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered with regard to the *Nigritæ*, we

<sup>1</sup> *SALLUST.* in *Jugurth.* *APPIAN.* in *Libyc.* c. 63. ed. Tol. Amst. 1670. *NEWT.* in *chronok.* p. 70. *Vid. etiam Univ. hist.* vol. xviii. c. 14. §. 3.

must beg leave to add, that they were known to the *Egyptians*, *Ammonii*, and *Cyreneans*, before the time of *Herodotus*. For that author, when in *Egypt*, learned from some *Cyreneans*, who had the relation from *Etearchus* king of the *Ammonii*, that five bold *Nasamonian* youths, sent to make new discoveries through the deserts of *Libya*, at last came to a city inhabited by men of a low stature, by which ran a great river abounding with crocodiles, that *Etearchus* judged to be the *Nile*. This relation tallies extremely well with *Marmol*, who assures us, that the people seated on the northern bank of the *Nigir* are perfect dwarfs (H); and also seems to add some weight to the authority of the *Arabian* geographers, who make the *Nile* and the *Nigir* different branches of the same river, and assert the source of this river to be in *Ethiopia*. From hence we may deduce the probability of the *Negroes* being descended from the *Ethiopians*, and likewise the region of *Nigritia*'s being peopled very early, as *Leo* suggests. For the *Ethiopians* on the banks, or near the source, of the great river above-mentioned, observing how the adjacent grounds were fertilized by its inundations, as they increased, might follow it westward, every one striving to be the first possessor of a great quantity of such excellent soil, and therefore advance forward till the *Atlantic* ocean put a stop to any farther progress. If this be admitted, it will follow, that the *Blacks* are not so different from all the rest of mankind as some are willing to suppose; that their descent from *Adam* is easy and natural, in opposition to what our modern infidels pretend; and that their colour is only an accidental consideration. But these points will be fully discussed in that branch of the modern history which they will naturally fall under. The word *Libya* may be deduced either from the proper names *Lchubim*, *Lubim*, &c. above-mentioned, or from the *H-har luab*, with which the *Arabic* *luab* corresponds, signifying *dry*, *parched*, &c. or rather *a dry, parched country*, &c. Such an appellation agrees extremely well with what the antients have related of *Libya*, and particularly the tract betwixt *Tripolis* and *Pentapolis*, which went by the names of *Xerolibya* and *Libya Propria*. Dr. *Hyde*,

(H) From the situation of the *Nasamones*, it is evident, that these youths must have approached the northern bank of the river, which the dwarfs here mentioned are said to have inhabited. Now *Marmol* assures us, that on the

southern bank of the *Senegal* the inhabitants are large and lusty, but on the opposite side small and puny; which last article, agreeing so well with *Herodotus*, almost demonstrates the river here hinted at to have been the *Nigir* (9).

(9) *Marm.*

however,

however, thinks that this word may be more naturally deduced from *lubi*, *a lion*, or rather *a yellow flame-coloured lion*, with which species of animals *Libya* was known to abound ; or else from *lahab*, *a flame*, since the burning sands of *Libya*, by the continual reflexion of a vast quantity of the solar rays, appeared, at some distance, to travelers like a flame. As these sands were frequently so heated as to be almost in a state of inflammation, we must own some regard due to such an etymon. As for the word *Africa*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Afrikia*, which seems to have been unknown to *Herodotus*, *Aristotle*, *Strabo*, and the other most antient *Greek* authors, Dr. *Hyde* takes it to be the same with the *Phœnician* or *Punic* *Habarca*, *Havarca*, *Havreca*, &c. or אַבְרָקָה *Averca*, i. e. *The BARCA*, or *the country of BARCA*. This our readers will allow extremely probable, especially since *Barca* was a most remarkable part of *Africa*, as above observed ; and the *Romans*, who first brought the name of *Africa* into *Europe*, might not pronounce it exactly in the same manner as the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians*, from whom they received it. The principal difficulty in this etymon will vanish, when we consider, that the *Orientals* for the most part pronounced the second letter of their alphabet like a *V*, and that nothing was more usual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. We must not omit observing here, that the first division of the world was into two parts only, to wit, *Asia* and *Europe*, or the eastern and western parts, *Eurōpē* comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and *Africa* ; which division still prevails amongst many of the *Orientals*. This may not only be inferred from a variety of authors, but likewise from the words *Europe* and *Asia* themselves, the former importing *occidental* or *western*, and the latter *half*. When that vast region now called *Africa* was first considered as a distinct part of the world, we cannot take upon us to determine ; nor whether *Europe* and *Africa* were ever joined together by an isthmus uniting *Spain* and *Mauritania*, as some authors suggest ; nor lastly, if this should be admitted, when, or by what means, such an isthmus came to be destroyed. The *Nubian* geographer affirms it to have been effected by labour and art ; but *Averroes* by an earthquake. The island *Cirne*, taken notice of by *Hanno* and *Scylax*, seems to have been somewhere on the coast of *Libya Interior* ; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be discovered from the antiquits, who differ widely amongst themselves with regard to its situation ; which probably induced *Strabo* to deny the very being of it. We must own ourselves likewise as much in the dark

dark in relation to *Plato's island Atlantis*, which he makes of a larger extent than *Asia* and *Africa* together. Some of the moderns are disposed to think, from several circumstances, that it was that vast continent called now *America*; others, that it lay nearer the pillars of *Hercules*; and lastly, others, that every thing related of it is to be considered as a downright fiction. Much may be said in defence of each opinion; however, the first appears to us the most probable. For *Ammianus Marcellinus* affirms *Plato* on this occasion not to have written fable, but a true history; and *Proclus* cites *Marcellus* an *Ethiopic* historian in defence of what that philosopher has advanced concerning this island. *Crantor* also, *Plato's* first interpreter, takes this relation to be a true history. That the island here under consideration was not so near the *Straits* as some modern authors suppose, seems probable from *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the *Phoenicians* in early times sailed beyond *Hercules's Pillars*, along the *African* coast, and there meeting with storms and tempests, were carried to the remotest parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vast island at a great distance from *Libya*, and lying very far west. This country, continues the same author, had a fruitful soil, navigable rivers, &c. and, from the *Phoenicians*, the *Carthaginians* came to the knowledge of it. And in the same place he says, that the *Carthaginians* would not permit any other nation to settle in this new region, but reserved it for themselves, that, if ever they should be driven from their native soil, they might have a place to retire to. *Aelian* brings *Silenus* expressly asserting to *Midas*, that there was a vast continent beyond *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, which ought to be considered as islands surrounded by the ocean. These, and other passages, that might be extracted from the antient, induced the learned *Perizonius* to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had some faint knowledge of *America*, derived to them either from the *Egyptian* and *Carthaginian* traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.

<sup>k</sup> HERODOT. I. ii. & I. iv.\* DIOD. SIC. I. iii. GOLIT note ad Alfraganum, p. 89. I. LEO AFRICAN. AVICEN. pass' AELIAN. de animal. pass'. RR. KIMCHI, ABEN-EZRA, & JONAS in Ose. c. xiii. ver. 6. VIRG. AN. I. iv. LUCAN. I. i. SERV. in Virg. ubi sup. AERPOES apud Hieron. Vital. in voc. Terramotus. AGATHEMER. I. ii. c. 2. Geogr. Nubien. clim. iv. part. 1. HYDE in Peritbol. I. 13, 14, 15, 16. PLAT. in Timie & in Crit. STRAB. I. ii. p. 23. POLYB. & CORN. NLP. apud Plin. I. vi. c. 31. HANNO & SCYLAX in peripl. DIORIM. apud Strab. ubi sup. PTOL. I. iv. EPHORUS

## C H A P. XIX.

*The History of the Ethiopians.*

## S E C T. I.

*Description of Ethiopia.*

SEVERAL of the antients gave the name of *Ethiopians* *The Pro-*  
*to all persons either perfectly black, or of a very swarthy per Ethio-*  
*complexion. The *Arabs* therefore, and other *Sifiatics*, as *pia ukers**  
*well as a great number of *Africans*, came under this denomi-*situated*.*  
*nation. The *Africans* we find divided into the *western* or  
*Hesperian Ethiopians*, and the *Ethiopians above Egypt*, situated  
*to the E. of the former. The *Hesperian Ethiopians* inhabited*  
*that vast tract called *Libya Interior*, the history of whose*  
*principal nations we have already gone through. The eastern*  
**African Ethiopians* (for so those above *Egypt* may be pro-*perly* styled)*  
*were much better known to the antients than the others, by reason of their commerce with the *Egyptians*, and*  
*looked upon by them as the proper *Ethiopians*. These are*  
*the people, whose transactions, from the earliest accounts of*  
*time, we are now to relate; which we hope to do in such*  
*a manner as will prove satisfactory to all, at least the most*  
*candid part of, our readers<sup>a</sup>.**

ETHIOPIA then, or rather *Ethiopia Propria*, was limited *Limits and*  
*on the north by Egypt*, on which side it extended to the *extent of*  
*Lesser Cataract*, and the island *Elephantine*; on the west by *Ethiopia*.  
*Libya Interior*; on the east by the *Ked Sea*; and on the south  
*by a part of Africa unknown to the antients, but probably*  
*that including the modern kingdoms of Gingiro, Niaba, Ma-*chiida*, and part of *Adel* or *Zeila*. However, as the proper*  
*Ethiopia might be of a different extent at different times,*  
*particularly on the sides of *Libya Interior* and *Libya Incognita*,*  
*we cannot pretend to fix, with any precision, its frontiers.*

EPHORUS apud Plin. ubi sup. LYCOMIRON. scholiast. advers. xvii.  
 EUSTATH. in Dionyl. vers. 219. DIOD. SIC. l. v. CRANTOR in  
 Plat. ubi sup. MARCELL. apud Procl. AMMIAN. MARCELIN.  
 & AElian. var. hist. l. iii. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. 33. JAC.  
 PERIZON. in AElian. ubi sup. HERODOT. i. iii. & l. vii.  
 XENOPH. Cyropaed. l. viii. HOMER. apud Strabon. l. ii. ut &  
 ipse STRAB. l. i. & l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. iv. DIO. l. iv. p. 524.  
 PROL. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 8. VID. & HOMER. II. iv. v. 23.  
 CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8. sect. 3.

Never-

Nevertheless it seems, for many ages at least, to have been the same tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of *Dongla*, *Sennar*, and *Abassia*, with part of *Adel* or *Zeila*; and consequently to have taken up seventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropic of *Cancer* to within six degrees of the Line. *Ludolfus* intimates, that the modern geographers, depending upon the authority of *Pausus Tivius*, have extended the southern limits of *Abassia* much farther; but at the same time that author rightly observes them to be guilty of a mistake. It is of no great consequence to our readers how this point stands, and therefore we shall not dwell any longer upon it <sup>b</sup>.

*Different names of Ethiopia.* THE proper *Ethiopia* had various names given it by the antients. Sometimes they called it *India*, and its inhabitants *Indians*; which appellation they applied to many of the remotest nations, as we have observed in the history of the *Garamantes* (A). This country, or at least a neighbouring part of

<sup>t</sup> STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. v. c. 9. PROL. ubi sup. JON. LUDOLF. in hist. *Ethiop.* l. i. c. 2. GOLII note ad *Altagranum*, p. 88, 89. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4.

(A) *Bochart* thinks, that the *Garamantes* were a colony of the *Amantes* or *Hammanientes* of *Pliny* and *Solinus*, seated to the V. of the *Greater Syrtis*. This notion he grounds not only upon the neighbouring situation of those nations, but likewise upon the affinity of their names. For, as *gar* signifies in *Hebrew* to *inhabit*, *Gar-Anante* might originally have denoted *The habitation or dwelling of the Amantes*; or rather *ger*, from the aforesaid verb, may be naturally supposed to have signified *colonus*, *advena*, &c. and then *Gar-Aman-* <sup>re</sup> will be equivalent to *One belonging to a colony of the Amantes*. The last nation that ingenious author likewise believes to have been the same with the *Ammonii* or *Amonit*, whose name, by an easy transposition of letters, intirely agrees with that of *Moses's Anamim* or *Shamer*. Several

things, according to him, concur to render this conjecture probable: 1. The *Anamim* in all likelihood deduced their name from the word *אָנָם Anam*, which might have denoted a *sheep* in the *Egyptian* language, as a word composed of the same letters did in *Arabic*. 2. According to some authors, the idol of *Jupiter*, in the territory of the *Ammonii*, was called *dunnon* from the *ram* that pointed out the spot of ground his temple was erected upon. And it is well known, that the *Ammonii*, in the opinion of the antients, were so denominated from *Ammon* or *Ammün*, a name the *Egyptians* gave *Jupiter*. 3. That part of *Libya*, where *Moses* seems to place the *Anamim*, abounded with sheep, which supplied the natives not only with food, but cloaths, and agreed very well in situation with the country of the *Ammonii*. 4. The

of Libya, was likewise denominated *Atlantia* and *Aetheria*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, or, as *Hesychius* will have it, *Aeria*. It also went, in very early ages, under the name of *Cephenia*. But we apprehend it to have been most usually called *Abasene*, a word approaching very near, both in sound and signification, to the modern *Habash*, *Habesh*, or *Abafia*; the true etymology of which will be exhibited to our readers, when we come to the history of *Arabia* <sup>c.</sup>.

On the other hand, we find *Chaldea*, *Affyria*, *Persia*, &c. styled *Ethiopia* by some very good authors; nay, it must be allowed, that the antients called all those countries, extending themselves beyond each side of the *Red Sea*, indifferently *India* or *Ethiopia*. The eastern people at this day sometimes name that kingdom *India*, which the *Europeans* call *Abaffia*, particularly the *Persians*, who for the most part give the appellation of *Siah Hindou* or *Hindi*, to an *Abaffine* or modern *Ethiopian*. It appears from several authors, that the *Red Sea* itself went formerly under the name of the *Indian Sea*; and *Lucretius* observes, that the antients denominated all those

<sup>c</sup> PLIN. I. vi. c. 30. HERODOT. STRAB. ubi sup. HESYCH. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de Mar. Rubr. I. i. c. 3. apud Phot. in bibliothec. p. 1323. PHILOSTORGIIUS apud Theodoret. I. iii. c. 4. aliisque mult. Vid. etiam LE GRAND. dissert. ii.

The idol of *Jupiter Ammon* had either ram's horns, or a ram's head upon it; which seemed to point at the origin of the word *Ananim*. If we admit what *Bocchart* has advanced on this occasion, the etymon of the name *Nusamones* or *Nasamon*, applied to a neighbouring people, may easily be discovered. For *Nasamon*, on this supposition, must be apparently the same as נָסָמָן, i. e. *Homines Amon* or *Ammonii*; and consequently the *Nusamones*, as well as the *Garamantes*, were a branch of the *Ananim*. That the *Garamantes*, in their own tongue, were styled *Gar-Amone*, *Ger-Amone*,

or, by contraction, *Gar-Ame*, *Ger-ame*, &c. appears from the name of their metropolis *Garama*, or, as the *Nubian* geographer intimates it to have been denominated in his time, *Germa*. This observation will go a good way towards confirming those ingenuous conjectures which we have here inserted from the learned *Bocchart*; especially, since *Herodotus* affirms that part of *Libya* adjacent to the country of the *Anmonii* to have been famous for the sheep it abounded with. These nations were nearly related to the *Ethiopian*, as we learn from the same *Herodotus* (1).

(1) Herodot. I. iv. Hygin. Germanic. in Arst. Mel. I. i. c. 8. Diod. Sic. I. iii. Plin. I. v. c. c. Solin. c. 18. Gen. x. 13. Geogr. Nub. Num. iii. par. 1. Euseb. Phis. I. iv. c. 1.. Cels. nota ad Afraganum, p. 90.

nations under the Torrid Zone, whose names they were ignorant of, Indians <sup>a</sup>.

*Called in  
Scripture  
Cush.*

ACCORDING to the Jews, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and other versions (B), *Cush*, when taken for a country in

<sup>a</sup> PROCOPIUS GAZ. comment. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. JOS. SCALIG. in comp. eccles. AETHIOP. THEODOR. in hist. ecclesiast. l. i. c. 22. LE GRAND ubi sup. & I. LUDOLF. hist. AETHIOP. l. i. c. 1.

(B) The eastern people affirm *Cush* the son of *Canaan*, and grandson of *Ham*, to have had a son whose name was *Habaschi* or *Habschi*, the father of the *Abyssinians* or *Egyptians*, whom the *Perseans* call *Black Indians*. The Hebrew grammarians derive the word *Habschab*, which signifies *Ethiopia*, from *Habouscka*, which denotes a people raised from a mixture of different nations, originally of different countries. According to D'Herbelot and others, the *Abyssinians*, *Nubians*, and *Fungi*, are all comprehended under the word *Habschab*. The inspired writers are silent as to *Cush* the son of *Canaan*, and his son *Habaschi*. We find mention made there only of *Cush* the son of *Ham*, and his sons *Seba*, *Hesilah*, *Sabtah*, *Ramah*, *Subteba*, and *Nimrod*. It is said, that *Arabia Felix* went formerly under the name of *Ethiopia*, because the *Abyssinians*, who conquered it, possessed it for a long time. *Dhou-Iren* king of *Yaman* drove them from thence with the assistance of the *Perseans*. Some authors believe, that by *Cush* upon the river *Gihon* is meant only the ancient country of the *Scythians* upon the *Araxes*. Herodotus intimates, that the first

habitation this people had was upon the *Araxes*; and that, being forced from thence by the *Mætaggetæ*, they passed this river, and retired into the country of the *Cimmerians*. Justin makes the *Phasis* and *Araxes* to be, as it were, the limits of the *Scythians* on the south side. DIODORUS SICULUS says, that the *Scythians*, who were near *Media*, abode at first upon the *Araxes*, and that the *Sace* and *Messagites* are different branches of the *Scythians*. The words *Cutbci* and *Cutba*, whence some have deduced *Scythe* or *Scuthe*, are the same as *Cush*. The *Choldees* generally put the *Tau* where the *Hebrews* use *Schin*, and therefore say *Cut* or *Cuth* instead of *Cush*. The *Cuthbeans*, who came to and inhabited the country of *Semaria*, did originally belong to that part of *Media*, which bordered upon the *Caspian sea*, and therefore most have appertained to the *Cush* we are speaking of. There are very sensible footle<sup>s</sup> of this name to be met with in various parts round about this country, as the district of *Cotacene*; the cities of *Citamum*, *Cotonana*, *Cyta*, *Cotaca*, *Cotamba*, *Cotra*; the *Cotyi*, *Coffai*; river of *Cissa*, &c (z).

(z) D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p. 459. Gen. x. 7, 8. Herodot. l. i. c. 201. & l. iv. l. vi. v. 693. Diad. Sic. l. x. p. 255. Ital. pag. Valer. Flac. 1. vi. v. 693. Scip. B. ant. Propert. ex emend. Scalig. l. i. 1.

Scripture, is always to be understood of the *Proper Ethiopia*. This notion is supported by *Philo*, *Josephus*, *Eusebius* in *Eusebius*, *Eustathius*, the author of the *Alexandrian chronicon*, and the concurrent testimony of the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers. Notwithstanding which, *Bochart*, depending upon the authority of *Jonathan's Targum*, and several plausible arguments, affirms the land of *Cush* to have been situated in *Arabia*; and consequently maintains, that *Cush* never in Scripture denotes the *Proper Ethiopia*. But neither of these opinions ought to be looked upon as strictly true. For *Cush* is sometimes in Scripture undoubtedly to be taken for the *Proper Ethiopia*, as may be evinced not only by the great authorities above-mentioned, but several circumstances likewise, which evidently point at that country. And, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that some of the sacred writers give the name of *Cush* to the whole peninsula of *Arabia*, or a part of it bordering upon the *Red Sea*, or both. When the prophet *Jeremiah* asks his countrymen, *Whether the CUSHITE can change his skin?* he must be considered as having in his eye a proper *Ethiopian*. For the nation there pointed at was black, differing greatly in colour from the *Jews*; the prophet's question being proverbial, of the same import with that common adage of profane writers, *to wash the ETHIOPIAN or BLACKMOOR white*. Now this cannot be understood of the *Arabs*, who were of much the same complexion with the *Jews*, as *Bochart* himself not only allows, but proves; whereas the *Abassines*, or proper *Ethiopians*, might easily and naturally have given occasion to such a proverb. In the book of *Isaiah* we find *Egypt*, *Pathros*, and *Cush*, joined together, and consequently *Cush* taken for *Ethiopia*. For it appears from various authors, and even *Bochart* himself, that the land of *Pathros* was either the *Upper Egypt*, or a part of that country near the confines of *Ethiopia*; and therefore *Cush*, in this passage, must naturally refer to *Ethiopia*, since the region here denoted by that word was S. of the *Upper Egypt*, and contiguous to it. In defence of our second assertion, several passages of Scripture may likewise be produced. When the *LORD* threatened *Egypt* with utter desolation, he declared, *That HE would lay it waste from the tower of SYENE to the border of CUSH* (C). Now that the border of

(C) Our readers will observe, that, out of complaisance to a great number of learned men, we have here given this text the most received interpretation; tho'

we must own ourselves by no means inclined to come into it. The words in the original are: מִכְׁדֹׁל כּוֹנֶה וְרַגְבָּל כּוֹשׁ i. e. From *MICDOL* to *SYENE*, and

of CUSH and the tower of SYENE are intended here to represent two opposite limits of Egypt, cannot be denied; and that Syene was the Egyptian frontier on the side of Ethiopia, appears from Pliny and Strabo. Wherefore CUSH here evidently denotes Arabia, or at least that part of it adjacent to Egypt, which was diametrically opposite to the tower of Syene, and not Ethiopia, whose border extended to that tower. Moses's wife Zippora was a native of CUSH, and at the same time

and the border of CUSH: or From MIGDOL and SYENE, and to the border of CUSH. If we admit the first of these translations, we must suppose an Ellipsis of the preposition 'בְּ' betwixt לִגְתָּר and לִפְנֵי, than which nothing is more frequent in the Hebrew Scripture; as may be inferred from Deut. xxxiii. 17. Mich. vii. 12. and many other passages enumerated by Noldius. If we prefer the latter, we must admit a suppression of the Copulative 'בְּ' before לִפְנֵי, which is likewise extremely common in the original of the Old Testament, as appears from Gen. xxvii. 33. Cant. viii. 6. Jud. ix. 2. and an infinite number of other instances produced by the same Noldius. Now Migdol is the proper name of a town about twelve miles from Pelusium, on the Nile, near the coast of the Mediterranean, and diametrically opposite to Syene; and of course, in conjunction with Syene, denotes the whole breadth of the land of Egypt, agreeably to the prophet's intention. This city we find mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, xlv. 1. and xlvi. 14. who joins it with Tahpanhes, or, as the Greeks called it, Daphne, and Daphne Peluse, another city in

the neighbourhood of Pelusium. This circumstance, in conjunction with the Septuagint, which has there εν Μαγδωλῃ, at Migdol, and εις Μαγδωλη, in Migdol, renders extremely probable the version of this passage, which we would propose to the consideration of our learned readers. In the mean time we cannot but own ourselves greatly surprised at Cellarius, who has with so much boldness insinuated, or rather affirmed, that the Greek interpreters have, in agreement with the Vulgate, translated the text at present under consideration ἀπὸ πύρης Συήνης καὶ ἐώς ὁπίων Ἀθίστων. Whereas both the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. of the Septuagint have it ἀπὸ Μαγδωλῆς καὶ Συήνης καὶ ἕος δελῶν Ἀσίσπων. Which, together with the Arabic version expressing it From MIGDOL and ASUAN to the borders of ETHIOPIA, seems to render indisputable what is here advanced; and consequently, to evince, that this famous passage is so far from proving CUSH to point out Arabia; that, on the contrary, it evidently demonstrates that word sometimes to denote the Proper Ethiopia (3).

(3) Herodot. I. ii. c. 30. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Cellar. progr. ant. I. iv. c. 8. Vid. etiam Val. Sicard. pentagl. p. 281. Et Coriscini Nolius Concord. particularis. Ebraico-Caelidg. cum annotat. Job. Gottfr. Lymphi, Jenae, 1734.

a Midianite. The prophet *Habakkuk* makes the territories of *Cushan* or *Cush*, and *Midian* or *Madian*, to have been the same. *Josephus*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Jerom*, mention a city of *Arabia* on the coast of the *Red Sea*, called *Madian*. From all which we may infer, that part of *Arabia* at least goes sometimes in Scripture under the name of *Cush*. *Jcb* intimates, that *Cush* was famous for the excellent topazes it produced. Now none of the antients have taken notice of the *Ethiopian* topaz; whereas *Pliny* relates, that the best topazes came from the *Arabie* island *Chitis* or *Chutis*, whose name seems to have been the same with *Cush* or *Cuth*. *Agatharchides*, *Cnidius*, *Diodorus*, and *Strab*, have likewise mentioned this island. From hence, therefore, it appears, that some of the sacred writers denominated at least part of *Arabia* *Cush*. In that day, says the Lord, shall messengers go from me in ships, to make the careless *Cushites* afraid, &c. Which menace may be supposed more properly to point at the *Arabs*, whom the *Egyptians* and others visited in ships on the *Red Sea*, than the *Ethiopians*, with whom they had a communication by land. But, to omit other passages that occur, both the *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* might have very properly been stiled *Cushites*, since the descendants of *Cush* formed a great part of both nations. Nay, that the *Arabs* themselves had the appellation of *Ethiopians*, and *Astatic Ethiopians*, clearly follows from what has been advanced by *Xenophon* and *Herculeius*. However, we cannot help thinking, that the antient *Hebreus* rightly looked upon the *Ethiopians* as the proper *Cushites*. For *Zerah*'s most formidable army consisted chiefly of *Cushites*, neighbours to the *Lilyans*, i. e. the *Ethiopians*, of which people only he is called king by the sacred historian; though from Sir *Isaac Newton*, and what we have already observed, it may be proved, that he was in possession of all the dominions of *Syria*, i. e. *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Troglytica*, *Arabia*, &c. The extremely numerous host he commanded adds great weight to this notion. *Pliny* intimates, that the *Ethiopians*, whom he distinguishes from the *Arabians*, were masters of *Egypt* not long before the destruction of *Troy*; which, considering that this period falls in with the time of *Zerah*, brings no small accession of strength to what is here advanced <sup>c</sup>.

IV.  
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<sup>c</sup> PHIL. JUDÆUS, HIERONYM. EUSEB. EUSTATH. Auct. chrer. Alexandr. aliq; apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. EUPOLEM. apud Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. ix. JONATH. Targ. in Gen. x. 6. & alib. Exod. ii. 16. 21. Num. xii. 1. ISAI. xi. 11. JER. xiii. 23. EZEK. xxix. 10. HABAK. iii. 7. JOB xxviii. 19. EZEK. xxx. 9. 2. Chron. xiv. 9. & xvi. 8. JOSEPH. antiqu. l. i. c. 7. PLIN. l. v. VOL. XVIII. S } c. 9.

We cannot therefore allow, that *Ludim* is the only name given in Scripture to the *Ethiopians*, as M. *Bochart* undertakes to proves. Most of the arguments he offers to evince this point are extremely frivolous, as our readers will find upon an examination of them, and the others not of any considerable force. But, supposing them to prove, that the word *Ludim*, in all places of Scripture he cites on this occasion, is to be understood of the *Ethiopians*, which is the utmost that he could ever have pretended to ; yet it will not follow from hence, that *Ethiopia* is never called *Cush* by any of the sacred writers. Such an assertion cannot be maintained, tho' it should be granted, as we are willing to do, that part of the *Ludim* took up their habitations in *Ethiopia*. And yet several learned men have come into *Bochart's* opinion <sup>f</sup>.

*Different nations of Ethiopia.*

THE antients believed the blacknes of the *Abaffines* or *Abyissinians* to be occasioned by the intense heat of their climate, and therefore called them *Ethiopians*. We find them likewise called *Aetherii* and *Aerii* by *Hesychius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Pliny* relates, that the *Blemmyrs*, an *Ethiopian* nation seated near the borders of *Egypt*, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breasts. This ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might possibly proceed from their having very short necks. However, that some *Blemmyan* captives exhibited an extremely odd appearance at *Rome*, we learn from *Vopiscus*. The *Nobatae* inhabited one of the banks of the *Nile*, near the island *Elephantine*, having been removed thither from *Oasis*, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repress the courses of, the *Blemmyes*. Some authors refer the *Troglodytes* to *Egypt*, and others to *Ethiopia*. Be that as it will, they were a very savage nation, living in caves, according to *Strabo*, feeding upon serpents, lizards, &c. and having a language consisting of no articulate sounds, not resembling the shrieking of bats, according to *Herodotus*. The *Nubians* we find just mentioned by the antients as a people of *Ethiopia*, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors assert the *Pygmies* to have been a canton of the *Troglodytes*, and others one of the *Nubians*. But it is generally agreed, that they had their situation not far from the

c. 9. <sup>e</sup> ex emend. P. Harduini. STRAB. l. xvii. JOSEPH. apud Boch. ubi sup. HIERONYM. apud Cellar. l. iii. c. 14. PTOL. in Arab. PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS, DIOD. SIC. & STRAB. apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. XENOPH. Cyropaed. l. viii. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 114. & seq. & l. vii. c. 69. PHILOSTRAT. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. vi. c. 1. NEWTON's chronol. p. 236. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 110. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. P. HARDUIN. in chronol. vet. test. p. 57. <sup>f</sup> BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. 6.

*Ethiopic shore of the Red Sea.* Nonnosus in Photius tells us, that they were extremely short, black, and hairy all over. Most of these nations are represented by Strabo as inconsiderable, and little better than so many gangs of robbers. Bochart thinks, that the *Troglodytes*, including the *Pygmies* or *Pygmæi*, were stiled by the Hebrews סְכִיחָה, i. e. *Succhei*, from סְכִיחָה, a den; for that word signifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence, it is natural to suppose, the *Troglodytic town Succha*, on the coast of the *Red Sea*, mentioned by Pliny, the modern *Suaquem*, the seat of a *Turkish Bashaw*, deduced its name. In support of this notion it may be observed, that the Septuagint and *Vulgate* versions render τρύγοδύται, *Troglodytae*, a word derived apparently from τρύγονη, i. e. a cave, den, passage, &c. and rank this people among the *Cushites*, *Libyans*, and other nations, that formed the numerous army of *Sesac*. The *Aanalites* or *Abalites* were seated near the *Abalitic gulph*; which is all that we have to say of them. Agatharchides, Diodorus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Agathemerus, inform us, that the *Struthophagi*, who lived upon ostriches as big as stags, were seated immediately to the south of the *Memnones*. The *Acridophagi*, *Chelonophagi*, *Ictiophagi*, *Cynamolgi*, *Elephantophagi*, *Rhizophagi*, *Spermaphagi*, *Hylophagi*, *Ophiophagi*, &c. derived their names from the locusts, tortoises, fish, bitches milk, elephants, &c. they fed upon. The *Acridophagi* were very small, swift, black, and short-lived, the oldest of them not exceeding forty years of age. They used locusts for food, with which they were plentifully supplied by certain winds that covered their country with them, as we learn from Diodorus and Strabo. As for the *Chelonophagi*, they covered their houses with the shells of tortoises, and lived upon their flesh. The *Ictiophagi* occupied a maritim part of *Ethiopia*, bordering on the *Red Sea*, and not far from the frontiers of *Egypt*. As they lived upon all kinds of fish, large as well as small, Aben-Ezra takes them to be the צַיִם *Tziim* of the Psalmist, to whom God gave the heads of *Leviathan*, under which name, according to that author, Moses comprehends all fish of a vast size, for meat. This notion seems to receive some accession of strength from several circumstances. The *Troglodytes* made their very bread of the flesh of fishes dried in the sun. The Psalmist, in the passage referred to, is speaking of *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who were drowned in the *Red Sea*, and afterwards thrown upon the *Troglodytic shore*. *Tziim* properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, such as was that of the *Troglodytes*; and other texts of Scripture, compared with this, not a little favour such an opinion. They built their houses of whalebones, and shells of fishes. The ribs served

for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their very cattle with fish. Some of them inhabited caves in mountains, formed by vast quantities of sea-weed from time to time thrown on shore, and consolidated by the force of the tide beating upon it, and perpetually bringing a fresh accession of matter to it, together with the heat of the sun. From this, as well as from what has been advanced by several authors, it appears, that the Red Sea was exceeding shallow at certain times; that it was covered with an immense quantity of this sea-weed, which gave it a very green colour; and that from hence the Hebrews denominated it ים סוף, i. e. *The sea of the weed*. The *Cynamolgi* kept great numbers of dogs, in order to hunt wild beasts, and sometimes fed upon bitches milk. *Pliny* fabulously relates, that they had dogs heads. The *Elephantophagi* seem to have had their situation in the southern parts of *Ethiopia*, and destroyed elephants in a very dextrous manner, as will be related elsewhere. The *Rhizophagi* were seated not far from the conflux of the *Astaboras*, *Astapus*, and the *Aile*. Their territory abounded with morasses, that produced a great number of canes, whose roots served them for food. The *Spermatophagi* and *Hylophagi* formed two neighbouring cantons; the first of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in the summer, but the rest of the year upon a sweet plant, with a stalk something resembling that of a turnep; and the latter, with their wives and children, upon the buds and tender shoots of trees. The *Hyz-gones*, neighbours to the *Elephantophagi*, lived for the most part in the woods, and generally slept on trees. Their curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beasts, we shall hereafter describe. The *Pambagi* used every thing indiscriminately for food; and the *Agriophagi* fed upon the flesh of wild beasts. The *Ophiophagi* or *Serpent-eaters* inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from *Pliny*. The *Ethiopian Autreophagi* or *Man-eaters*, mentioned by *Marcianus* and *Ptolemy*, seem to have been the *Cafres*, and not a people of Proper *Ethiopia*. As for the *Gapachi*, *Ptoemphanes*, *Gatadupi*, *Pechini*, *Catadræ*, and other obscure *Ethiopic* tribes, we know nothing of them but their bare names. The number of nations inhabiting ancient *Ethiopia* will not surprise us, when we have seen *Ludolfus's* description of the kingdom of *Abyssinia* <sup>2</sup> (D).

THIS

<sup>5</sup> HERODOT. l. iv. PHILOSTRATUS & CTESIAS CNIDIUS apud  
<sup>4</sup> PHOR.

(D) To the clans or tribes the following: 1. The *Hippophagi*—these enumerated may be added *gi* or *Horse-eaters* of *Agatheme-*

THIS region did not abound in cities and towns of any *Cities*, considerable note. *Auxume*, *Axumis*, or *Axome*, the metropolis of *Ethiopia*, according to *Arrian* and *Nonnosus* in *Pbatus*, undoubtedly was the same city as the modern *Axuma*, or, as the *Abassines* call it, *Ascum*. The noble palace, beautiful structures, &c. this city was formerly so famous for, sufficiently appear from the present remains of it. It stands about forty-five *Portuguese* leagues from the *Red Sea*, and in  $14^{\circ} 30'$  N. lat. It looks now like a village, being almost totally ruined, and scarcely affording shelter to an hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be seen here the remains of a magnificent temple, which have supported themselves against the injuries of time. The *Portuguese*, who first visited this country, called *Axuma* corruptly *Chaxumo* or *Cassuno*. Behind the temple above-mentioned, which was an hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each side, and a double porch, with an ascent of twelve steps, stand several obelisks of different sizes, and others have been thrown down by the *Turks*. Amongst the rubbish is a great square stone, on which appears some part of an antient inscription, so effaced by time, that it is not legible, and nothing can be distinguished except some *Greek* and *Latin* letters, and the word *Basilus*. When the *Abassine* monarchs were formerly crowned here, they sat on a throne of stone in the inner porch of the aforesaid temple. *Pselcha* or *Pselcha*, and *Premnis*, through which *Petronius* marched in his

Phot. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de Mar. Rubr. I. iii. in excerptis PHOTII. DIOD. Sic. I. iii. STRAB. I. xvi. & I. xvii. MEL. I. iii. c. 8. & alib. PLIN. I. vi. c. 24. 29. 3d. & alib. pass. ARRIAN. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. JOSEPH. antiq. I. ii. c. 5. OLYMPIONOR-  
RUS apud Photium, p. 112. PTOL. I. iv. c. 8. FLAVIUS VO-  
FISCUS in Prob. c. 17. PROCOPI. de bell. Persf. I. i. c. 19. ZOSIM.  
I. i. c. 71. ANTONIN. itinerar. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. AM-  
MIAN. MARCELLIN. I. x. c. 4. DIONYS. AF. v. 220. CLAUDIAN.  
de Nil. v. 19. AGATHEMIR. I. ii. c. 5. NONNUS. Dionys. 17.  
MARCIAN. HERACIET. in peripl.

*gus*, who were bounded on the south by the northern borders of *Libya Incognita*. 2. The *Macribi*, a powerful nation, some of whom attained to the age of an hundred and twenty years, according to *Herodotus*. 3. The *Sambri*, not far from the *Nubian*

city *Tenupsis* upon the *Nile*, all whose quadrupeds, even the elephants themselves, were without ears. 4. The *Ajae*, a most tainous people continually employed in hunting of elephants (4).

(4) Herodot. I. iii. Agathemer. I. ii. c. 5. Plin. I. vi. c. 30.

Ethiopic expedition, stood upon the western bank of the *Nile*; but their true situation cannot be discovered. *Napata*, where *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia* resided, was on the opposite bank; but in what direct on it is to be sought for, we cannot precisely inform our readers. *Ptolemy* mentions two towns called *Premis* or *Primis*, one of which might possibly have been the *Premnis* of *Strabo*. The emporia or marts of *Malis*, *Mondus*, *Abalis*, *Mofylon*, *Colse*, and *Opone*, probably made a good figure in antient times, though we have no particulars of moment handed down to us concerning them. *Petronius* reduced *Pselcha*, *Premnis*, and *Napata*, in the above-mentioned expedition, raising *Napata*, and leaving a garison of four hundred men in *Premnis*, with provisions for two years. *Pliny* mentions a city of the *Nubians* upon the *Nile* called *Tenupsis*, with which possibly either *Couxu*, *Nuvâla*, *Gakva*, *Duncâla* or *Ielic*, all placed by the *Nubian* geographer near the conflux of the *Nile* and the *Astaboras*, may correspond. *Duncâla*, the *Dumcâla* of *Jacutus*, the *Dungâla* of *Leo*, and the present *Dongola*, the capital of the *Nubians*, all whose cities are seated upon the *Nile*, seems to bid the fairest for it. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deserve the least attention <sup>b</sup>.

*Moun-  
tains.*

ETHIOPIA, as appears from the best modern geographical descriptions of *Abassia*, as well as the antients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note taken notice of by the antients, except the mounts *Garbata*, and *Elephas* or *Phalangis*. Whether or no the mountains of *Tigre*, the highest of which is *Lamalmon*, beginning about two days journey from the *Red Sea*, answer to either of these, we shall not presume to assert; though that they did, by the situation assigned them, seems not improbable. Be that as it will, the path over *Lamalmon*, whose ascent is vastly steep and dangerous, is so narrow, that the person who gives way to another there falls headlong into an abyss, and is irrecoverably lost. Several provinces of *Abassia*, to wit, *Bagemdra* or *Bagemeder*, *Gojam*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, &c. are but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are those of *Ambara* and *Samen*. The *Aorni*, as the *Abassines* call them, are rugged rocks of such an incredible height, that the *Alps* and

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. MEL. PLIN. ARRIAN. PTOL. MARCIAN. HERACL. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. NONNOSUS apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. GOLII nota ad Alfraganum, p. 90, 91. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. par. 4. LEO AFRICAN. l. vii. c. ult. FRANCISC. ALVAREZ, c. 17. & apud GOLIUM, ubi sup. I. LUDOLF. in comment. ad hist. *Aethiop.* p. 251, 252, & seq. Vid. etiam LUDOLF. l. ii. c. 11. & LE GRAND, dissert. ii.

*Pyrenees* are but low hills in comparison of them. *Curtius* relates, that the *Indians* called a famous rock in their country *Aornos*, as being above the flight of a bird ; but that author mistakes the etymology, since the word, from what has been here observed, cannot be looked upon as of *Greek* extraction. Amongst the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of *Abassia*, arise steep and craggy rocks of various forms, some resembling towers, others pyramids, &c. so even on the sides, that they seem to be the effect of labour and art ; insomuch that men, cattle, &c. are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of these rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, fish-ponds, &c. which very copiously supply the animals feated thereon with all the conveniences of life. The most remarkable of these rocks is *Ge-sben* or *Amba-Ge-sben*, on the confines of *Ambara*, towards *Shewa*, prodigiously steep, in the form of a castle built of freestone, and almost impregnable. Its summit is about half a *Portuguese* league in breadth, and its circumference at the bottom near half a day's journey. The ascent at first is easy, but afterwards so steep and rugged, that the *Abassine* oxen, which will otherwise clamber like goats, must be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages amongst shrubs and wild cedars, with an allowance barely sufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to *Kircher*, in the province of *Gojam*, a rock so curiously hollowed by nature, that at a distance it resembles a looking-glass ; and opposite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be so softly whispered, but that it may be heard a great way off. Between many of these rocks and mountains are vast profundities or abysses, which appear most dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above-mentioned *Amba*, as *Amba-Salam*, *Amba-Ge-sben*, *Amba-Dorbo*, *Amba-Damo*, *An-ba-Samet*, &c.<sup>1</sup>.

IN so mountainous a region as *Ethiopia* the air cannot be *The cli-*  
 • always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world *more of*  
*where* so many different seasons may be found in so small a *Ethiopia*.  
*compass*. The *Ethiopic*, as well as the opposite coast of the  
*Red Sea*, together with those low open places called by the  
*modern Abassines Kolla*, and the islands of this sea, are intolerably scorched by the solar rays in the summer-season. Nay,

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. I. xvii. AGATHEMER. geogr. I. ii. c. 15. LUDOLF. I. i. c. 6. CURT. I. viii. P. BALTHAZAR TELLEZ. apud Ludolf. ubi sup. ut & ipse LUDOLF. in comment. ad hist. *Æthiop. pass.* LE GRAND. dissert. ii. ATHAN. KIRCH. in musurg. univers. t. iii. I. ix. c. 6.

*Gregory the Abaffine* related the heat in the island of *Suaquema* or *Suaquena* to be so intense, as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard Indian wax in a cabinet, and sear a garment like red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; nay, according to father *Tellez*, the summer heats are milder in several districts of *Abaffia* than in *Portugal*; and even in *Samen* the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In some provinces of *Ethiopia* the winter is extremely severe, in others as warm as the summer in several parts of *Europe*. The *Ethiopians* have little or no snow, but only a small sort of hail, that sometimes covers the ground, and at a distance looks like snow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempests, that terrify both man and beast, which proceed from the excessive variety of air. *Ludelfus* thinks, that *Gregory's* four seasons, *Matzau*, *Tzadai*, *Hagai*, and *Cramt*, are in reality but three; to wit, the spring, summer, and winter. The spring begins on the twenty-fifth day of *September*; the summer consists of two parts, the first called *Tzadai*, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of *December*, and the second denominated *Hagai* in the *Abaffine* tongue, commencing on the twenty-fifth of *June*; lastly, *Cramt*, or the winter, concludes the *Ethiopic* year. The climate here in general is so healthy, that it is no uncommon thing for the natives to arrive at an hundred years of age. However, towards the beginning of the spring, that is to say, in the months of *September* and *October*, an epidemic fever sometimes makes great havock amongst the inhabitants of *Tigre* <sup>k</sup>.

THE days and nights in *Ethiopia*, as lying betwixt the tropic of *Cancer* and the *Line*, are for the most part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are, generally speaking, salubrious and pleasant; but the atmosphere over the plains, for want of them, stagnates, and becomes unwholsome. The wind *Sendo*, however, is far from being beneficial to the *Abaffines*. It is a whirlwind so impetuously violent, that it throws down all before it; and therefore in some respect may seem to answer its name, which in the *Amharic* dialect signifies a serpent or snake. *Gregory* told *Ludelfus*, that it might be seen, and represented an immense serpent, whose head moved on the ground, and the body erected itself in curls and windings up to the sky. The soil in those parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vast quantities of grain, pulse, and fruit. Metals likewise, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a sur-

\* *NONNOSUS apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. GREGOR. ABASSIN.*  
*apud Iob. Ludolf. hist. Aethiop. l. i. c. 5.*

prising variety of animals, it abounds with ; but these our readers will expect a description of in another place. We find it asserted by the best authors, that the *Abaffines* have sometimes two, and sometimes three, harvests in a year. They neither sow nor mow for the sake of their cattle, the perpetual heat, and continual distillation of moisture from the mountains, producing grass in great abundance, and covering the fields with a most beautiful verdure through all the different seasons of the year. Though they have most delicious grapes, and honey is very cheap amongst them, yet they almost entirely confine themselves to malt-liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in some parts of Europe<sup>1</sup> (D).

Of all the rivers that water *Ethiopia*, the most famous is *Rivers*, the *Nile*, which has its source in that country. Many of *The Nile*, the antient geographers, and in particular *Ptolemy*, placed the fountains of this river beyond the Line, on some mountains which they called *the mountains of the moon*. But the moderns, particularly the *Portuguese*, have discovered this to be a mistake. What they have advanced on this head has been, in a great measure, confirmed by *Gregory the Abaffine* in a letter to the famous *Job Ludolfus*. According to that curious person, the spring-head of the *Nile* first appears in a tract called *Secut*, upon the top of *Dengla*, near the frontiers of *Gojam*, to the W. of *Bagemdra*, *Dura*, the lake of *Tzana*, and *Bada*. From thence it takes its course towards *Ambara*, leaving *Gojam* on the right, and *Bagemdra* on the left. Having passed the limits of *Ambara*, and in such a manner surrounded the kingdom of *Gojam*, as always to leave it on the right, it washes the confines of *Waleka*, and then approaches the farthest bounds of *Mugara* and *Shewa*. Then, running between *Bizama* and *Genga*, it comes into the country of the *Chankalas*; from whence, winding to the right, and gradually leaving the western climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of *Sruar*. But, before its arrival there, it is greatly increased by the accession of two large rivers from

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. I. xvii. GREG. ABASC. ubi sup. PP. HIERONYM. LUP. BALIHAZ. TELLAZ. AIPHON. MENDEZ. & IOB. LUDOLF. pass.

(D) This appears from what the young *Abaffinian* told the learned gentleman hereafter mentioned at *Jerusalem*, and receives some accession of strength from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Those au-

thors affirm this liquor to have been extracted from millet, as well as barley, and in flavour and excellency to have equalled wine (5).

the east, to wit, the *Tacaza* falling out of *Tigre*, and the *Guangua* descending from *Dambea*. After taking a view of the kingdom of *Sennar*, it moves to the borders of *Dongola*, and so to the kingdom of *Nubia* (E). From hence, turning to the right, it reaches at last a region called *Abrim*, where its stream becomes unnavigable by reason of the cliffs and rocks, and soon afterwards enters *Egypt*. The travelers therefore from *Sennar* and *Abassia*, after having passed thro' *Nubia*, leave the *Nile* to the E. and cross upon camels a desert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing else but sand, is to be seen. From *Abrim* it continues its course to *Rif* or *Upper Egypt*, where the above-mentioned travelers again come up with it; and, after having traversed the kingdom of *Egypt* in a northern direction, empties itself into the *Mediterranean* near *Alexandria*. Father *Poyz*, who viewed the fountains of the *Nile* himself, says, that the source of this river consists of two round spring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is quaggy and marshy. However, the water does not issue out immediately from these two spring-heads, but from the foot of the hill, about a musquet-shot from whence, towards the east, the river begins to flow. Then, winding to the north about the fourth part of a *Portuguese* league, it receives another river, and a little farther two more from the east, soon after which it enlarges itself with the addition of several other streams. Lastly, about a day's journey farther it swallows up the river *Jema*; and, after flowing twenty *Portuguese* leagues in a western direction, turns to the east, and plunges itself

(E) It is observable, that *Gregory* here distinguishes the kingdom of *Sennar* from that of *Nubia*, though at present they are looked upon to be the same. However, in our opinion, *Gregory's* authority is superior to that of *Pomet* and the missionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends. We find no mention of *Sennar* in any of that numerous tribe of *Oriental* and other authors cited by the excellent *Golius* in his incomparable notes upon *Alfraganus*, though they take notice both of

*Nuba* or *Nubia*, and the country of the *Fungi*. Wherefore it should seem probable, that *Sennar* is only a part of *Nubia*, or else a kingdom different from it. The *Nubian* geographer intimates, that in his time the city of *Senna*, probably *Sennar*, was an inconsiderable place, and its district or territory distinct from the kingdom of *Nuba* or *Nubia*. *Ludolfus* makes the modern kingdom of *Sennar* to be the same with the country of the *Fungi*, and a part of the antient *Nubia* (5).

(5) *Geogr. Nubienj. clim. i. par. 3. sub fin. Ludolf. hist. Ethiopia. l. i. c. 2.*

into a vast lake (F). It is remarkable, that all the rivers of *Ethiopia*, at any considerable distance from the ocean, except the *Hanazo* rising in *Hangota* or *Angote*, and the *Hawash* or *Aoaxe* running through the kingdoms of *Dawara* and *Fatagarra* or *Fategur*, flow into the *Nile*. The *Etesian* winds contribute little or nothing to the inundations of the *Nile*, as some authors have imagined; nor the snow melted from the *Ethiopian* mountains, according to others. This has been clearly evinced by *Seneca* and *Ludolfus*. But the prodigious mass of waters flowing from all parts, and proceeding from the immoderate showers with which the countries under the *Torrid Zone* are washed, when the sun returns into the winter signs, undoubtedly occasions them. *Juba* makes the *Nile* to have had its source in *Mauritania*, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*; which runs counter to fact, as well as most other authors who have treated of this river. Perhaps he might extend the southern parts of *Mauritania* as far as the *Niger*, which agreed almost in all points with the *Nile*, as just observed; and therefore mistake the latter for the former, which he might falsely imagine had its rise in *Mauritania*, because it ran by the borders of that region. *Strabo* countenances this opinion, when he intimates, that the rivers in the southern parts of *Mauritania* abounded with animals and vegetables like those produced in and about the *Nile* (G). The modern *Abassines*, tho' they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the *Nile* deduces its source, are far from being

(F) This is probably the lake of *Tzana*, through which the *Nile* passes, still preserving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the south, it washes on the left hand the principal kingdoms of *Abasia*, to wit, *Bagendra*, *Ambara*, *Waiek*, *Shewa*, *Damota*, &c. and takes along with it the rivers of those countries, to wit, the *Basklo*, *Tzobba*, *Kecem*, *Jema*, *Roma*, and *Wocit*. Then on the right hand surrounding *Gojam*, and swelled with the *Muga*, *Abaja*, *Aswari*, *Temei*, *Gut*, and *Tzul*, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the west; leaves *Abassia*

upon the right; and runs in a northern direction through several thirsty nations, and sandy deserts, in order to fertilize *Egypt* with its inundations (6).

(G) It is not improbable, that the *Segelmeffa* was one of these rivers mentioned by *Strabo*; since, according to the *Nubian* geographer, it nearly resembled the *Nile*, in almost all particulars. Nay, we are told, that the river *Sus* at present fertilizes all the adjacent country by its inundations, as the *Nile* does *Egypt*; which adds no small weight to the authority of *Strabo* (7).

(6) *Greg. Abaf. apud Ludolf. l. i. c. 8. Ludolf. comment. ad biss. AEbiop. p. 122, 123, & seq.*

(7) *Greg. Nubienf. Moll, De la Croix, &c.*

perfectly acquainted with the course of that river after it leaves them. However, the constant and ancient tradition amongst them is, that near a certain mountain, at some distance from the city of *Sennar*, it divides itself into two streams, one of which runs to the westward, and forms the river *Niger*, and the other in a northern direction takes its course through *Egypt*. This we learn from the *Nubian* geographer, who at the same time intimates, that the channel running to the east of this mountain, watering *Nubia* and the land of *Egypt*, is divided in the *Lower Egypt* into four parts, three of which fall into the *Syrian* sea, and the other discharges itself into a salt lake near *Alexandria*. It is probable, that the separation of these two streams is caused by some rocky mountain meeting the river above-mentioned, and splitting it into two channels. *Leo Africanus* adds great weight to the authority of the *Nubian* geographer, when he assures us, that the *Nile* flows through the region of the *Nigritæ*. The *Abassines*, according to *Gregory* above-mentioned, say, that the *Niger* separates from the *Nile* in the country of *Dongola*; that the greatest flow of water passes into *Egypt*; and that the other stream, descending towards the region of *Elway*, at last throws itself into the *Atlantic* ocean. All which seems to be confirmed by what we have lately observed from *Herodotus*; as well as by the express testimony of *Pliny*. For that author assures us, that the *Nile* and the *Niger* agree in colour and taste of water; produce the same sorts of reeds, papyrus, and animals; and increase, as well as overflow, at the same seasons. If the above-mentioned particulars be admitted, it seems possible for the king of *Abassia* either so to stop up the fountains of the *Nile*, or so to divert the course of the river proceeding immediately from thence, that *Egypt* should not be overflowed; which would prove the total ruin of that kingdom. This receives some accession of strength from *Elmacinus*, who relates, that the khalif *Mustansir* sent *Michael* the patriarch with magnificent presents to the *Abassine* monarch, to prevail upon him to open the channel that conveyed water to *Egypt*, which for some time had been stopped. His petition that prince immediately granted. The consequence of which was, that the *Nile*, which had before greatly failed, rose three yards in one night, and rendered the land of *Egypt* as capable of cultivation as ever. This has induced some authors to assert, that the Grand Signor pays an annual tribute to the king of *Abassia*, that his *Egyptian* subjects may enjoy all the advantages of the *Nile's* inundation, which their ancestors have done. *Gregory*, cited above, intimated to *Ludolfus*, that he had heard from some *Abassines* of undoubted veracity, that

near the *Cataracts* of the *Nile* the land to the east was a perfect plain ; and that, by only opening a passage through one mountain for this river, it would flow rather that way than into the *Mediterranean* through (H) *Egypt*. However, we must own ourselves far from being certain as to this point ; though a gentleman of great learning and veracity has informed us, that he met with a young *Abassine* at *Jerusalem*, who intimated to him, that such a kind of notion still prevailed amongst his countrymen. The present *Ethiopians* call their part of this river *Abawi*, though in the old *Ethiopic* language we find it styled *Geson* or *Gewon*, probably by an antient mistake from the Greek word Γεών Geon, or Hebrew *Gibon*, Gen. ii. 13. since some authors have imagined that river to be the *Nile*. The prophets *Jeremiah* and *Isaiah* give the river under consideration the name of *Sihor* or *Sinjar*, i. e. The black river, from the colour of its water, as the Greeks did that of *Melas*, and the Latins *Nilus*, for the same reason. And, agreeably to this notion, *Virgil* says :

*Et diridem Egiptum nigra succundat arena,  
Et diversu rueni septem discurrit in ora  
Usque coloratis annis decexus ab Indis.*

VIRG. Georg. l. iv. v. 291—293.

*Dionysius Afer* and *Stephanus Byzantinus* say, that the *Ethiopians* denominated that part of this river running through their territories *Siris*, which is evidently the same as *Sihor* ; but that, as soon as it reached *Syene*, it received the name of (I) *Nile*. Besides the *Nile*, the antient geographers mention

two

(H) It is observable, that the kings of *Alay'a* are still persuaded, that the keys of the *Nile* are in their hands, and that they can, when they please, change its course, as the king *Teklimanout* intimated to the bashaw of *Cairo* towards the beginning of this century, that is, about the year 1706. That prince, being greatly incensed at the assassination of the sieur *Du Roule*, a Frenchman, at *Sennar*, threatened the bashaw with his resentment, in case an immediate stop was not put to

such flagrant violations of the law of nations. He told him, that he could make the *Nile* the instrument of his vengeance, since God, by placing in his hands the fountains, passage, and creation, of that river, had put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (8).

(I) To what has been said of the *Nile*, we shall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch *Abraham Menrez*. "The " *Nile* (says he) receives several

two other rivers, called *Astaboras* and *Astapus*, meeting near the island or peninsula of *Meroe*, and joining the *Nile* soon after.

" rivers, the most remarkable  
 " of which are the *Baxilo* or  
 " *Bachilo*, which divides the  
 " kingdoms of *Bagemeder* or  
 " *Bagemdra* and *Ambara*; the  
 " *Gulcem*, which bounds the same  
 " kingdom of *Ambara* and *Ole-*  
 " *ca*; the *Maleck* and *Auguer*,  
 " which, having joined their  
 " streams, water the countries,  
 " of *Damst*, *Narea*, *Bizamo*, the  
 " *Gafates*, and the *Gongas*. The  
 " *Tacaza*, called by the antients  
 " *Astaboras*, hath three different  
 " sources near the mountains,  
 " which separate the two king-  
 " doms of *Angote* or *Angota* and  
 " *Bagemeder*; it runs towards  
 " the west through the desert of  
 " *Oldeba*; then, entering *Dam-*  
 " *tar*, falls into a large bed of  
 " sands; and afterwards, having  
 " crossed part of the kingdom  
 " of *Decan*, discharges itself into  
 " the *Nile*. It is said, that, be-  
 " sides crocodiles and river-horses,  
 " there are in this river abun-  
 " dance of torpedoes, which im-  
 " mediately benumb the arm of  
 " any man that touches them.  
 " The *Mareb*, rising two leagues  
 " from *Debaroa*, falls, after a  
 " long course, from a rock thirty  
 " cubits in height, and sinks  
 " under-ground; but in the win-  
 " ter it runs through many other  
 " provinces, and by the mona-  
 " stery of *Alleluja*, and then,  
 " loses itself. The army, when  
 " they invaded these regions, dug  
 " into the sand, and found under-  
 " ground both good water, and  
 " excellent fish." To which we  
 shall beg leave to subjoin a short  
 description of the course of the  
*Nile*, as delivered to us by the

best modern geographers since  
 the time of *Gregory* and *Ludolfus*. It rises in the kingdom of *Gojam*, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the lake of *Dambea* or *Tzana*. Afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of *Bagemeder*, or, as *Gregory* calls it, *Bagemdra*. Then, still running S. E. it approaches the kingdom of *Ambara*. From whence, continuing its motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of *Oleca*, betwixt which and *Ambara* it receives a considerable river, as it did before the *Bac-*  
*bilo* on the confines of *Ambara* and *Bagemdra*. From the kingdom of *Oleca* it moves to that of *Choa* in the same direction, and from thence by *Debra* thro' *Galla*, and the kingdom of the *Cafates*, to that of *Gonga*. Afterwards it visits the country of the *Changalas*, N. E. of *Gonga*. From thence, in a northern direction, it flows to the city and kingdom of *Sennar*. And then to *Corte* or *Corti* in *Nubia*, through the desert of *Kabiouda* N. W. of *Sennar*. Betwixt *Sennar* and *Corti* it passes by *Bar-*  
*bar*, near which is a *Cataract* N. E. of the former place, from whence it turns to the W. and reaches *Corte*. *Kanise* W. of *Corte* next receives a visit from it; and then *Dongola* N. of *Kani-*  
*se*. Continuing its course N. E. it arrives at the *Greater Cataract*; and afterwards takes its leave of *Nubia* near the *Lesser Cataract*. Lastly, having traversed *Egypt* in a northern direction, it discharges itself by several mouths into the *Mediterranean*.

after. As these rivers had their sources to the east of the *Nile* (the first deducing its streams from the lake *Coloe* in the district of *Amaza*, and the other from some fountains betwixt the mounts *Garbata* and *Elephas*, not far from the *Aqualitic gulph*), we must submit it to our readers, whether the present *Tacaza* and *Mareb*, considering the situation and direction assigned them by the modern geographers, do not intirely correspond with them. *Pliny*, *Heliodorus*, and *Strabo*, mention a third considerable river falling into the *Nile*, whose name they do not intirely agree in. But, as it has been omitted by several of the antient geographers, and especially by *Ptolemy*, who had the best means of informing himself as to the truth of every particular relating to it, we shall supercede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to say of the rivers of *Ethiopia*<sup>m</sup> (K).

<sup>m</sup> GREG. ABASS. apud Ludolf. & ipse LUDOLF. in hist. *Aethiop.* l. i. c. 8. MEL. l. i. c. 9. & alib. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 34. & alib. DIOD. SIC. l. i. PLIN. l. v. c. 9. & alib. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. PLUTARCH. Incert. Auct. THEOPHYLACT. DIOD. SIC. ARISTID. DIO, STRAB. HELIODOR. THEODORET. de increment. Nil. VIRG. Georg. l. iii. DIONYS. AF. v. 223. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. ISAI. c. xxiii. v. 3. JER. c. ii. ver. 18. HELIODOR. *Aethiopic.* l. x. PTOL. l. iv. ENNIUS apud Serv. in *Aen.* i. SENECA. quæst. natural. l. iv. c. 2. SOLIN. c. 27. 43. PLIN. l. v. c. 8. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. GEOGR. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. GOLI notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. GEORG. ELMACLN. in hist Saracen. LEO AFRICAN. l. i. c. 7. PP. PAYS & TELLEZ. apud Ludolf. l. i. c. 8. ALF. D'ALBUQUER. comment. in TELLEZ. par. 4. c. 7. ATHAN. KIRCH. in supplement. prod. & lexic. Copt. p. 524. c. 2. Is. VOSS. de orig. Nil. & flumin. Vid. & LE GRAND, dissert. iii.

ransen. Our curious readers will excuse this minute description of the source and course of a river so celebrated amongst the antients; especially as its head was unknown to them, and they endeavoured ineffectually to discover the causes of its inundations (9).

(K) We must not omit observing, that, as the advantages afforded the fields in other coun-

tries by the rains are derived from the rivers in *Ethiopia*, the places perfectly dry in winter are overflowed in summer. Several of these rivers do not empty themselves into the sea, as in other regions, but are sucked up in the sand; so that it is more difficult to discover their mouths than the sources of other streams (1).

(9) Alphonſ. Mandres. apud Le Grand, diſſert. iii. ad h. f. *Ethiop.*

(1) Ludolf. in prefat.

*Lakes, promonto- ries, ports,* besides the sources of the rivers above-mentioned, except the lake of *Pseboa* above *Meroe*, that of *Tzana* being, as far as &c. we can collect from the old geography, unknown to the antients. The principal promontories were, *Bafum*, *Mnemium*, *Aspis*, *Saturni promontorium*, *Mosylon*, *Dire*, *Zengifa*, *Noti Cornu*, *Praenum*, and *Raptum*, the last of which was inhabited by *Cannibals* or *Anthropophagi*. But the three last capes seem rather to have belonged to the *Cafres* or *African barbarians*, than the proper *Ethiopians*. The chief ports and empories of *Ethiopia* were those of *Adulis*, *Mondus*, *Opon*, *Mosylon*, and the principal city of the *Aualitæ*, seated upon the *Red Sea*. From their country into these places the *Arabs* imported fruit, corn, wine, cloaths, &c. and exported from thence to *Ocelis* and *Musa*, opposite harbours in *Arabia*, spices, cassia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and several other (L) commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortress of *Sabid*, probably the *Sabat* of *Ptolemy*, now in a ruinous condition. The most noted islands appertaining to *Ethiopia* were *Meroe*, if that should not rather be deemed a peninsula, the *Sporades* of *Agatharchides*, *Astrata*, *Ara Palladis*, *Gythitis*, *Myronis*, *Daphnine*, *Magi*, *Acanthine*, *Isis*, *Mondus*, and *Menuthias* (M). *Meroe* contained a large tract; together with a very considerable city, its metropolis, of the same name. *Josephus* informs us, that its original name was *Saba*; but that *Cambyses*, from his sister, afterwards called it *Merce*; which seems to be confirmed by *Strabo*, tho' it does not appear from *Herodotus*, that this prince penetrated so far into *Ethiopia*. *Timotheus*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*'s admiral, related, that the city of *Meroe* was sixty days journey from *Syene*. *Eratosthenes* made this distance six hundred and twenty-five miles; *Hipparchus* in *Strabo* five thousand stadia, which agrees with *Era-*

(L) It is remarkable, that most of these commodities have for a long time failed in *Ethiopia*, as the *Lotus* and *Silphium* in *Egypt*, and *Cyrenaica*; but *Arabia* and *India* sufficiently supply the *European* merchants with them (2).

(M) To which we may add the island in the great lake of *Pseboa*, sometimes occupied by the *Libyans*, and at other times

by the *Ethiopians*, just as success attended their respective arms, according to *Strabo*. From the situation that author assigns this lake, in conjunction with what we shall offer concerning *Meroe* in note (N), our readers may possibly be induced to believe, that the present lake of *Tzana* or *Dambea* is the *Pseboa* of the antientes (3).

(2) *Boccart. ubi sup.*

(3) *Strab. l. xviii.*

*sothenes*; *Artemidorus* six hundred miles; and *Sebosus* computed sixteen hundred miles from the farthest or most northern part of *Egypt* to this famous town. But, according to *Pliny* (N), the road between *Meroe* and *Syene* was discovered in

the

(N) The computation we find in *Pliny* is as follows: From *Syene* to *Hiera* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Tama* seventy-five miles; from thence to the borders of the *Ethiopians* called *Eumomites* an hundred and twenty miles; from thence to *Acina* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Pitara* twenty-five miles; from thence to *Tergedus* an hundred and six miles; from thence to *Napata* eighty miles; and lastly, from *Napata* to the city of *Meroe* three hundred and sixty miles.

What part of *Senar* or *Absentia* answers to *Meroe*, we shall not take upon us to determine. The Jesuits have pitched upon the kingdom of *Gojam*, as being almost encompassed by the *Nile*, and consequently a peninsula, as *Meroe* was thought to have been by some of the antients. But M. *Ludolfus* has intirely overthrown this notion, by proving, amongst other things, that nothing related of *Meroe* by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, is applicable to *Gojam*; *Meroe* being nearer *Egypt*. Besides, as that learned author observes, had *Meroe* been *Gojam*, and the antients had known that country, they must consequently have known the source of the *Nile*; which we find they did not. *Vossius* believes the city *Baroo* or *Baroa*, situated in  $16^{\circ} . 22' . N.$  lat. where the *Bahrnagash* generally resides, to correpind with the capital of *Meroe*. As this opinion depends upon the suppo-

sition, that the present *Mareb* or *Moraba* is the *Astaboras* of the nations, which must be admitted, it seems to have some appearance of truth. Mr. *Senex*'s map of this country, which to us appears the most accurate of any that has hitherto been published, seems to point out the tract answering to the antient *Meroe*. We find there a sort of peninsula with many of the distinguishing characteristics of *Meroe* handed down to us by the antients. This peninsula is formed by the *Rabd*, the *Nile*, the *Goze*, the *Mareb* or *Moraba*, the *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, and a river composed of these three last, which unites its stream with that of the *Nile* in near  $18^{\circ}$ . N. lat. The chief places seated on the *Nile* in this peninsula are *Chanedi*, *Gbenetoul*, *Garri*, *Helsaia*, *Cotragne*, *Nogue*, and *Habkkaras*; upon the *Rabd* *Enbulbul* and *Gesen*; and upon the conflux of the *Moraba* and *Tacaza* the city of *Derkir* or *Dequin*. We have been thus particular, in order to give our readers a better idea of the tract we have in view. Now the peninsula of *Meroe* resembled a shield, and was three thousand stadia long, and one thousand broad, according to *Strabo*; it was likewise surrounded on the west by the *Nile*, and on the east by the rivers flowing into it. *Solinus* says, that *Meroe* was formed by the *Nile*, and six hundred miles from the sea; and *Mela*, as corrected by *Salmasius*,

the reign of Nero to be eight hundred and seventy-four *Roman* miles long. The *Nubian* geographer does not differ greatly from some of these computations; for he intimates, that travelers are generally above two months in traversing *Nubia*, or that vast tract lying betwixt the confines of *Egypt* and *Abaffia*. We find, that, when *Ethiopia* was in its most flourishing state, the city of *Meroe* made a prodigious figure, insomuch that, if some of the antients may be credited, it could send into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and contained four hundred thousand artificers, though in *Pliny's* time it was but a small town. Several queens of this part of *Ethiopia*, called *Candace*, that having for a considerable number of years been a sort of surname to them, held their residence here. *Strabo* makes it to have been ten thousand stadia from *Alexandria*, and the capital of *Ethiopia*. As the other islands are in a manner obscure, they merit no regard; only it may be proper to observe, that *Harzain*, *Bochart*, and *Salmasius*, believe *Madagascar* to be the antient *Menuthias*, though *Isaac Vossius* takes it to have been the same with that island which the moderns call *Zanzibar*. How far either of these notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to say; neither is it of any consequence to our readers which of them, or whether either of them, is so<sup>n</sup>.

## THE

<sup>n</sup> HERODOT. l. ii. c. 29. STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. ii. c. 73. & l. vi. c. 29, 30. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. AGATHARCHID. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. ubi sup. PTOL. ARRIAN. MARCIAN. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. DIOSCORID. l. i. AETIUS, tetrab. i. lerm. 2. c. 156. SERAPION ex emenda. Cl. BOCHARTI. PLIN. l. xii. c. 15. SIMEON Sethus & GALEN. apud BOCHART. Phal. l. ii. c. 23. SALMAS. in Solin. p. 878. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 37. GOLII nette in Alfraganum, p. 89. HARDUIN. ad Plin. l. vi. c. 31. VOSS. ad McL. p. 303. ATHAN. KIRCH. in Oedip. Egypt. synt. i. c. 7. p. 57. LUDOLF. ubi sup. c. 8.

pretty nearly agrees with him. *Pausanias* intimates, that the *Nile* entered a great lake beyond *Meroe*, which it passed through, and traversed the whole country of *Ethiopia*. The rivers *Astapus* and *Astaboras*, i. e. the *Tacazza* and *Moraba*, joined the *Nile* above *Meroe*, i. e. the city of *Meroe*. All which particulars, as well as several others suggested

by *Pliny*, *Timoſthenes*, *Seboſus*, *Eratoſthenes*, and the *Nubian* geographer, in the passages here referred to, considering the many turnings and windings of the *Nile*, are more applicable to the peninsula at present under consideration, than any other part of *Sennar* or *Abaffia* that can be assigned for this purpose. From the same chart, and the authors

THE principal curiosities of this country are : 1. The *Curiosities* rocks called *Amba-Dorbo*, or the rock of the hen above-mentioned. 2. The solid gold found on the banks of several rivers about the size of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by *Pliny*, with which the provinces of *Damot* and *Enarea* are said to abound. 3. The iron, copper, and gold mines some parts of it are so famous for. 4. The mountains of salt in a district upon the confines of *Tigre* and *Angota*, called the land of salt. In the mountains the salt is soft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being exposed to the open air. 5. The mountain of red salt mentioned by the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, and said to be indued with many medicinal virtues. 6. The mineral *flibium*, called in the *Ethiopic* tongue *cuchel* or *cobel*, which is produced in several provinces. 7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the history of *Abyssinia* ° (O).

## S E C T. II.

*The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, &c. of the Ethiopians.*

IT appears from what has been advanced in the former *Antiquity* section, that the sacred writers did not always apply the name of (P) *Cush* to one particular country. They sometimes under-  
of the  
Ethiopians.

° *STRAB.* l. xvii. *PLIN.* apud *Ludolf.* ut & ipse *LUDOLF.* l. i. c. 6, 7.

it is deduced from, we must allow it probable, that Mr. *Senex*'s river *Rabid*, arising out of *Dambea* east of the *Nile*, is the *Guan-gua* of *Gregory*; as also that the *Goze*, *Mareb* or *Moraba*, and *Takexel* or *Tacaza*, may be reputed the *Afusabas* or *Afusapes*, *Astaboras*, and *Astapus*, of the antients. Some modern writers seem inclined to believe, that the *Mareb* of the present *Abassines* answers to the *Afusapes* of the antients, though we have here supposed the *Goze* to be that river (4).

(O) To these curiosities we may add the gold mines near the coast of the *Red Sea* mentioned by *Agatharchides*, which, according to that author, also produced the finest and whitest marble in the world (5).

(P) Sometimes in Scripture the word *Cush* comprehends both *Arabia* and the *Proper Ethiopia*, as in *Ezek.* xxxviii. 5. *Peria*, *Cush*, and *Libya* with them; all

(4) *Pausan.* *Eliac.* posser. *Joseph.* *antiquit.* l. ii. c. 5. *Strab.* l. xvii. *Plin.* l. vi. c. 29. *Jesuit.* *Voss.* & *Ludolf.* apud *Le Grand.* *differit.* ii. (5) *Agatharchid.* *Cnid.* *de Mar.* *Rubr.* l. v. c. 10. apud *Pbet.* p. 1339. *Vid. etiam Cellar.* *geogr.* *ant.* l. iv. c. 8.

understood by it that region watered by the *Araxes*, which was the seat of the antient *Scythians* or *Cuthites*; and sometimes that country bordering on the *Red Sea*, contiguous to *Egypt*. In some passages likewise they seem to have had in view the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, or at least the greatest part of that peninsula. But, notwithstanding what has been offered to the contrary by many persons of vast erudition, we cannot help believing, that it most usually and properly denoted the tract situated above the *Upper Egypt*, comprehending the modern kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abassia*. In order to evince the probability of such a notion, we shall not only beg leave to refer our readers to the remarkable passages already cited on this occasion, but likewise observe, that the prophets *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*, make the *Cushites* neighbours to the *Libyans*; which can only hold true of the proper *Ethiopians*. The *Psalmist* also foretold, that *Cush* should stretch out her hands to *GOD*; and the prophet *Zephaniah*, that the suppliants of the *LORD*, from beyond the rivers of *Cush*, even the daughter of his dispersed, should bring HIS offering. Both of which predictions seem clearly to point at the eunuch baptized by *Philip*, who came to worship at *Jerusalem*. For, as he was treasurer to queen *Candace*, it can scarce be doubted but that he and his retinue brought a valuable offering or donation with them; and *Candace* was queen of the Proper *Ethiopia*, or at least the peninsula of *Meroe*, a considerable part of it, as we learn from *Pliny* and *Strabo*. The words *Cush* and *Aibones*, therefore, in the texts here referred to, must be understood of the territories and people of the Proper *Ethiopia*. *Ezekiel* prophesied, that the *Egyptians* from *Migdol* to *Syent* should fall by the sword; which not a little supports the interpretation of a famous text already given in favour of our present opinion. King *Aba-suerus* in *Esther* reigned from the *Indies* to *Cush*, that is to say, as far as the modern *Abassia*; since *Scythia* or *Arabia* cannot be there meant as being contiguous to *Perisia*, and *Herodotus* intimates *Darius Hystaspis* to have received tribute from the nations bordering upon the Proper *Ethiopia*. *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judith* sent embassadors to *Gesem*, and as far as the frontiers of *Ethiopia*, that is, the kingdom so called to the south of *Egypt*. In fine, several remarkable passages of Scripture, understood, for above a century past, of *Arabia*, or part of it, may well enough be interpreted of the Proper *Ethiopia*, as is acknowledg'd by *Calmet* himself. It is there-

of them with shield and helmet: &c. Compare also *Ezek. xxx. 5.*  
*i. e. Perisia, Arabia, Ethiopia, with Jer. xxv. 20. 24.*

fore

fore but reasonable to conclude, that *Cush* the eldest son of *Ham* was the great progenitor of the *Ethiopians*<sup>p</sup>.

HOWEVER, many authors are agreed, that some of the *A body of*<sup>1</sup> early descendants of *Cush* settled first in the land bordering *Arabs*, on the eastern side of the *Red Sea*, moving gradually from *crossing the* thence to the southern extremity of *Arabia*; and afterwards, *freights of* by means of the easy passage over the *freights of Bab-al-*<sup>2</sup> *Mandab*, *transplanted themselves into Ethiopia*. According *Mandab,* to *Eusebius*, this migration happened whilst the *Israelites were passed into* in *Egypt*; but *Syncellus* places it in the time of the *Judges*. *Ethiopia.* The *Arabian Cushiates* were antiently called *Abaseni*, and made up a great part of the *Sabaeans* or *Homerites*, as may be inferred from several authors. The *Ethiopians* went under the same name, agreed in many points with the *Arabian Cushiates*, and were believed by most of the *Asiatic* nations in *Josephus's* time to have had the same origin. *Diodorus Siculus*, it must be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign customs; though he asserts, that in several things they corresponded with the *Egyptians*. However, notwithstanding what is advanced by that historian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already suggested, that part of *Cush's* posterity moved gradually along the western shore of the *Red Sea* into *Ethiopia*, which, by this means, was tolerably well peopled, when the *Arabian Cushiates* first found their way into it. The great difference of at least a considerable body of the *Abassines* from the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, the situation of the kingdom of *Midian*, where some of the earliest *Cushiates* probably seated themselves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both sacred and profane, tend to evince the justness of such a conclusion. *Bachart* believes some traces of *Obal*, or, as the *Arabians* pronounce it, *Aabal*, one of *Joktan's* sons, to be discernible in the empory *Abalites*, the *Abalitic gulph*, &c. and consequently, that some of the children of *Eber*, after having insinuated themselves into *Arabia Felix*, migrated into *Ethiopia*. Some of the *Ludim* likewise might find a passage into this country, though undoubtedly the bulk of them moved towards the *Atlantic ocean*; since, as *Mosis* intimates them to have been the first branch of *Misraim's* issue, they in all likelihood pushed

<sup>p</sup> JER. c. xlvi. v. 9. EZEK. c. xxx. v. 4, 5. & c. xxxviii. v. 5. DAN. c. xi. v. 43. NAH. c. iii. v. 9. Psal. lxviii. v. 31. ZEPHAN. c. iii. v. 10. ACTS c. viii. v. 27. EZEK. c. xxx. v. 6. EST. c. i. v. 1. & c. viii. v. 9. HERODOT. l. iii. JUDITH, c. i. v. 9. Vid. etiam STRAB. l. xvii. & PLIN. l. vi. c. 29.

forwards towards the main land of Africa. The Ethiopian<sup>s</sup> therefore might very well vie with the Egyptians, and even be deemed superior to them, in point of antiquity, since *Cush* their great ancestor was the eldest son of *Ham*. They might likewise have been esteemed of equal antiquity with the Arabians, since from the kingdom of *Midian* the *Cushites* penetrated both into the southern parts of the peninsula of the Arabs and *Ethiopia*. The communication betwixt *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as well as the proximity of blood of *Cush* and *Misraim*, introduced that similitude of manners observable amongst their respective inhabitants, which we shall soon have occasion to take notice of <sup>q.</sup>

**Gor-**  
**ment of the**  
**Ethiopi-**  
**ans**

PLINY relates, that *Ethiopia* was antiently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he insinuates that of *Meroe* to have been the most powerful and flourishing. But, whether these were independent on each other, or under one supreme head, he no where informs us. Be that as it will, as all the old Oriental governments were absolute, and the *Abassine* princes known to the Europeans since their first intercourse with *Abassia* have been despotic, there is no reason to doubt but that the kings of *Ethiopia* always ruled with an (Q.) uncontroulable sway. If we admit the *Ethiopian* tradition, that a long series of princes descended from *Solomon* reigned in the country we are now upon, it can scarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the *Hebrew* monarch knew no bounds.

<sup>q.</sup> EUSEB. in chron. SYNCER. in chronograph. URANIUS apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. PTOL. l. iv. PROCOP. GAZ. in Reg. c. x. v. i. JOS. SCALIG. in comput. eccles. AETHIOP. de emend. temp. l. vii. JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 7. DIOD. Sic. l. iii. & alib. HIERONYM. quæst. Hebr. in Genes. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & l. ii. c. 23. GEN. c. x. v. 13. HERODOT. l. ii. & alib. DIOD. Sic. l. iii. & alib. JOS. LUDOLF. hist. AETHIOP. l. i. c. 1. LE GRAND, dissert ii.

(Q.) This seems likewise in some measure to appear from the constitution of the present kingdom of *Abassia*. The king's authority there is so unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with justice proprietor of any thing, nor doth any man, when he sows his field, know that he shall reap it. For the king may bestow the fruits upon whom

he pleases, and all the satisfaction the former possessor can hope for, is, that some man be appointed to bring in the estimate of the expences he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimbursement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the present owner, whom he presumes to have more interest than the person dispossessed (6).

It appears from *Strabo* and *Pliny*, that some *Ethiopic* nations were governed always by queens, whose common name was *Candace*, as that of the *Egyptian* kings was *Pharaoh*, *Ptolemy*, &c. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us to understand, that a good part of *Ethiopia* was composed of several elective monarchies (R), the heads of which were chosen out of their priests; and that all these princes made the laws of their respective kingdoms the basis of their government. However, as the same author remarks, that every new king, immediately after his election, was worshiped as a god, and considered as invested with the supreme authority by Divine Providence, though he had a particular regard to the laws and customs of his country through the whole course of his administration, we may look upon them all as arbitrary monarchs. The extraordinary honours paid them leave no room to doubt, that they were the interpreters of these laws, and consequently made them subservient to their will. Nor does this interfere with their conferring rewards, and inflicting punishments, according to the laws, that is, the political decisions and determinations, of their ancestors, since some of the most arbitrary governments in the world now do the like. But, after all, the Greeks knew very little of the *Ethiopians*; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relating to them. *Sesostris* and *Zerah* must undoubtedly be considered as princes bearing an absolute sway over the dominions they governed, of which the *Proper Ethiopia* was a part. The surprising conquests made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, in order to the reduction of a powerful neighbour, seem to set this point beyond dispute<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. LUDOLF. Hist. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 3, 4. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi sup. HERODOT. APOLLON. RHOD. APOLLODOR. PAUSAN. HYGIN. LUCAN. aliique mult. pass. 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. c. xiv. v. 9. & c. xvi. v. 8. Vid. etiam NEWT. chronol. of the empire of Egypt.

• (R) Though the present kingdom of *Abaffia* be so far hereditary, that only one family can sit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of choosing out of the royal family whom he pleases for a successor. But, if he omits this, it is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king, whom

they judge most capable of so high an office. If this was the custom formerly, as does not appear improbable, it might easily have given occasion to the account of *Diodorus*, who cannot be supposed to have received an exact information of the customs, laws, and constitution of *Ethiopia* (7).

ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, the laws of *Ethiopia* agreed in substance with those of *Egypt*. This, continues the same author, the *Ethiopians* accounted for by asserting, that *Egypt* was first peopled by colonies drawn out of their country. In order to evince that point, they maintained the land of *Egypt* to have been at first, for a considerable period, intirely covered with water, and afterwards raised gradually, so as to become inhabitable, by the fresh accession of mud the *Nile* brought every year out of *Ethiopia*. This is likewise confirmed by *Herodotus*, who affirms *Egypt* to be the gift of the *Nile*, and that the whole region, except the territory of *Thebes*, in the time of *Menes*, was one continued morass. However, he makes the *Ethiopians* to have been civilized by the *Egyptians*, and to have learned the customs and manners of that people, so late as the reign of *Psammiticus I.* which, considering what has been already advanced, will not easily be admitted for truth. Yet some customs and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might possibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a complete enumeration of the particular laws, or political maxims, that prevailed antiently in *Ethiopia*; but the following seem to have been some of the principal of them. 1. Several tribes of *Ethiopians* looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their priests. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many parts of *Ethiopia*, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the established order of succession amongst some *Ethiopic* nations, upon the death of the king, his sister's son (S) mounted the throne; and, in case the female branches

(S) We are informed by *Plutarch*, that a certain *Ethiopian* nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The same author, however, judiciously observes, that all the high posts were filled with men. Possibly the modern kingdom of *Zedero*, governed always by an elected monarch, who is said to resemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correspond with this nation. It is certain

*Diodorus Siculus* and *Pliny* stile the animal now called a baboon, *cynocephalus*, from the resemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated *cyon* or dog by *Plutarch* was an ape or baboon; especially since the *cynocephalus* was produced only in *Ethiopia*. However, this we can only propose to our readers as a conjecture (8).

(8) *Plutarch. advers. Stoic. Diod. Sic. I. iii. Plin. I. viii. c. 54. Fernand. Tellez. apud Job. Ludolf. in his. *Ethiop.* I. i. c. 6.*

of the royal family failed of issue, they chose the most beautiful and valiant person amongst them for king. 4. It was esteemed a most enormous crime in any person capitally convicted to attempt making his escape into a foreign country. *Diodorus* relates, that a criminal condemned to die, having once meditated a flight out of *Ethiopia*, after the sign of death had been sent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who thereupon strangled him with a garter, he not offering the least resistance, lest an indeleble stain should thereby be fixed upon his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to dispatch (T) himself, whenever he received a message from the priests of *Meroe*, the most revered of any in *Ethiopia*, with an intimation, that the gods commanded him, for the good of his subjects, to do so. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his domestics were obliged to wound and maim themselves just in the same manner, 7. At the king's death all his household servants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indispensable custom, killed themselves, this being looked upon as the strongest testimony of their sincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the *Ethiopic* clans above *Meroe* on both sides the *Nile*, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninsula, and the parts of *Ethiopia* nearer *Egypt*, elected the most industrious shepherds to preside over them. Others bestowed the kingdom upon the most opulent persons they could find, imagining them the most capable of administering with their riches to the wants and exigencies of the public <sup>a</sup>.

JUPITER AMMON, according to the Greek and Latin authors, seems to have been the principal object of religious worship in *Ethiopia*, though the natives (U) paid likewise divine honours

<sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. HERODOT. I. ii. c. 5, & alib. AGATHARCHID. CNI. apud Phot. NIC. DAMASCEN. in excerptis Valerii, p. 518, 519.

(T) This vast power the priests enjoyed till the time of *Ergamenes* king of *Ethiopia*, contemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who, being a martial prince, advanced to the golden temple of *Aesculapius*, where they resided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the sword. After

this he made several regulations, and in a manner new modeled the public worship of the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (9).

(U) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ethiopians* valued themselves upon their being the first nation that had a religious es-

honours to *Isis*, *Pan*, *Hercules*, *Aesculapius*, and others, whom they considered as the greatest benefactors to mankind. In short, if these authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the *Egyptians*; which is not to be wondered at, considering their vicinity to, and intercourse with, that people. However, *Diodorus* assures us, that some of them were atheists, who looked upon the sun, by reason of its scorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern *Abissines*, the *Ethiopians*, or at least a considerable part of them, adhered zealously to the law of *Moses* from the time of *Solomon* to their conversion to Christianity. According to this tradition, the queen of *Sheba*, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the south, and who ruled over at least a powerful nation of *Ethiopia*, had a son by *Solomon* named *Menilek*, who was educated at that prince's court, and instructed there in the law of God through the great care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of *Ethiopia*, and sent home to take possession of his kingdom, at the desire of several eminent *Israelites*, and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced there his father's religion, which continued amongst his subjects and their posterity till the time of St. *Athanasius*. What regard is to be paid to this tradition, we shall not take upon us to determine; since the learned are not a little divided in their sentiments concerning the situation of the kingdom of *Sheba*, whose queen had an interview with *Solomon* at his own court. St. *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Cyril of Alexandria*, Cardinal *Baronius*, *Suarez*, *Lorinus*, *Pineda*, *Bochart*, and the *Arabs* in general, fix her residence in *Arabia Felix*. The last call her *Belkis*, and affirm her to have been the daughter of *Hod-Had* king of the *Homericites*. On the other hand, the *Abissine* nation, *Josephus*, *Origen*, St. *Austin*, the learned *Hugo Gro-*

*blishment*. They believed, that, for this reason, adds he, their sacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than those offered by any other people. Which notion, continues *Diodorus*, *Homer* himself seems to countenance, when he introduces *Jupiter*, attended by the other gods, as present at an anniversary sacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the *Ethiopians*. In

order to reward their transcendent piety, according to the same author, the gods never suffered them to be conquered by any foreign prince, *Cambyses*, *Semiramis*, &c. failing in their attempts upon them. But in this, as well as in many other points, he was egregiously mistaken, as will appear in the sequel of this history (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic.* l. iii. sub init. *Vid.* & *Lucian de Jup. Trag.* p. 697. *Ed. Baudot.* *Lat. Par.* 1615.

*tius*, the patriarch *Alfonso Mendez*, the Fathers *Balthasar Tellez*, and *Joan Dos-Santos*, have placed this celebrated princess in *Ethiopia*. We have not room to insert here the arguments offered on both sides in defence of their respective opinions; but shall, however, observe, that the kingdom of *Abassia* seems to answer better the queen of *Sheba's* country, according to our Saviour's description of it, as being more to the south of, and more remote from, *Judæa*, than *Arabia*. To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that some persons of distinction amongst the *Proper Ethiopians* were of the same religion with the *Jews*, or nearly so, in the apostolical age. For queen *Candace's* treasurer (W), baptized by *Philip*, went with an offering to *Jerusalem*, to worship God there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the Old Testament; which cannot, we apprehend, be said

(W) Father *Calmet* and others suppose this eunuch to have been one of those proselytes which the *Jews* call *a proselyte of the gate*, already by us described. But we must own, that this notion seems to us not a little improbable. For those were only confined to an observance of the seven fundamental laws of natural religion enjoined by *Noah* to his posterity immediately after the flood; whereas this man perused, and consequently was not unacquainted with, the writings of the Old Testament peculiar to the natural *Jews*. Farther, that a treasurer or prime minister of the queen of *Ethiopia* should take so long a journey as that from *Meroe* to *Jerusalem*, purely to worship God, and offer an oblation to him, there, seems very strange, if he was only such a mongrel-convert as the *proselytes of the gate*. Besides, these generally, if not always, resided in *Judæa*. It is therefore much more probable, that this *Ethiopian* had been educated in a reli-

gion not very different from that of the *Jews*; especially as the aforesaid proselytes were, for the most part, people of no manner of note. Nay, as he was a person of such power and authority at the *Ethiopian* court, it can by no means be deemed unlikely, that the established religion of *Meroe* at that time pretty nearly resembled the *Jewiſh*. This appears to be in some sort confirmed by the prophet *Zephaniah*, who seems evidently to predict the conversion of the eunuch here under consideration, and even to insinuate, that he came to *Jerusalem* with an offering from queen *Candace* herself. For it seems very reasonable to suppose, that she was the daughter of his dispersed beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*, that should bring his offering; which, if admitted, must be allowed no mean proof of what we would here suggest. But this, as well as every thing dependent upon it, must be left to the determination of our learned and judicious readers (z).

(z) *Aet.* c. viii. v. 27, 28. *Zeph.* c. iii. v. 19. *Calmet*, *Prideaux*, *alique rumeurs*.

with so much propriety of the *Arabians*. This seems to us a sort of proof, that the *Mosaic* law was held to be of divine institution in *Meroe*, and the other parts of *Ethiopia* dependent on it, even before the birth of our Saviour, if not as early as the age of *Solomon*; and consequently adds some weight to the arguments of those writers who have asserted, that the queen of *Sheba* came out of *Ethiopia*. It likewise renders the authority of *Josephus* preferable to that of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus*, notwithstanding what M. *Bochart* has advanced. For, if any regard was paid to the law of *Moses* in *Meroe*, before Christianity made its appearance in the world, we cannot account for this better than by allowing, with the *Abaffines* and authors above-mentioned, that this peninsula was the queen of *Sheba's* country. From whence it will appear probable, that her son introduced some knowledge of the public worship of the *Hebrews* there, and consequently that its metropolis was called *Sheba* or *Seba* before *Cambyses*'s reign, as *Josephus* asserts, and not built by that prince, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus* will have it. Be that as it will, this appears to have been a prevailing notion amongst some of the *Jews* and *Greeks* in *Josephus*'s time, and *Herodotus* was then cited to support it, however his text, or that of *Josephus*, may be now corrupted. For the latter historian cannot fairly be supposed so profligate and abandoned a writer as to impose a known falsehood and forgery upon the world, notwithstanding *Bochart*'s insinuation. However, it must be owned, that *Strabo* suggests the people of *Meroe* in his time to have adored *Hercules*, *Pax*, and *Isis*, with another foreign god. But *Strabo*'s authority 'tis this point cannot overturn what is insinuated by Scripture; nay, he seems to be a little inconsistent with himself, since in the same breath he assures us, that the *Ethiopians* in general acknowledg'd an immortal **God**, whom they considered as the first principle of all things, and a mortal god, who had no name. Such a notion might easily be formed by remote nations, who knew very little of the *Ethiopians*, upon supposition that some of them for a certain period worshiped the true **God**, and held the memory of *Moses* in the highest veneration. Far more absurd things than these the *Greek* and *Latin* writers related of the *Jews*, with whom they had a more immediate communication. And therefore we ought not to be surprised at their transmitting to us so imperfect an account of the religious tenets of the *Ethiopians*; though it should be acknowledg'd, that, during a certain interval, they agreed in the main with those of the *Jews*. The author last-cited likewise informs us, that the *Ethiopians* ranked in the number of their deities all their most eminent benefactors, and those who were distinguished by their birth.

The

The Sun, according to him, the people under consideration in the most early times so highly adored, that they reputed those to be atheists who cursed him at his rising, as some such there were inhabiting the *Torrid Zone*, because he forced them to shelter themselves from his intense heat in moist and marshy places. For this reason the *Greeks* and *Romans* gave the Sun the name of the *Ethiopian Jupiter*. The *Ethiopians* themselves called him *Affabin* or *Affabinus*, as we learn from *Pliny*. They consecrated likewise to him the cinnamon-tree, an odiferous shrub, which grew in their country. The priests only were allowed to gather that harvest, which they always ushered in with sacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and sheep, beginning the work that followed before sun-rising, and finishing it before his setting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a spear, which was never used but on that occasion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the same place that which fell to the sun; and forthwith, say *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Theophrastus*, if the division had been performed with equity, the sun's portion took fire of itself, and was consumed (X). This ceremony seems to have been common to the *Ethiopians* above *Egypt*, and the *Sabaeans* seated in *Arabia Felix*. *Banier* believes the *Ethiopians* to have had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the *Egyptians*; that they worshiped the moon under the name of *Isis*, and universal nature under that of *Pan*. We doubt not but this may be true; especially since they, in all likelihood, at first worshiped the planets, or some of them, in common with the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, and likewise paid divine honours to their deposed kings, as did those nations together with the *Mauritanians*. Among the princes deified by this last people were the famous *Juba* and *Veros-tina*, who was probably either one of their queens, or some other woman of the first distinction rendered illustrious by her glorious actions. The *Ethiopians* of *Meroe*, according to *Herodotus*, in his time, worshiped *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, and had an oracle of *Jupiter*. Some *Ethiopian* nations offered sacrifices to the *Day*, which they esteemed as a god, according to *Lucian*. An antient tradition prevails amongst the *Abaffines*,

(X) For our part we are apt to believe, that the priests secretly conveyed some coals under the heap that was allotted to the sun, which from thence took fire soon after, probably when the priests retired. Such pious frauds have been, and still are, used in coun-

tries whose religion utterly disclaims frauds and impostures of any kind whatsoever, in order to serve such a turn as these priests of the Sun had in view: witness the liquefaction of the blood of St. *Januarius* at *Naples*, &c.

that the first *Ethiopians* adored a monstrous serpent called in their language *Arwe-midre*; but this favours so much of fable, that our readers will probably think it deserves little regard <sup>c.</sup>.

*Language.* In a country of so vast an extent as *Ethiopia*, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to suppose, that no small variety of languages, at least of dialects, must have prevailed. The most ancient of these was undoubtedly that called by the learned the *Ethiopic*, into which the Holy Scripture was formerly translated, and in which all the books of the *Abasses*, both sacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly resembles the *Chaldee*; but, according to *Ludolfus*, who spent above sixty years in the study of it, it bears as great an affinity to the *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, and approaches nearer still to the *Arabic*, from which to him it seems immediately to be derived. In short, there is so perfect an agreement betwixt them, that whoever understands the one, may, without any difficulty, if we will believe him, make himself master of the other. Nay, he asserts, that a competent knowledge of the *Hebrew*, or any other of the *Oriental* tongues, will enable a student soon to make a very laudable progress in the *Ethiopic*. As several *Hebrew* (Y) roots, and genuine significations of *Hebrew* words,

<sup>c</sup> HERODOT. I. ii. STRAB. lib. i. DIOD. SIC. lib. iii. PLIN. lib. xii. c. 19. SOLIN. c. 31. LUCIAN. in Jup. Trag. p. 699. ed. Bourdelot. Lut. Par. 1615. THEOPHRAST. de plant. LACTANT. I. i. c. 15. TERTULLIAN. apol. c. 24. MIRUL. HEL. in Octav. GREG. ABASS. apud Ludolf. ubi sup. I. ii. c. 2. BANIER. I. vi. c. 9. JOSEPH. ORIG. AUGUST. CYPRIAN. EPIPHAN. CYRILL. ALEXANDR. BARON. SUAREZ. LOBIN. PINED. apud Ludolf. ubi sup. I. ii. c. 3. POCOCK. specim. hist. Arab. p. 59. JOSEPH. ant. I. ii. c. 5. STRAB. I. xvii. PLIN. I. vi. c. 29. BOCHART. Phal. I. iv. c. 26, & alib. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. par. vi. GOLII notæ in Alfraganum, p. 87. DIOD. SIC. & STEPH. BYZANT. apud Bochart. ubi supra. ACT. c. viii. v. 27. GEORG. HORN. hist. philosoph. I. ii. p. 132. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1655. ALPHONS. MEND. BALTH. TELLEZ. & Jo. DOS-SANT. apud LE GRAND, dissert. vii. Vid. & LUDOLF. ubi sup. I. ii. c. 3.

(Y) Of this we shall beg leave to produce two instances: 1. The *Hebrew* lexicographers derive the *Hebrew* and *Phænician* word *adamah*, *earth*, from    *red*, pretending the earth to be of a red colour, from whence it receives that denomination. But Kimchi takes no notice of this derivation in his collection of *Hebrew* roots; and how small a part of the earth, in comparison of

words, are still preserved in the *Ethiopic*, which would be sought for in vain either in their own or any other language except this, it certainly merits the esteem of all who diligently apply themselves to the study of the Scriptures. Besides, it is impossible to come at a thorough knowledge of the *Abassine* affairs, this being the language in which all their histories, and other treatises, are penned, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The purest dialect of this tongue was that used in the kingdom of *Tigre*, where *Axuma*, the residence of the old *Ethiopian* kings, was seated. Here it continued till the failure of the *Zagean* line; after which, a *Sewan* prince ascending the throne, the *Amharic* dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffused itself over the whole empire. However, the language spoken in *Tigre* at present comes the nearest to the old *Ethiopic*; which still retains its pristine dignity not only in their books, but also in their divine worship, as also in their kings letters patents, com-

of the whole, is red, no naturalist stands in need of being informed. This etymon therefore is at best *mal-à-propos*. But the *Ethiopic* language suggests to us a much more proper one, when it proposes to our view the word *adamab* signifying *beautiful*, *elegant*, *pleasant*, &c. from whence if we deduce the *Hebrew* and *Phaënician* *adamab*, *earth*, it will not be remote from the *εργασία* of the *Greeks*, though that seems to have had a more extensive signification. Upon this supposition, *Adam* derived his name not from a certain fictitious redness, but from the beauty and perfection of his nature, being, as it were, the masterpiece of the creation. And, agreeably hereto, the *Ethiopians* to the word *Adam* always annex the idea of something perfect and beautiful. Nor is it improbable, that the city *Admab* or *Adamab*, before it was destroyed with *Sodom* and *Gomor-*

*rab*, seated upon the banks of *Jordan*, compared to *the garden of the Lord*, was so denominated from the pleasantness of its situation. 2. The word *מלאך* *malach*, an *angel* or *messenger*, is not to be deduced from the *Arabic* *malaka*, *poffedit*, *dominatus est*, &c. for that is not sufficiently apposite, but from the *Ethiopic* *լայկա*, *լայկիստ*, *լայավիտ*, &c. Nay, sometimes the roots of *Arabic* words themselves are to be sought for in the *Ethiopic*. So in the *Koran* the apostles are called *հեաւարի*, whose origin cannot be discovered in the *Arabic* lexicons, since it certainly comes from the *Ethiopic* *Հայրա*, *իւիտ*, *ինչիստ*, &c. than which nothing can be more suitable to the office of an apostle. Our readers will find this point more fully discussed by the learned *Ludolfus*, to whom, for their further satisfaction, we must beg leave to refer thema (3).

(3) *J. Ludolf. biss. Ethiop. lib. i. c. 15. & comment. ad biss. Ethiop. p. 202—208. Vid. etiam Sim. Ockleii introd. ad ling. Oriental. p. 159, 160. Cantabrigiae, 1706.*

missions, and all other public acts whatsoever. Father *Tellez* informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as kingdoms, or large provinces, in *Abaffia*; nay, that there were different dialects in one and the same kingdom. As the language of *Tigre* is at present deeply tinged with the antient *Ethiopic*, so those of most of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the *Amharic*; though they considerably differ one from another. The people of *Bagemdra* or *Bagemeder* use a dialect peculiar to themselves. Those of *Hangota*, *Ifata*, *Gojam*, and *Shewa*, one common to them all. The *Gafatas* have many *Amharic* words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be understood by any of the other *Abaffines*. In the kingdom of *Dambea* a language is spoken very different from both the *Amharic* and *Ethiopic*. The dialect of *Gonga* agrees with that of *Enarea*, though it does not bear a near resemblance to any of the others in *Ethiopia*. But we shall entertain our readers with a more particular account of all these, as well as those of the *Gallans*, *Agawi*, *Chankalas*, &c. when we come to the modern history of *Abaffia* u.

### Letters.

As it will be expected, that we should say something of the letters, or (Z) alphabetic characters, of the nation we are now

**MARIANI VICTORII** institutiones linguae *Ethiop.* Romæ, 1552.  
**WEMMER.** institut. grammat. *Ethiop.* Jo. POTKEN. psalter. *Ethiop.*  
**BRIAN. WALTON.** in introd. ad lect. linguar. Oriental. *Job.*  
**LUDOLF.** hist. *Ethiop.* l. i. c. 15. ut & *BALTHAZ. TELLEZ.* apud  
Ludolf. *ibid.* Vide etiam *LUDOLF.* comment. ad hist. *Ethiop.*  
p. 60. *Francofurti ad Mænum*, 1691.

(Z) We are informed by *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Ethiopians* had antient hieroglyphic characters as well as the *Egyptians*. Thus amongst them an hawk signified any thing that made a quick dispatch, that bird in swiftness exceeding most others; the crocodile denoted malice; the eye the maintainer of justice, and the guard of the body; the right-hand, open, represented plenty; and the left, closed, a secure possession of property, &c. But whether the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians* first in reality hit upon this way of writing, cannot certainly be known, though *Diodorus* attributes the invention of it to the

latter. It is not improbable, that the people of all nations at first recorded their conceptions by tracing out the images of things in a coarse manner, which was gradually improved into hieroglyphics. This in some measure appears from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans*, the antient character of the *Chinese*, and from what we find related of the *Scythians* by *Clemens Alexanderinus*, *Eustathius*, and *Herodotus*.

These hieroglyphic characters, according to the same *Diodorus*, were not only understood by the priests, as amongst the *Egyptians*, but likewise by all the people, as well

Now upon, which naturally fall under this head, our readers will not be displeased to find here the antient *Ethiopic* alphabet,

well as the alphabet here mentioned. However, it does not appear from that author, as M. *Fourmont* seems to assert, that the *Ethiopic* alphabet was made up of these hieroglyphic characters; nor indeed can this be allowed very probable, the letters of an alphabet being essentially different from even the characteristic marks deduced from hieroglyphics. These last represent things, ideas, or even whole conceptions, in the same manner as the antient and modern characters of the *Chinese*, whereas the former are only expressive of sounds. In short, though we should allow it an easy transition from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans* to the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, as well as from the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics to the characteristic marks of the *Chinese*, which *Du Halde* demonstrates to be perfectly hieroglyphic, yet we cannot see how the invention of an alphabet might as naturally succeed these marks. There is, it must be owned, a sufficient resemblance between the *American* picture-writing, the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, and the *Chinese* characters; but these all seem intirely foreign to alphabetic letters, and in reality do not bear the least relation to them. As an affinity between all these is the point necessary to be proved, in order to evince a gradual and easy descent from picture-writing to letters, some better argument ought to be offered in support of it, than a supposition extremely precarious, if not plainly false, and which, if true, would be little to the purpose.

Now, that the notion of the *Ethiopic* alphabet's being made up of hieroglyphics, is such a supposition, evidently appears from what we have just hinted, as well as from the antient alphabet of that nation exhibited by *Ludolfus*. And yet the very learned and ingenious Mr. *Warburton* has in fact offered only this hypothesis, on M. *Fourmont*'s authority, to prove the connexion between an alphabet and hieroglyphics. How far, therefore, all novel opinion, founded upon the truth of such a connexion, are to be depended upon, we leave our readers to judge. *Diodorus* indeed, in the same place, intimates, that the forms of the *Ethiopic* letters (*τυπος*) resembled various animals, parts of human bodies, artificers tools, &c. But that this is not to be understood of alphabetic letters, but hieroglyphics, follows from what he immediately subjoins: "For their writing (*τι γραμματικη*) is expressive of "the subject, not by a composition of syllables, but by the "signification of certain images "delineated, and a metaphorical "application of it impressed on "the memory by exercise. For, "they write (*γραπεσι*) an hawk, "a crocodile, a serpent, a part "of the human eye, an hand, "the face, &c. An hawk "nifies with them dispatch, be "cause this bird in celerity ex "ceeds almost all other: &c." Nay, he here expressly asserts, that the *Ethiopic* letters were the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, and consequently allows, that they could not be alphabetic characters. This

bet, as given us by the learned *Job Ludolfus* in his excellent history of *Ethiopia*.

አ: Alf.	ለ: Lawi.
በ: Bet.	መ: Mai.
ገ: Geml.	ኋ: Nabas.
ደ: Dent.	ጥ: Saat.
ሐ: Haut.	ኅ: Ain.
ወ: Waw.	ጋ: Af.
ዘ: Zai.	ጽ: Tzadai.
ኋ: Hkarm.	ቁ: Kof.
ተ: Tait.	ሪ: Rees.
፩: Faman.	ሸ: Saut.
ኋ: Caf.	ታ: Tawi.

From comparing these letters with the old *Oriental alphabets* taken from antique coins, inscriptions, &c. by *Læscher*, and consulting what we have already observed in our account of the *Carthaginian*, it may perhaps not seem improbable, that some of them were derived from the old *Affyrian*, *Phoenician*,

passage, therefore, which seems to have misled M. *Fournmont*, is so far from proving the *Ethiopian* alphabet to have consisted of hieroglyphic characters, that it strongly intimates the contrary.

*Heliodorus* says, that the *Ethiopians* had two sorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the *regal* resembled the *sacerdotal* characters of

the *Egyptians*. *Diogenes Laertius*, from *Thrasyllus*, also informs us, that *Democritus* wrote two books, the one of the sacred letters of the *Babylonians*, the other of the sacred letters of the city of *Meroe*. M. *Fournmont* believes, that most of the eastern nations likewise had a sacerdotal alphabet (4).

(4) *Diod. Sic.* l. iii. *Herodot.* l. iv. *Diog. Laert.* in *wit. Democrit.* *figm. xlix.* l. 9. *Heliodor. Æthiopic.* l. iv. *Clem. Alexandrin.* *stron.* l. v. p. 567. *Ennath.* in *Hom. Iliad.* vi. v. 168. *Albanus. Kirch. China illustrata,* p. 227. & *Odi. Egypt. theat. hieroglyphic.* p. 12. & alib. *Le Comte, nouv. mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine,* tom. i. p. 256. *Amst.* 1698. *Du Halde,* tom. ii. p. 500, 509. M. *Fournmont, Reflections crit. sur les bff. des anc. peup.* tom. ii. p. 500, 509. à *Paris*, 1735. *Jos. Acct.* l. vi. c. 10. *Madr.* 1608. *Purchas. pilgr.* par. iii. p. 1065, 1066. *Gemell. Carer. del mond.* tom. vi. c. 6. p. 37. *Wartonton's divin. legat. of Moï. demonstrat.* vol. iii. par. 1. scđ. 4.

*Samaritan, Syriac, &c.* characters. The number of the letters likewise in this alphabet, and the names of several of them, tend to evince the same thing ; though *Ludsifus* believes them to have been invented by the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* themselves, and to be much older than even the *Cufic* character of the *Arabs*. It is remarkable, that the *Abaffines* have no grammar ; and that, when *Gregory* was shewn the use of one, he could not forbear breaking out into a sort of exclamation, crying out, *Thanks to GOD !* as though some secret of great importance had been discovered to him. We must not forget observing, that the *Ethiopians* both wrote and read from the left-hand to the right, contrary to the custom of the *Orientals* ; which looks like an indication, that their alphabet was not intirely of the same extraction with that of the *Arabs*. But for a farther account of the ancient *Ethiopic* letters, as well as language, we must beg leave to refer the curious and inquisitive part of our readers to *Ludoifus's* *Ethiopic* history, commentaries, and grammar, which are generally allowed to be the best pieces of their kind extant \*.

THE *Ethiopians*, as has been already observed, agreed in *Customs*, several points with the *Egyptians*, though they had many customs peculiar to themselves, some of which were very singular and uncommon. As we have not time at present to expatiate upon all such customs to be met with in history, we must content ourselves with touching upon some of the principal of them. 1. The *Egyptian Ichthyophagi* differed from other nations in several particulars. By stopping up the passages of certain caverns on the coast of the *Red-sea* with stones, they inclosed vast pyramids of large and small fishes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and served them for food. The women and children employed themselves in throwing on shore those of a lesser size, whilst the men secured the sharks, sea-calves, congers, monstrous lobsters, &c. with which the aforesaid sea abounded, killing them with sharp goats-horns, and rough stones broken off the rocks. These they exposed to the solar rays in stone-pots turned towards the south, where the flesh was soon separated from the bones by the intense heat. The latter they applied to the use already mentioned, and boiled up the former with the seeds of *paliurus*. The mass formed by these two ingredients was at first liquid, and of a reddish colour ;

\* Job. LUDOLF. hist. *AETHIOP.* l. iv. c. 1. gram. *AETHIOP.* ed. Lond. 1661. & comment. ad hist. *AETHIOP.* p. 34. 555, 556, 552, & alib. passl. Vide etiam VAL. ERN. LOESCHER. de caul. ling. Hebr. p. 201. 224, & alib. ed. FRANCOF. & LIPSIÆ, 1705. & UNIV. hist. vol. xvii. p. 302, & seq.

but, being spread upon tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the sun, it became hard and savoury. This they commonly fed upon ; but, when any inundations happened, that they could not, for several days together, approach the shore, they were constrained to eat shell-fish, some of which were so large, that they weighed four minas. If these at any time failed, they found themselves obliged to have recourse to the bones, though destined for another use, which preserved them till the sea sent them their usual supplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in such immoderate quantities, that they were scarce able to breathe. They seemed not to utter any articulate sounds, and consequently to be void of a language. Some of them, according to *Agatharchides*, never drank at all, living only upon raw fish. These, continues the same author, might have been deemed perfect stoicks, as being never ruffled or discomposed by the violence of any prevailing passion. However barbarous their neighbours might take them to be, they had the art of teaching the *phœæ* or sea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to assist them in catching other fish. Several clans of them lived in such caves as we have described in the former section ; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bearing fruit like a chestnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a sort of canopy. This, together with the pleasant breezes coming from off the sea, sheltered them from the scorching rays of the sun. Lastly, others fixed their habitations in certain inaccessible hollows surrounded with high precipices and the sea. The *Ichthyophagi* for the most part enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health ; but few of them attained to old age, as above observed. They carried their dead to the sea-shore, where they lay exposed till the return of the tide, which carried them off ; so that, as they fed upon fish in their life-time, they after their death in return afforded those animals a refast. 2. The *Chelonophagi* above-mentioned did not only use the flesh of tortoises for food, but likewise covered their huts or cottages with the shells of those animals. As both in size and figure these shells resembled a small fishing-vessel, the *Chelonophagi* also used them as boats on some occasions. They had a particular manner of surprising this fish, which we find described from *Agatharchides* by *Diodorus Siculus*. 3. Another *Ethiopic* canton lived upon fish of the cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the shore by chance. When they were pressed by famine, they devoured the bones of those creatures, whose flesh at other times sustained them. 4. The *Ethiopian Rhizophagi*, after they had washed the roots of the canes growing in marshy ground, bruised them, and, preparing them by the heat of

the

the sun, fared deliciously upon them. This canton was greatly infested with lions, which came out of the deserts in vast numbers, and would have depopulated the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous size annually expelled them from thence. At the same time the *Rhizophagi*, in order to avoid these gnats, retired towards the morasses, which greatly contributed to their preservation. The *Hylophagi* were people of such surprising activity, that they skipped from one tree to another like birds. They always went naked, lived upon the young shoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarreled about their respective habitations. On these occasions they fought with clubs, after the manner of the *Libyans*, which sometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe of *Ethiopians*, watching an opportunity, killed leopards, buffaloes, &c. after they had drunk so copiously, that they were ready to burst, with clubs burnt at one end, stones, darts, &c. in the manner described by *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus Siculus*. They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not suffer them to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another *Ethiopic* nation had two very particular ways of taking elephants, hinted at by us above, for a full description of which our readers must have recourse to the authors last-mentioned. 8. The *Struthophagi* had several arts and devices to take ostriches, on which they fed. That animal defended itself against them with stones, which it threw out of its feet, in this respect resembling a sling, with great violence. The *Struthophagi* of the skins of these ostriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The *Acridophagi* had a deep valley in their country, of many furlongs extent, which they took care to fill with wood, and other combustible materials; and, when the south wind drove vast numbers of locusts thither, set them on fire, the smoke suffocating all those animals. Such infinite numbers of locusts were destroyed on these occasions, that the ground for some leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people under consideration seasoned with salt, produced most copiously in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholesome food; for the *Acridophagi* (Z) did not exceed the age of forty years, and at last died

(Z) *Plutarch* mentions a tribe of *Ethiopians* that were very short-lived, the oldest among them scarce ever exceeding the age of thirty years. These were probably the *Acridophagi*: of *Agatharchides Cnidius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny* (5).

in a miserable manner. They were devoured by winged insects of different species, of a strange and ugly form, expiring for the most part in exquisite torture. Possibly the air itself, as well as the locusts, might have greatly contributed to so uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The *Cynamolgi*, seated in the southern parts of *Ethiopia*, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt (A) Indian oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongst them. 11. The nations placed still more to the south, according to *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus*, lived the life of savages, if not that of the worst of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the *Cafres* were not unknown to the antients, and consequently that they had seen more of the southern parts of *Africa* than the moderns imagine. 12. The above-mentioned authors inform us, that the greatest part of the *Troglodytes* (B) in their manner of life nearly resembled the *Libyan Nomades*, that they were divided into tribes, and that all of these were under one supreme head. This confirms what we have elsewhere observed of the form of government antiently prevailing in *Numidia* and *Mauritania*. 13. The *Troglodytes*, during the time of the *Etesian* winds, drank a liquor composed of blood and milk boiled up together. In the summer months they lived about the morasses with their flocks, where they frequently fought for convenient pastures. The old and infirm cattle always supplied them with food, for which reason they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giving those denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than a few beasts skins, with which they covered only the loins. 14. They held all their old women in the highest veneration, insomuch that, in their most bloody contests, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themselves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged

(A) The antients sometimes included the western and Proper *Ethiopia*, as well as *Arabia*, under the name of *India*.

(B) We are informed by *Strab.*, that all the different species of cattle these *Ethiopians* took with them from place to place were extremely small. Their dogs were likewise very little, but vastly fierce. Some of these *Ethi-*

*opians*, or at least the neighbouring cantons, lived chiefly upon barley and millet; which served them both for meat and drink. They also used butter and fat instead of oil. Their kings had divine honours paid them, and never appeared in public; in order the more greatly to attract the veneration of their subjects (6).

(6) *Strab.* l. xii. p. 565. ed. 1587.

about till they expired ; and, if upon an admonition from a friend they refused to do this, they might be strangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to desire life when a person was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one amongst them was seized with an incurable distemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispatch him. Their dead they carried to the top of some hill, where they first covered them with stones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So void were they of a sense of compassion, that the ceremony of burying the deceased in this manner was one of their most celebrated diversions. 15. The *Ethiopians* made use of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and several other weapons (C), in their wars, which they managed with great strength and dexterity. 16. Circumcision (D) was a rite observed

(C) The *Megabari*, a canton, as should seem, of the *Troylobites*, fought with clubs, and carried before them round shields made of raw ox-hides. Many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (7).

(D) We have observed in a former note, that *Herodotus* is not intirely consistent with himself in what he says of circumcision, as a rite practised in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; which must undoubtedly not a little contribute towards invalidating his authority in this particular. But, waving this consideration, when he asserts circumcision to have prevailed *& παρά αρχῆς, from the beginning,* amongst the *Egyptians*, *Colchi*, and *Ethiopians*, he cannot be supposed to mean, that they received it from their first ancestor. For in such a case it must have passed from him to the *Philistines*, who were likewise his descendants ; which all, who pay the least regard to Scripture, will allow to be false. That expression, there-

fore, must either import indefinitely, that it had been observed in *Egypt* from time immemorial, or from some period near the beginning of the great *Egyptian* empire formed by *Ammenemes* and *Sesac*. This happened about the reign of *Solomon*, one of the greatest and most powerful princes of his age, and in alliance with *Egypt*, between five and six hundred years before *Herodotus* wrote his history. And here in fact several learned men have placed the introduction of this institution into *Egypt*. As for *Herodotus*, he was frequently imposed upon most egregiously by the *Egyptians*, especially in points relating either to the antiquity of their monarchy, or those customs they had in common with other nations. Their excessive vanity would not permit them to speak the truth, when they imagined it would reflect the least honour or glory upon any of the neighbouring states. For which reason, as well as others that might be offered, and particularly be-

served amongst them, as well as the *Egyptians*, from very early antiquity, though which of these nations first received it, cannot certainly be known. 17. The *Ethiopian* soldiers tied their arrows round their (E) heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads, temples, &c. and the other projected out like so many rays, which formed a kind of crown. These arrows were extremely short, pointed with sharp stones instead of iron, and dipped in the *virus* of dragons, or some other lethiferous poison, insomuch that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. The bows from which they shot these arrows were four cubits long, and required so much strength to manage them, that no nation could make use of them but the *Ethiopians*. According to several authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or showers of these arrows. Many tribes of the people now under consideration, particularly the *Blemmyes*, had wonderful skill in using the weapons here mentioned, taking aim so well, and hitting the mark so exactly, that some of the antients imagined every individual of them to have had four eyes. The *Ethiopians* retreated fighting in the same manner as the *Parthians*, discharging volleys of arrows with such dexterity and address whilst they were retiring full-speed, that they terribly galled the enemy. It appears from *Scylax*, *Horace*, and *Aelian*, that the *Mauritanians* and *Blacks*, or western *Ethiopians*, were likewise very expert archers, and shot poisoned arrows; and the same thing has been observed of their posterity by the epitomizer of *Edrisi*, or, as he is more usually called, the *Nubian* geographer. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immense size, which may be deemed a farther proof of their vast bodily strength. 19. The *Macrobian* or long-lived *Ethiopians* fed for the most part upon roasted flesh, drank milk,

cause it seems to us diametrically opposite to Scripture, we cannot pay any regard to the sentiment of those authors, who either deduce circumcision originally out of *Egypt*, or make the *Hebrews* to have borrowed it of the *Egyptians* (8).

(E) Before they took any ar-

rows from their heads, in order to begin a general action, they had a particular kind of dance, as we learn from *Lucian*. But how such a custom came first to be introduced among them, or what they intended by it, has not been intimated by any antient author (9).

(8) *Herodot.* I. ii. c. 36, 37, & 104. *Gen.* c. x. v. 13, 14. 2 *Sam.* c. i. v. 20, & alib. *Vid. etiam Agatharchid.* *Cnid.* in *excerptis Plotii*, p. 1358. *Clem. Alex.* from. I. i. p. 354. c. 15. edit. *Potter.* *Cotelerii not. in Barnab.* epist. c. 9. & *Suid.* in *voc. Φάλος*.

(9) *Lucian, de saltat.* p. 505. ed. *Lutet.* *Par.* 1615.

and frequently attained to the age of an hundred and twenty years. It is said, that this longevity was principally owing to a rich and fragrant fountain, rendering their bodies smooth, as if anointed with oil, and perfuming them with the odour of violets, wherein they frequently bathed themselves. 20. These *Ethiopians* looked upon bras as the most valuable of metals, and had gold in such little esteem, that they fettered their prisoners with golden chains. 21. Some *Ethiopic* cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and swore by their manes, as has been before related of the *Nasamones*; and others threw them into the river, looking upon this as the best sort of burial that could possibly be allotted them. 22. Some of the *Ethiopians* had no regular meals, or stated times of eating, but always refreshed themselves when hunger and thirst prompted them thereto. 23. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* lived upon human flesh, as we learn from *Philostratus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolemy*. This seems fully to evince, that the *Cafres*, and consequently the territories they inhabited, were known to the antients, though we scarce find any thing in the old geographers concerning them <sup>x</sup>.

As the *Ethiopians* agreed with the *Egyptians* in most of *Arts*, &c. their laws, their splendid funerals, the (H) deification of their princes,

\* DION. SIC. I. iii. HERODOT. lib. ii. lib. iii. lib. vii. & alib. AGATHARCHID. CNID. de Mar. Rubr. I. v. c. 12—31. apud Phot. p. 1343—1360. STRAB. I.—xvii. & alib. XENOPH. 'Αροβασ. I. iii. HELIODOR. ΑEthiopic. I. ix. & alib. Vet. auct. apud Suid. HERODOT. I. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. PHILOSTRAT. I. vi. c. 12. & apud Phot. p. 1015. PLIN. I. vA. c. 29, 30. SOLIN. c. 30. PTOL. geogr. I. iv. c. 9. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. p. 42. CYRIL. in Esai. I. ii. CLAUDIAN. I. i. & alib. Vid. & Lib. Hebr. Baal Aruc. THEOPHRAST. hist. plant. I. ix. c. 15, & alib. HOMER. Iliad. x. v. 93. SCYLAX CARYAND. p. 12. AELIAN. de animal. I. vi. & I. xiv. c. 5. HOR. I. i. od. 22. AETIUS in tetrab. iv. ferm. I. c. 34. Geogr. Nub. clim. I. par. I. JOAN. TZETZ. c. i. I. 8. 1220. JOAN. geometr. hym. ii. See also the Universal history, vol. xviii. in the histories of *Numidia* and *Mauritania*.

(H) Diiodorus relates, that the *Egyptians* learned the custom of deifying their kings from the *Ethiopians*. Nay, according to him, the *Egyptians* derived statuary, and even their letters them-selves, from the same source. This author also observes, that the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* priests, as well as kings, wore caps wreathed round with serpents called asps; by which was intimated, that

princes, the several colleges of priests, circumcision, and in fine most of their sacred and civil institutions, it is highly probable, that the same arts, sciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed amongst both nations. Nay, this seems to be expressly asserted by *Diodorus Siculus*, when he informs us, that not only the same kind of statures, but likewise the same hieroglyphic figures and characters, were used in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; since it is generally allowed, that those were the repositories of the *Egyptian* wisdom and literature. It must be owned, that an ingenious modern writer roundly affirms, that no nation besides the *Egyptians* continued to write with marks after the invention of letters; all others immediately dropping their hieroglyphics on the discovery of that more commodious method, because the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics only contained any wisdom or learning. But these seem to be assertions not only arbitrary and precarious, but plainly false, as appearing both incapable of proof, and diametrically opposite to what *Diodorus Siculus* has advanced from the best authors who had written before his time of the nation we are now upon. Nay, that they had persons amongst them eminent for their wisdom, may be inferred from a writer cited by *Photius*; and that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in most points of importance, seems to have been the general sentiment of the *Romans* as well as the *Greeks*, as is implied by *Festus*, when he calls them *Egyptini*. *Homer* also celebrates both their wisdom and religion, when he makes *Jupiter*, and the rest of the gods, to attend their entertainments. That they even were instructed in several branches of literature by *Moses* himself, who was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, may be collected from *Artapanus* in *Fusibus*, *Josephus*, and others. But, waving all other proofs and authorities that might be offered in favour of the point here insisted upon, it will be sufficient to observe, that a nation so near *Egypt*, the centre of learning and politeness in very early ages, with which the *Ethiopians* always kept open a communication, could not avoid arriving at a very laudable degree of (I) knowlege

that every person guilty of treason would as certainly suffer death, as if he had been bit by that poisonous animal (1).

(I) *Lucian* makes the *Ethiopians* to have excelled all other nations in wisdom and literature.

According to him, they invented astronomy and astrology, and communicated those sciences, as well as many other branches of learning, to the *Egyptians*. As their country was very fit for making celestial observations, such

(1) *Diod. Sic. I. ii. sub. i. i.*

knowlege both in the liberal arts and sciences, and those termed mechanical <sup>y</sup>.

THE *Ethiopians* were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewise surpassed most other of the *Ethiopians* in beauty, and largeness of size, to which a proportionable degree of strength was generally annexed. For which reason *Herodotus* intimates, that the *Macrobii* conferred the royal dignity upon the most beautiful, large, and strong person they could find amongst them. Both they and the *Arabians* had an invincible aversion to mice, as we learn from *Plutarch*. If the modern *Abassines* resemble their ancestors, they were well-shaped, of a generous disposition, and exceeding quick parts. Upon the same supposition, some of them must have been free, cheerful, humane, forgivers of injuries, and great lovers of (K) justice. According to various authors, the proper antient *Ethiopians* were, for the most part, perfectly black, as we find their posterity at this day, though some particular cantons were white, called by *Pliny*, *white Ethiopians*. It is probable they were pleased with their natural colour, and preferred it to those of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the present *Abassines* are terrified at the sight of an *European*, as much as ours are at that

<sup>y</sup> DION. Sic. ubi sup. WARBURTON's divin. legat. of Mos. demonstrat. vol. ii. par. i. p. 157. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 104. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. PHILOSTRATUS TYRIUS de vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. viii. cod. 44. apud Phot. p. 30. FEST. in voc. Ægyptin. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. ARTAPAN. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. lib. ix. c<sup>o</sup> 4: Act. c. vii. v. 22. Vide etiam HOMER. Iliad. A'. CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. in Strom. aliquoque aucto. pass.

a notion seems not intirely groundless; though scarce any particulars of their knowlege have reached us (2).

(K) *Pausanias*, when he distinguishes the *Proper Ethiopians* from those bordering upon the *Mauri* and *Nasamones*, remarks, that the people of *Meroe*, as well as the other neighbouring *Ethiopians*, were eminent for their love of justice. This observation was probably truer than what he

subjoins to it, to wit, that the *Ethiopians* had no other river but the *Nile*; though, as all their other rivers join the *Nile*, this is no unpardonable mistake. However, the accounts he had received of the country inhabited by that people were not over-accurate; as we may collect from his confounding the *Ethiopian* ox or bull with the rhinoceros, and other instances that might be produced (3).

(2) *Lucian. de astrolog.* p. 539, 540. & *in fugitu.* p. 1011.  
& *in Bæotic.* & *in Astic.* p. 62, 63.

(3) *Paus-*

of a *Negro*; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions of, or bordering upon, that colour. Others relate, that in some provinces of *Abassia* the people are of an olive-colour; that in general they are born white, with a spot upon their navel, which in a short time after their birth spreads over their whole body; and that, being transported into *Europe*, they become white at the second or third generation. *Gregory the Abassine* informed *Ludolfus*, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddish hue, but in a short time turned black. Their women are strong and lusty, and bring forth with little pain, as usually happens in the warmer climates. When they are in labour, they kneel down upon their knees, as the *Hebrew* women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife. Many, if not all, of these particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the antient *Ethiopians*, who, from what is observable in their posterity, seem to have been likewise very patient of labour, capable of bearing the greatest fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Lastly, from *Herodotus* compared with the relations of some modern authors, it is not unlikely, that they died purely of old-age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the sword, or were devoured by wild beasts, as *Sallust* has observed of the antient *Africans*<sup>2</sup>.

## C H A P. XX.

*The History of the Ethiopians, to the Usurpation of the Zagæan Family, which commenced about the Year of Christ 960.*

Where the first kingdom of *Cush* was situated, uncertain. WE have already observed, that not only the vast tract stretching from the southern limits of *Egypt* to *Lilya Incognita*, and the peninsula of *Arabia*, as well as a particular part of that peninsula contiguous to *Egypt*, but likewise *Susiana*, called by the Orientals *Khuzestân*, and the country watered by the *Araxes*, the seat of the antient *Scythians*, sometimes went under the denomination of *Cush* amongst the *Asiatic* nations. Where *Cush* himself settled immediately after the dispersion, authors are far from being agreed; some placing him in *Susiana* or *Khuzestân*, others in *Arabia Felix*, and others in that district near the confines of *Egypt*, called in Scripture the land of *Midian* or *Madian*. Possibly some of

<sup>2</sup> Excerpt. e vit. Pythag. apud Phot. p. 1319. HERODOT. l. iii. DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. PLUT. de invid. & od. P. BALTHAZAR TELLEZIUS, & GREG. ABASS. apud Job. Ludolf. in hist. *Aethiop.* l. iii. c. 14. ut & ipse LUDOLF. ibid. Is. Vossius de orig. Nil. &c. MEL. & SOLIN. apud Ludolf. ubi sup. P. AUGUSTIN. CALMRT. dict. bibl. in voc. *Aethiopia*, &c. SALLUST. in Jugurth.

his descendants might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here mentioned. But it is probable, that many of them advanced towards *Arabia* and *Egypt*, since the posterity of *Elam* the son of *Shem* replenished, in all likelihood, several of the provinces of *Persia*, and particularly *Elymais*, or *Elam*, contiguous to *Susiana* or *Khuzeſtān*. Be that as it will, it is certain, the land of *Midian* went by the name of *Cush* before the age of *Moses*, when, it is natural to suppose, the country washed by the *Araxes* was but thinly peopled, and even scarce known. That many of the children of *Cush* should have migrated into *Arabia*, and especially that part of *Yaman* bordering upon the straits of *Bab al Mandub*, has a great appearance of truth; since such a situation seems to be commodious for throwing large numbers of *Cushites* into the *Proper Ethiopia*, as well as the inland parts of *Africa*. To support farther the conjecture offered to the consideration of our readers here, it may be observed from various authors, that a good part of the upper *Egypt* was possessed by the *Cushites* in the earlier ages; and that the city of *Cos*, *Kris*, or *Kush*, situated upon the *Nile* in that country, took its name from *Cush* the father of the *Ethiopians*. The *Arabs* call *Ethiopia* not only *Habash*, from *Habash* the supposed son of *Cush*, but likewise *Cush* or *Cousch*, in like manner as the *Hebrews*. The first kings of this country we have no account of, that deserves the least regard. It is probable, that several princes reigned here at the same time, before any of the great empires were formed, as in *Egypt*. Some of the modern *Abaffines* pretend, that one *Arwe* was the first king of *Ethiopia*; but they relate nothing memorable of him. This prince was assassinated by one *Angab*, who afterwards ascended the throne, and was succeeded by *Sanabut*, *Gclur*, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous history of *Tzagaxus*, and what we find on this head in *Jerom Vecchietti*, not the least degree of credit is due to them. The present king of *Ethiopia*, or emperor of *Abaffia*, is styled by his subjects *Negus*, i. e. *king*; but, as the governors of provinces are sometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is *Negusa Nagast Zaitiopia*, i. e. *king of the kings of Ethiopia*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 366. & seq. DAN. c. viii. v. 2. PTOL. Asia tab. 5. BOCHART. Phal. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. PLIN. l. vi. c. 25. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. xii. c. 12. HYDE de relig. vet. Persar. p. 80, &c. Num. c. xii. v. 1. CALMET, in art. *Cush* & *Ethiopia*. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Oriental. in voc. *Habas*. ABUL-FED. YACUT. aliique apud Golium, in not. ad Alfragan. p. 101. NEWTON's chronol. p. 201, & alib. D'HERBEI. ubi sup. p. 274. 409, &c. Vid. catal. in hist. fab. TZAGAXI, HIERON. VECCHIEITI. c. 39. & Job. LUDOLF. hist. *Ethiop.* l. ii. c. 1, 2, &c.

**Moses conquers Ethiopia.** It may be inferred from some authors, that the *Ethiopians* possessed *Thebais* before *Moses's* time, and consequently that they were a powerful nation from the remotest antiquity. According to these authors, they made an irruption into the *Lower Egypt* whilst *Moses* was there, and penetrated as far as *Memphis*. Having defeated the *Egyptians* in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate destruction. Whereupon the *Egyptian* gods, being consulted, ordered their votaries to put an *Hebrew* at the head of their forces, and then march against the enemy. The king, in pursuance of this order, prevailed upon *Moses* to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. *Moses*, being vested with an unlimited power to act as he should think proper for the good of his master's service, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the *Nile*, in conformity to their expectations, but to push thro' some mediterranean provinces, greatly infested with serpents of an enormous size, towards *Meroe*, the capital of *Ethiopia*, he was obliged to have recourse to the following stratagem, to save his men: He filled many chests or panniers, made of the *Egyptian* plant *papyrus*, with vast numbers of the *ibis*, an *Egyptian* bird, that had a natural antipathy to serpents of all kinds, and made great havock of them. When he approached the tract abounding with those animals, he let out his birds, which destroyed all of them they met with, and opened a passage for the *Egyptian* forces. *Moses*, therefore, without any difficulty, surprised the *Ethiopians*, gave them a total defeat, and at last shut them up in *Meroe*. But this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the *Nile*, the *Ajtopus*, and the *Ataboras*, which so surrounded it, that it was almost impossible for an army to approach it. However, *Moses's* good fortune interposing, he found means to make himself master of it. The king of *Ethiopia's* daughter, observing from the walls *Moses's* bravery in repulsing several sallies of the besieged, and being charmed with his success, fell desperately in love with him, and, by the assistance of some friends she could confide in, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided he would swear to marry her. This overture, continue the same authors, *Moses* complied with, was thereupon admitted into the town, and married her. However, he treated the citizens with great rigour and severity, first plundering them, and then putting most of them to the sword. In fine, having ravaged the whole country, rased or dismantled all the places of strength, and consequently rendered the *Ethiopians* for a long time incapable of making head against

against the *Egyptians*, he returned home with great glory. *Cedrenus* intimates, that this war lasted ten years<sup>b</sup>.

THE *Abaffines* are firmly persuaded, that the celebrated *The Abaf-queen* (A) of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*, sines be-reigned over the *Proper Ethiopia*. They have an history of *live their* her written at large, but interspersed with various fables. *kings to be* The substance of it is as follows: *Makeda* (for, according <sup>descend. à</sup> to them that was her name), receiving an account, from *Ta-* <sup>mon and</sup> *Solom-erin* an *Ethiopian* merchant, of the surprising power and <sup>the queen</sup> wisdom of *Solomon*, took a journey to *Jerusalem* to know the <sup>of Sheba.</sup> truth of this report. She was attended by a great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a variety of most magnificent presents. After she had been instructed at *Jerusalem* in the worship of the true God, she returned home, and within the space of a year brought forth a son <sup>b-gotten</sup> by *Solomon*, who named him *David*; but he was called by his mother and her subjects *Menelech*, or *Menilech*, that is, *another self*. He received his education at *Solomon's* court, and was accompanied home by many doctors of the law, and *Izraelites* of distinction, and particularly *Azariah* the son of *Zadoc* the high-priest. By the assistance of these *Hebrew* attendants he established the religion professed by his father, in *Ethiopia*, where it continued till that kingdom embraced Christianity. The *Ababs* and *Abaffines* have given the princess above-mentioned several names, as *Makeda*, *Balkis*, *Balkis*, or *Bulkis*, *Nghella Azab*, i. e. *queen of the south*, as we find her styled by our Saviour, and the *Ethiopic* version, &c. The *Abaffines* pretend, that their kings are descended in a right line from *Menelech*; and even most of the noble families in *Abaffa* at this day trace their respective pedigrees up to *Solomon*<sup>c</sup>.

THAT this tradition is clogged with some absurdities, will <sup>appar.</sup> appear to any one who considers it with the least attention, <sup>attent.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> EUPOLEM. & ARTAPAN. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. I. ix c. 4. JOSPH. antiquitat. I. ii. c. 10. GEORG. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 48. ed. Paris. 1647. <sup>c</sup> LUDOLF. ubi sup. c. 3. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. p. 6. GOLLI notes ad Alfraganum. p. 295. D'Her. RELOT. bibl. Oriental. sub voc. *Balkis*. LE GRANU, dissert. vii. Matt. c. xii. ver. 42.

(A) *Josephus* says, that the queen of *Sheba* governed *Egypt* as well as *Ethiopia*; but as this notion runs counter to the whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, we shall not scruple to reject it (4).

*clogged with some absurdities, tho' not to be deem'd entirely false.* though at the same time it must be allowed, as hinted above, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth. *Ethiopia* is more to the south of *Judea* than the territory or kingdom of *Saba* in *Arabia Felix*, and consequently seems to bid fairer than that country for the dominions of that prince whom our Saviour calls the *queen of the south*. *Ethiopia* is stiled the remotest part of the habitable world by *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, and therefore better agrees with what our Saviour has said of the queen of *Sheba*, to wit, that *she came from the uttermost parts of the earth*, than *Arabia*. Nor can it be deemed a sufficient reply to this argument, that *Arabia Felix* was the uttermost part of the earth in respect of *Judea*, since it was bounded by the *Red Sea*. For that not only *Egypt*, but even *Ethiopia*, regions beyond that sea, were known to, and even had a communication with, the *Frus*, both before and in our Saviour's time, is indisputably clear. Lastly, from what has been suggested above, it appears no improbable conjecture, that *Judaism* was not only known in a part at least of *Ethiopia*, but likewise nearly related to the established religion there, at the beginning of the apostolical age, if not much earlier. However, we would not be understood as pretending to determine the residence of the *queen of the south*; especially since so much may be said for *Arabia*, as well as the country we are now upon. After all, these two opinions, so contrary in appearance, may be made consistent without great difficulty; since it is agreed, that *Arabia* and *Ethiopia* have antiently born the same name, been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* had the same origin, and very considerable numbers of the *Abaseni* transplanted themselves from *Arabia Felix* into *Ethiopia*, as already observed; which seems sufficient to make appear the intercourse that formerly subsisted between the *Cushites* or *Ethiopians* of *Afia* and *Africa* <sup>d</sup>.

*Ethiopia reduced by Sesac.*

BUT whether our readers will think proper to fix the queen of *Sheba* in *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*, whether they will admit or reject the history of that prince, and her son, given us by the *Abaffines*, it seems clear from Scripture, that the *Ethiopians* were subject to *Sesac*, either in *Solomon's* time, or soon after his death. For, that the *Cushites* mentioned in the passage here referred to, were the proper *Ethiopians*, appears from their being joined with the *Lubim* or *Libyans*, who like-

<sup>d</sup> HERODOT. I. iii. c. 114. STRAB. I. xvii. p. 564. ed. 1587. MATT. c. xii. v. 42. COSMAS AEGYPTIUS, in Christian. opin. de mund. I. ii. p. 138, 139. EUSEB. comment. in Esai. c. xlili. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 275, & seq. LE GRAND, & LUDOLF. ubi sup.

wise served in the army of that prince. This, it must be owned, is a strong proof, that *Sesostris* and *Sesac* were the same person, in conformity to what *Josephus* asserts, since we read not in Scripture of any *Egyptian* but *Sesac* that was master of *Ethiopia*; and since *Herodotus* positively asserts, that *Sesostris* alone, of all the *Egyptian* monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country. But further, as the Scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of *Egypt* before *Sesac*, it is in the highest degree probable, that he was the first who extended his conquests in so wonderful a manner as we find the antients have related of *Sesostris*. For, had such great atchievements been performed sooner, the sacred history would undoubtedly have given us some hint of them, especially as the *Hebrews* had such an intercourse with the *Egyptians* almost from the remotest antiquity. The silence, therefore, of Scripture, in this particular, is an argument of no small force in favour of what *Josephus* has advanced concerning the identity of *Sesostris* and *Sesac*. Nay, we will venture to affirm, that it tends strongly to evince the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammon* and *Sesac*, to have been the first great empire that ever was formed. For the high, and even incredible, antiquity of the *Affyrian* empire depends solely upon the authority of *Ctesias*, not the least hint, in support of such antiquity, being visible in Scripture; on the contrary, it plainly appearing from thence, that it was founded by *Pul*, about two hundred years after the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Sesac*. Notwithstanding, therefore, the ineffectual labours of so many learned men to vindicate the notorious falsehoods of *Ctesias*, or, which is the same thing, of the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors, who have extracted those falsehoods from him, no one, who has the least regard for Scripture, can possibly imagine any *Egyptian* monarch of great note to have flourished before *Sesac*, or *Affyrian* before *Pul*. This notion has been set in the strongest light by Sir *Isaac Newton*, but opposed by many ingenious and learned men. However, as these learned men seem not to have duly attended to what Sir *Isaac* has advanced, and as it has been that illustrious author's misfortune to have his works at first misunderstood, though they have afterwards shone out with a double lustre, we shall beg leave to make a general remark upon the most considerable writers, who have endeavoured to overthrow his system of chronology, which to us seems nearer the truth than any other. We do not pretend to adopt every particular sentiment advanced in this noble piece, and therefore shall not offer an answer to all the objections urged against it. Nor, indeed, were we so disposed, would the nature of the work

we are at present engaged in render such an answer practicable.

Sir Isaac  
Newton  
misrepre-  
sented.

SIR Isaac allows, that before the time of *Ammon* or *Ammenemes*, the father of *Sesac*, there were several kings in *Egypt*, and even adopts what *Manetho* has written of the kings of the *Lower Egypt*; only he contends, that the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt* were not united under one prince before the reign of *Ammon*. And how does this contradict Scripture, which takes notice only of the kings of *Misraim*, or that part of the *Lower Egypt* bordering upon *Arabia* and *Palæstine*? Nay, does he not suppose the truth of the most early Scripture-accounts of *Egypt*, by referring to the book of *Genesis* on several occasions, by deducing from thence several facts corroboratory of his system? Does he not intimate, that the lower part of *Egypt* was governed by a series of kings from the remotest antiquity, even from the first invention of corn there, to *Joshua's* invasion of *Canaan*; that the people of this country worshiped the prince at the head of this series, who taught them to make bread, after his death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction? And can any thing better tally with Scripture, or rather be more firmly founded upon it, as well as consonant to all profane antiquity, than such an observation? Nay, does he not offer it as his opinion, that this prince reigned in the *Lower Egypt* as early as the first plantation of it, and therefore might, for aught that appears to the contrary from him, or rather, as he strongly insinuates, be *Misraim*? To what purpose then have we been troubled with so much empty jangling and outcries against him, as though he had attacked the authority of Scripture, by denying the being of that ancient kingdom in the *Lower Egypt* so frequently mentioned by the sacred historian? In short, most of those persons, who have so grossly misrepresented Sir Isaac in this particular, have been either professed infidels, or such as secretly favoured infidelity; or, lastly, such as have implicitly swallowed the absurdities of *Ctesias*. But from these our great author is neither to expect candour nor impartiality. He has so effectually overthrown that romantic antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, which the *Egyptian* priests endeavoured to palm upon the world, and which so long has been one of the last resources of infidelity, that all our modern deists, as well as their secret abettors, must of course declare against him: and those persons, who are so hardy as to attempt in earnest the reconcilia-

\* 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. PLIN. JOSEPH. DIONYS. PERIEG. STRAB. APOLLON. RHOD. PAUSAN. LUCAN. aliquique scriptor. quamplurim. apud Newton. in chronol. pass. 2 Kin. c. xv. ver. 19. 1 Chron. c. v. ver. 26.

tion of *Ctesias* with Scripture, are, in our opinion, not only capable of opposing what Sir Isaac has offered in defence of his system, but all the mathematical demonstration that ever appeared in the world <sup>e</sup>.

BUT it is said, that Sir Isaac makes *Sesostris* or *Sesac* to have introduced instruments of war, the exact distribution of the principal property, &c. amongst the *Egyptians*; which is not only contrary to Scripture, but likewise to what we have just advanced. And was there then no other country called *Egypt* but the land of *Misraim* mentioned by *Moses* in the first book of the *Pentateuch*, or rather did that kingdom include all the tract the Greeks called *Egypt*? No, this cannot be maintained; since that country is known not to have contained all the *Lower Egypt*, much less the *Lower* and *Upper Egypt* united; and it may be as well known, by perusing Sir Isaac with proper attention, that both these united were the *Egypt* governed by *Sesac*. That prince, therefore, might have introduced the things enumerated by our great chronologer (for so we shall not scruple to call him, notwithstanding the cavils of his adversaries) into some parts of the *Upper Egypt*, or several savage districts not far from the western coast of the *Red Sea*, and civilized the inhabitants, though a kingdom had subsisted in the *Lower Egypt*, whose members had been tolerably polished before the reign of *Sesac*, from the age of *Misraim*. These points are by no means incompatible, and therefore nothing to the prejudice of Sir Isaac's system of chronology can be inferred from the supposed disagreement of them. On the contrary, as the *Troglodytes*, appertaining partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Ethiopia*; remained in a state of barbarity many ages after *Sesac*, it is no such improbable notion, that before his time several other tribes inhabiting the *Upper Egypt* might be as rude and barbarous as some of the antients have represented them. But it is farther urged, that Sir Isaac makes *Ammon* and *Sesac* to have been the great gods of the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, known amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the names *Zeus*, *Jupiter*, *Dionysus*, *Bacchus*, &c. which runs counter to the whole stream of antiquity, and withal contradicts Scripture. For, according to the objectors, *Apis*, *Serapis*; i. e. *Jupiter*, was worshiped by the *Egyptians* before the Exodus of the *Israelites*, the golden calf being set up by that nation in the wilderness in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. Now, that the first king of that very antient monarchy in the *Lower Egypt*, so frequently mentioned by *Moses*, was worshiped in the ox or calf, for the reason above assigned,

<sup>e</sup> Newt. of the empire of *Egypt*, and chronol. of the *Greeks*, pass.

is expressly asserted by Sir Isaac. We may, therefore, most rationally account for the *Israelites* paying divine honours to the golden calf from him, without having recourse to the worship of *Apis*. For as this worship, in several particulars, might resemble a much more antient worship pointing at the first king of the land of *Misraim*, it does not from thence follow, that this prince was the *Egyptian Apis*. One strong presumption, that they were really different, is, that *Mnevis* seems more properly to represent the founder of the kingdom of *Misraim* than *Apis*. For *Mnevis* (B) was kept at *Heliopolis*, and consequently held in the highest veneration there, whereas *Apis* resided at *Memphis*. Now *Heliopolis* was much more antient than *Memphis*, being the city *On*, whose priest's daughter *Joseph* married, as appears clearly from the Septuagint. It was likewise nearer the confines of *Palestine* and *Arabia* than *Memphis*; nay, it seems to have been in the very land of *Goshen* or *Gesen*, where the *Israelites* dwelt immediately before the Exodus. On which accounts *Mnevis* must be deemed the most proper representative of *Misraim*, and the most likely to correspond with the golden calf adored by the *Israelites* in the wilderness. Which single observation, exclusive of many others that might be offered, ought to be deemed a full refutation of the point so confidently advanced in this objection. Again, we are told, that Sir Isaac Newton invalidates the authority of Scripture, when he intimates alphabetic letters not to have been received in *Egypt* before

(B) That *Mnevis* and *Apis* were different deities, or rather representatives of different deities, appears from hence, that the *Egyptians* held the latter in much higher veneration than the former. The worship of *Apis* seems to have been not only universal in *Egypt*, but likewise common to most of the nations of *Arabia*, *India*, and *Ethiopia*; whereas the chief divine honours paid *Mnevis* did not extend much farther than the district of *Heliopolis*, if they were not absolutely confined to that place. Now this is easy to be conceived, nay, perfectly rational, upon Sir Isaac Newton's principles. For he supposes, that *Sesostris*

or *Sesac* was the first prince in possession 'both of the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, &c. and that he civilized several nations; whereas he believes the antient kingdom of *Misraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt* to have been of no larger an extent than we have already hinted. *Amianus Marcellinus* seems plainly to give *Mnevis* the preference to *Apis* in point of antiquity; and the notion he appears to espouse will be rendered probable, not only by what we here advance, but likewise by a careful and diligent comparison of the authors here referred to with one another (2).

(2) *Herodot.* l. iii. *Strab.* l. xvii. *Plut.* de Isid. &c. *Ofrid.* *Plin.* l. viii. c. 46. *Aelian.* hist. animal. l. xi. c. 9. *Univ.* hist. vol. i. p. 472.

the time of *Ammon* the father of *Sesac*, that is, in some part of *David's* reign. But how does this appear? Does the Scripture say any thing of the alphabetic characters of *Egypt* before that period, either directly or by implication? And if not, how can such a notion in any manner affect Scripture? We cannot, therefore, but own ourselves greatly surprised at the conduct of a very learned and ingenious author, who charges this opinion with being contrary to Scripture, and, in support of that charge, quotes the following passage—“ As to the precise time of the invention of *Egyptian* letters, IT CAN NEVER BE SO MUCH AS GUESSED AT.”—“ However, that letters (in *Egypt*) were very early, we have clearly shewn above, as well from other circumstances as from this, that the invention of them was given to their gods.” Now it is remarkable, that these circumstances no-where appear; and that the other passage referred to, in order to support what is here advanced, only takes notice of writing, which, it is well known, in the earliest times, consisted of hieroglyphic characters. As for the origin of arts and sciences in the land of *Misraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt*, all that we can say of it is, that it preceded the age of *Moses*, who, as St. *Stephen* himself, under the actual influence of the Holy Ghost, informs us, was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But what a progress literature had then made there, we cannot pretend to say. It is not improbable, that the art of onirocritic, or interpretation of dreams, astrology, including so much of the simple elements of astronomy as contained the knowlege of the true system of the world, some maxims of civil policy, with certain theological notions, made up the greatest part of it. But we cannot collect from hence, that they knew even so much of the principles of astronomy and geometry; as to understand the art of navigation, before the time Sir *Isaac* mentions; nor that any of the arts or sciences, which he intimates began to flourish amongst the *Egyptians* about the reigns of *Ammon* and *Sesac*, were cultivated there to any great purpose before that period. But admitting, that the *Egyptians* of the land of *Misraim*, before the reigns of the princes above-mentioned, were as learned and polite as Sir *Isaac's* adversaries would insinuate, which is yet utterly improbable, it will not follow, that the *Upper Egypt*, *Libya*, &c. had then any great pretensions to learning and politeness. And therefore every thing advanced upon that supposition, which is almost the sum of what has been offered against Sir *Isaac's* system of chronology in this point, deserves not the least attention. In fine, most of those gentlemen, who have opposed this excellent piece, seem to have confounded the

kingdom of *Misraim* with that *Egyptian* empire which arrived at its last perfection in the days of *Sesac*, if not with *Libya*, *Troglodytico*, and other barbarous countries over-run and civilized by that prince. And not only so, but they have considered some of his notions as detached from others, with which, in reality, they have a close connexion ; have attacked several points without informing their readers what he has urged in defence of them ; have attempted an answer to some of his weaker arguments without touching upon those of greater strength ; lastly, have never taken a full survey of the system, but only fallen upon some of those parts they thought the most liable to exception, and, from a supposed refutation of them, collected the falsity of the whole. However, it is not our business here to enter into a nice discussion of all the particulars relating to this controversy, nor to examine every cavil leveled at a work, the main part of which, we believe, will, sooner or later, meet with a general good reception from the learned world. For, with regard to some particular sentiments in it, learned men will always think differently of them, as has been the fate of several parts of the most excellent productions in all ages. As such a digression merited a place in some part of this work, and comes in naturally enough here, we hope it will be pardoned, if not favourably received, by our readers. — But to return to our history <sup>f</sup> :

*History of Ethiopia, to the second expulsion of the sheep-herds.*

WE have already observed, that *Sesac* subdued and reigned over *Ethiopia*. After his death a civil war seems to have broken out in *Egypt*, which Sir Isaac Newton believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the *Libyans*, and defended by the *Ethiopians*. But about ten years afterwards, continues the same illustrious author, the *Ethiopians* drowned *Sesac's* successor in the *Nile*, and seized upon *Egypt*. With that kingdom, *Libya* also fell into their hands, which will enable us to account for the numerous host with which *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* advanced against *Afa* king of *Judah*. However, *Afa* overthrew that army, consisting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and dispersed it in such a manner, that *Zerah* could never afterwards rally his scattered forces. Upon which, the people of the *Lower Egypt* revolted from the *Ethiopians*, and, being sustained by a body of two hundred thousand Jewish or Canaanitish auxiliaries, forced *Memnon* or *Amenophis*, king of that nation, to retire to *Memphis*. It is probable, that the *Egyptians*, under the conduct of their chief

<sup>f</sup> *Ibidem ibid.* PLIN. I. viii. c. 46. HERODOT. I. iii. STRAB. I. xvii. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. I. xxii. PLUT. de Isid. & Osrid. Aelian. de animal. I. xi. c. 9. WARBURTON's divine legat. of Mos. demonstr. vol. ii. par. i. p. 275, 138, 124, 60.

priest *Usorthon*, *Osorchor*, *Osarchor*, or *Osuriphus*, followed their blow; since, after *Mennon* had turned the course of the (C) *Nile*, built a bridge over that river, and fortified the pass there, he retreated with great precipitation into *Ethiopia*. However, about thirteen years after this disgrace, he, and his young son *Rameffes*, returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the above-mentioned *Jews* or *Phœnicians* out of the *Lower Egypt*; which action the *Egyptian* writers called the second expulsion of the shepherds, as we learn from the aforesaid illustrious author, in conjunction with *Manetho* <sup>g</sup>.

We are told by *Cedrenus*, a writer of good authority, that, <sup>A deluge</sup> about fifty years after *Cecrops*, the first king of *Athens*, began <sup>in Ethiopia</sup> to reign, there happened a deluge in *Ethiopia*; but what damage the inhabitants of that country sustained on this occasion, he informs us not. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were sufficiently felt, since otherwise it would not have merited the notice of any historian. As *Cedrenus* follows the technical chronology of *Eratosthenes*, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not disposed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot take upon us so much as to conjecture<sup>h</sup>.

FROM several historical facts, Sir *Isaac* renders it extremely probable, that *Menes*, *Mennon*, and *Amenophis*, were the same person; that the *Ethiopian* prince, who went by these names, was the son of *Zerab*; and that he died in a very advanced age (D), about ninety years after the death of *Solomon*. <sup>Continued to the time of Saba-con.</sup>

<sup>g</sup> NEWT. ubi sup. Chron. c. xiv. ver. 8 — 15. MANETH. apud Joseph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. DIOD. Sic. l. i. HERODOT. l. ii. & Aeschyl. apud Newt. in chronol. p. 238.

<sup>h</sup> GEORG. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 83. Paris. 1647.

(C) This famous river, we suppose, by way of eminence, was called the *Nile*, i. e. *the river, the torrent, &c.* for that the word נַהֲלָה *Naal* or *Niil* imports. Amongst the *Orientals* the vowels were nearly related to one another, and consequently a permutation of them frequent; and that the letter נ, in some words, had not formerly so much as the force even of a note of aspiration, is

evinced by *Boccart*. נַהֲלָה and *Nilus*, therefore, are only נַהֲלָה with a *Greek* and *Latin* termination (3).

(D) That this prince attained to an extreme old-age is intimated by *Philostratus*, when he affirms *Mennon* to have reigned five ages or generations in *Ethiopia*. He also gives us to understand, that the *Ethiopians*, some of them he means, were longer-lived than

(3) Val. Scind. lac. pentaglott. p. 1104. Boccart. Phal. l. i. c. 1.

lomon. According to the same incomparable writer, the city of *Memphis*, called in Scripture *Moph* and *Noph*, as likewise *Menoph* or *Menuf* by the Arabian historians, derived its name from that of this prince, who either built it, or first fortified it, to prevent *Osarsiphus* from entering *Ethiopia*. The *Argonautic* expedition happened in the reign of *Amenophis*, according to the principles of the system we have at present in view. Some Greek authors relate, that he assisted king *Priamus* with a body of *Ethiopian* troops. After his decease, his son *Rameffes* ascended the throne of *Ethiopia*, who built the northern portico of the temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*. *Mæris*, his successor, adorned *Memphis*, and fixed his residence there, near two generations after the *Trojan* war, upon the same principles. *Cheops*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*, were the three next kings, the last of which was succeeded by his sister *Nitocris*. Then came *Asychis*, in whose reign both *Affyria* and *Ethiopia* revolted from *Egypt*; which thereupon was again divided into several small kingdoms. *Gnephactius* governed one of these, and resided at *Memphis*; but his son *Bocchoris* was slain by *So* or *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian*, who made himself master of *Egypt*. As all the principal achievements of these monarchs, transmitted down to us by sacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the history of *Egypt*, we have almost intirely passed them over here. However, we must not omit informing our readers, that, in the 22d year of *Bocchoris's* reign, *Africanus* has fixed the commencement of the æra of *Nabonassar*<sup>1</sup>.

To the  
death of  
Sethon.

SABACON, or *So*, as he is called in Scripture, soon after the reduction of *Egypt*, entered into an alliance with *Hoshea* king of *Israel*, which induced that ~~prince~~ to attempt shaking off the yoke of the *Affyrians*; but his efforts proving unsuccesful, a period was put to the kingdom of *Israel* by *Shalmaneser*, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of *Nabonassar*. According to *Herodotus*, *Sabacon*, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquished *Egypt*, and retired into *Ethiopia*.

<sup>1</sup> NEWT. ubi sup. p. 235—247. HERODOT. I. ii. DION. Sic. I. i. PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. HELLAN. apud Athen. deipnos. I. xv. AFRICAN. apud Syncel. p. 74. EUSEB. in chron. 2 Kin. c. xvii. ver. 4. ISAI. c. xix. ver. 13. HOS. c. ix. ver. 6. UNIV. hist. vol. ii. p. 73, &c.

any other nation; which seems to agree with *Herodotus*. But when he relates, that the proper *Ethiopians* were originally of *In-*

*dia*, and expelled that country for an assassination of one king *Ganges*, he deserves not the least credit (4).

(4) *Philestret. in vit. Apellen. Tyan. l. iii. sub init. Megasthenes apud Strabon.*  
*Plin. l. vi. c. 17.*

But, according to *Africanus*, he reigned only eight years in *Egypt*, and died in the ninth year of *Hezekiah*, or twenty-ninth of *Nabonassar*. The former author likewise informs us, that *Sethon*, whom some take to be the *Sevechus* of *Manetho*, his successor, advanced to *Pelusium*, with a powerful army, against *Sennacherib* king of *Affyria*, whom he was enabled to defeat by a vast number of mice, which devoured the shield-straps and bow-strings of the *Affyrians*; and that, to perpetuate the memory of so surprising an event, the statue of *Sethon*, which he saw, had a mouse in its hand. As a mouse was the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* symbol of destruction, this seems to intimate, that he overthrew the *Affyrians* with a great destruction. Sir *Isaac Newton* therefore believes, that *Sethon*, in conjunction with *Tirhakah*, either king of the *Arabian Cushites*, or a relation of *Sethon*, and his viceroy in the *Proper Ethiopia*, surprised and defeated *Sennacherib* betwixt *Libnah* and *Pelusium*, making as great a slaughter amongst his troops, as if their bow-strings had been eaten by mice. This may be rendered consistent enough with the Scripture-account of the blow received by *Sennacherib*, as we have elsewhere observed. The *Egyptian* priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations, or eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, from the beginning of their monarchy and priesthood, to the time when *Sethon* ascended the throne of *Egypt*. The priests, during that period, as they pretended, had succeeded one another, without interruption, under the name of *Piromis*, an *Egyptian* word, signifying a *good and virtuous man*. *Herodotus* intimates, that *Sennacherib* was king of *Arabia*, as well as *Affyria*;\* which, if admitted, will prove, that *Tirhakah* presided over the *Proper Ethiopia*, and not *Arabia*, as some learned men have supposed. If this be allowed, it will strengthen, in some sort, the conjecture we have already proposed to the consideration of the learned, to wit, that *Tirhakah* was no other than *Sabacon*, who had before confined himself to *Ethiopia*, and left the *Egyptian* crown to *Sethon*. However, as this notion must be owned to be clogged with some difficulties, and even absurd, upon the principles of those, who make *Tirhakah* successor to *Sethon*, we shall leave our readers to believe as much or as little of it as they please<sup>k</sup>.

FROM this time, to the seventy-eighth year of *Nabonassar*, *And from we hear little of the kingdom of Ethiopia*, which was then sub-  
thence to the reign

\* 2 Kin. c. xviii. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. PLUT. AFRICAN. of Xerxes,  
SYNCEL. ubi sup. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. x. c. i. 2 Chron. c. xxxii.  
ISAIAH. c. xxvi. 2 Kin. c. xix. ISAIAH. c. xxxvii. NSWRT. chronol. p. 254.  
255. Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 73, &c. vol. iv. p. 321, (R), 322, 323.  
jugated

jugated by Esar-haddon king of Assyria. Many enormous cruelties he committed both there and in Egypt, as had been predicted by the prophet Isaiah ; and governed both these countries three years, that is, till the time of his death, which happened in the year of Nabonassar 81. But then the Ethiopians, revolting from the Assyrians, asserted their independency, which they maintained, tho' a monarchy distinct from Egypt, till the days of Cyrus, who, from Xenophon, seems to have been master of Ethiopia, or at least a considerable part of it. However, soon after the decease of that prince, they withdrew themselves from their subjection to the Persians, since we find his son Cambyses engaged in a fruitless expedition against them. Herodotus says, that, before he undertook this expedition, he sent an embassy made up of the Ichthyophagi, as understanding the language of that nation, to the king of the Macrobi, or long-lived Ethiopians. The true end of this embassy was not so much to cultivate a good understanding with that prince, as to learn the strength and condition of his kingdom : though, in order to conceal his design, he sent him a purple robe, bracelets of gold, an alabaster box of rich ointment, a vessel of palm-wine, and other magnificent presents. But the Ethiopian was too acute not to penetrate the Persian monarch's views on this occasion, and therefore frankly told the Ichthyophagi, that he was no stranger to their errand ; and that, if Cambyses entertained any sentiments of equity, he would never desire another prince's territories, nor to reduce to a state of servitude a people, who had never injured him. " However, added he, give him this bow from me, and tell him, that he may think of invading the country of the Macrobian Ethiopians, when his subjects can thus easily draw it ; and that, in the mean time, he ought to thank the gods, that they never inspired the Ethiopians with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own country." Then, unbending the bow, he gave it to the ambassadors : after which, taking up the royal garment, he demanded of them, What it was, and how made ? And, being satisfied in both these particulars, he could not forbear observing, " That the robe was a proper emblem and representation of the deceitful prince who wore it." All the other presents likewise, except the wine, he despised, preferring the iron chains of the Ethiopians, which, he said, were far stronger, to the golden bracelets, &c. of the Persians. However, he owned, that the wine excelled any liquor produced in Ethiopia, and intimated, that the Persians, short-lived as they were, owed most of their days to so noble a cordial. When he heard, that a good part of their food was bread, he said, He was not at all surprised, that a people,

who fed upon dung, did not attain to the longevity of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*. As for what *Herodotus* relates of the table of the sun in this country, it favours so much of fable, that we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of history to take notice of it. *Cambyses*, being extremely incensed at the answer brought by the *Ichthyophagi* from the *Ethiopian*, in a mad irrational humour, immediately began his march towards his frontiers, tho' he wanted all manner of provisions for the subsistence of his troops. This at last introduced such a famine amongst them, that the soldiers were obliged to eat one another; so that, not being able to traverse the vast sandy deserts of *Ethiopia*, he found himself constrained to return, first to *Thebes*, and afterwards to *Memphis*, with the loss of a great part of his army. But, could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is probable he would have met there with a warm reception, since, by the accession of a large body of *Egyptians* in the reign of *Psammictibus*, the *Ethiopians* must have been very formidable. For we learn from *Herodotus*, that two hundred and forty thousand *Egyptians*, posted in different places by that prince, to guard the (E) frontiers on the sides of *Arabia*, *Affryria*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*, having not been relieved within the space of three years, deserted to the king of *Ethiopia*, who placed them in a country disaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take possession of their lands. He also informs us, that, in the *Egyptian* language, they were called *Asmak*, i. e. those who stand on the left-hand of the king; as likewise, that they civi-

(E) *Herodotus*, in the passage here referred to, makes *Elephantis*, or *Elephantine*, and *Daphna Pelusia*, opposite boundaries, or frontiers, of *Egypt*; and places both of them on the borders of *Ethiopia*. This seems to point out the true translation of a text in *Ezekiel*, rendered in our version—I will make the land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of *Syene*, even unto the border of *Ethiopia*;—which ought to be translated, either as we have formerly done it, or in the following terms: I will make the land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from

*Migdol to Syene, even to the border of Ethiopia*. For if we suppose *Migdol* and *Syene*, or, as *Herodotus* asserts, *Elephantine* and *Daphna Pelusia*, to be opposite frontiers of *Egypt*, and both on the confines of *Ethiopia*, then we may look upon the words from *Migdol to Syene* as a parenthesis, and equivalent to the following words, to the border of *Ethiopia*. Such a translation will render the passage exceeding obvious and clear, and is supported by a vast number of such parentheses to be met with in the Old Testament (5).

(5) *Brot.* c. xxix. ver. 10. *Univers. hist.* vol. xviii. p. 255, 256, (C).

lized the *Ethiopians*. But the last article we can scarce give any credit to, since, from this very historian himself, and *Africanus*, it appears, that the *Ethiopians* were masters of *Egypt* at least eighty years before the time of *Ptolemy*; and therefore might have learnt every thing the *Egyptians* could teach them before, if they were not, from the earliest ages, in all particulars as wise as that people. Sir Isaac Newton insinuates, that *Cambyses* conquered *Ethiopia*, as well as *Egypt*, about the year of *Nabonassar* 223. or 224. But this, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from *Herodotus*, nor any other good author. Possibly *Ethiopia*, like *Egypt*, might have had several collateral princes, whom the antients, through mistake, placed in continual succession; which could not but occasion many blunders and errors in the history of that kingdom. However, *Herodotus* asserts, that *Cambyses* reduced some of the provinces of *Ethiopia* contiguous to *Egypt* in the unfortunate expedition above-mentioned; and that they, together with the *Troglodytes*, sent an annual present to the *Persian* monarch, consisting of two choenixes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* boys, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size, even to his time. But though the *Persians* subdued not only these provinces, but likewise that part of *Libya* bordering upon the western confines of *Egypt*, and carried their arms as far as the city of *Cyrene*; yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vast tract, comprehending the kingdoms of *Sennar*, *Abaffia*, and other countries, answering to the *Proper Ethiopia* of the antients, we cannot help thinking at least very improbable <sup>k</sup>.

**Xerxes** AMONGST the various nations that composed the numerous ~~had a body~~ army, with which (F) *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, *Herodotus* ranks

<sup>k</sup> ISAI. c. xix. ver. 23. c. xx. ver. 4, 5. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. UNIV. hist. vol. ii. p. 77. HEROD. & AFRICAN. ubi sup. XENOPH. in Cyropæd. HERODOT. l. iii. NEWT. chronol. p. 256, 257, 259, &c.

(F) *Herodotus* informs us, that *Xerxes* had not only eastern and western, or *Asiatic* and *African*, *Ethiopians* in his army, but likewise *Libyans*. The eastern or *Asiatic* *Ethiopians*, he tells us, anointed one part of their bodies with a species of *gypsum* or plaster, and another with *minium* or red-lead, immediately before they

came to a general action. The *Libyans*, from his account of them, seem to have been negroes, who by *Diodorus Siculus* are called *Ethiopians*. That author gives us the following description of them: "They are, says he, flat-faced, exceeding fierce and cruel, in their manners resembling beasts, extremely wicked,

ranks the *Ethiopians*. He mentions on this occasion two sorts of *eastern* of that people ; the eastern, who had their abode in *Asia*, and *west-* and were looked upon as *Indians*, from whom they differed *in* Ethiopia only in their hair and language, and the western or *African* pians, *Li-*  
*Ethiopians*. The former carried the same arms as the *Indians*,  
wore for helmets the skins of horses heads, the ears and manes  
whereof served them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore  
before them the skins of cranes for shields, and had long hair.  
The *Africans* were armed with darts lighted at one end, co-

" wicked, and have frizzled hair.  
" Their bodies are nasty and  
" loathsome, their voice shrill,  
" and their disposition such as  
" renders them incapable of  
" being civilized. Some of them  
" carry shields made of the raw  
" hide of an ox, and short lances,  
" in their wars ; others use darts  
" forked at the ends, together  
" with bows four cubits long,  
" out of which they discharge  
" their arrows by the help of  
" their feet. When their shafts  
" are spent, they fall on with  
" clubs. Their women likewise,  
" till they arrive at a certain  
" age, take on in the service ;  
" and many of them hang a  
" bras ring at their lips. Some  
" go always naked, sheltering  
" themselves from the scorching  
" rays of the sun with whatever  
" falls in their way. Several  
" cover their *pudenda* with sheep-  
" tails ; and others apply beasts  
" skins to that use. Lastly, it  
" is not uncommon amongst this  
" people to wear a garment about  
" their loins made of human  
" hair, the sheep in this country  
" carrying no fleeces at all. They  
" feed, for the most part, upon  
" the tender shoots of trees, the  
" roots of canes, the *lotus* and  
" *sesamus*, together with another

" species of fruit produced in  
" marshy places. Many also live  
" upon fowl, which, being ex-  
" cellent archers, they kill in  
" vast numbers ; but most of  
" them use flesh, milk, and  
" cheese, for their sustenance." As *Diodorus* intimates many of these to have been seated in the heart of *Africa*, as well as on both sides the *Nile*, and expressly calls them *Blacks*, we doubt not but he had the negroes here in view, as well as some of the Proper *Ethiopians*. Nay, as he seems to join together the heart of *Africa*, and both sides of the *Nile*, and the description he gives of the *Blacks* on both sides the *Nile* agrees, in most particulars, with the present *Blacks*, possibly several of our readers may be induced to infer from hence, that, in the age of *Diodorus*, the *Niger* and the *Nile* were believed to have been branches of the same river. Be that as it will, the passage here referred to by no means discountenances such a notion ; which adds some weight to what has been already advanced in the history of the *Melanogætuli* and *Nigritæ*, as our readers will find, by consulting it (6).

(6) *Herodot. I. viii. c. 69, 70, 71. Diod. Sic. I. iii. sub init. Univers. bibl. vols. xviii. p. 227.*

vered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was *Masanges*, the son of *Aorizus*, a person doubtless of great distinction amongst them. Nothing remarkable of the nation we are now upon occurs from this period to the dissolution of the *Persian* empire. However, it is probable, that matters, with respect to them, all along remained in the same situation ; that is to say, the *Ethiopian* provinces contiguous to *Egypt* were subject to the *Perians*, and the others in a state of independency, either so little known, or made so inconsiderable a figure, as not to deserve the attention of any celebrated historian !

*Ptolemy Euergetes penetrates into Ethiopia.* IT does not appear, that *Alexander the Great* ever undertook an expedition against the *Ethiopians*, though, when he consulted the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, one of the first inquiries he made was after the sources of the *Nile*. Encamping afterwards at the head of the river *Indus*, he imagined it to be that of the *Nile*, and was overjoyed at his success. But *Ptolemy Euergetes*, one of his successors in *Egypt*, having a passionate desire, in common with some of the greatest men of antiquity, to discover the fountains of the *Nile*, with this view carried his arms into *Ethiopia*. The particulars of this enterprize we find no-where related in history, though that he penetrated to the farthest parts of this region, and subdued most, if not all, the powerful nations seated in it, appears from an inscription (G) preserved to us by

<sup>1</sup> HERODOT. I. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 77.

(G) *Eljsaan, king of the Axantes or Ethiopians, ordered Aabs, governor of Adule, to send him a copy of this inscription. This happened about the beginning of Justin's reign, just before Eljsaan undertook the expedition against the Homerites, which will be hereafter mentioned, and twenty-five years before our author wrote the piece here referred to. Aabs employed Cosmas, and one Menas, a merchant, who afterwards became a religious at Raithus, or as Ptolemy calls it, Raptus, possibly the Rauso of Cosmas, to take him an exact copy of it ; and therefore we may depend upon the relation the former has*

given us : " At the entrance, " says he, into the western part " of the city, facing the road " to *Axuma*, stood a chair of " white marble, consisting of a " square base, a small thin col- " umn, at each angle of this " base, with a larger wreathed " one in the middle, a seat or " throne upon these, a back, and " two sides. Behind this chair " there was a large stone three " cubits high, which had suffered " considerable injury from time." This stone, and the chair, con- " tained a Greek inscription, part of " which was to the following effect. " Ptolemy Euergetes penetrated " to the farthest parts of *Ethio-* " *pi*,

by *Cosmas Egyptius* (H), or, as some call him, *Cosmas Indocophantes*, which he copied upon the spot in the time of the emperor

" *pia*. He subdued *Gaza*, *Aga-*  
 " *me*, *Sigue*, *Ava*, *Tiamo* or *Tzi-*  
 " *amo*, *Gambela*, *Zingabene*, *An-*  
 " *gabe*, *Tama*, *Atbagao*, *Calaa*,  
 " *Semene*, *Lafne*, *Zaa*, *Gabala*,  
 " *Atalmo*, *Bega*, the *Tangaita*,  
 " *Anine*, *Metine*, *Sesea*, *Rauso*,  
 " *Solate*, the territory of *Rauso*,  
 and several other kingdoms.

Amongst the nations he reduced were some inhabiting mountains always covered with a deep snow ; and others seated upon ridges of hills, from whence issued boiling streams, and craggy precipices, who all therefore seemed inaccessible. Having finally, after all these conquests, assembled his whole army at *Adule*, and sacrificed to *Mars*, *Neptune*, and *Jupiter*, for his great success, he dedicated this chair or throne to

" *Mars*." *Gaza* here seems to correspond with *Gbeza*, a name of the kingdom of *Abyssinia*, in use amongst the natives at this day. *Agame* and *Ava* seem to be the same with *Agamia* and *Afa*, two prefectures of the present kingdom of *Tigre*. *Tiamo*, or *Tzamo*, and *Tama*, answer to *Tzama* in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and *Tzama* in that of *Bagemeder*. *Atbagao* must agree with one of the two regions called *Agao*; and *Semene* is undoubtedly the country now denominated *Samen* or *Semen*. This affinity of ancient and modern local proper names, to omit other proofs that might be offered, is no con-

temptible argument in favour of the authority of *Cosmas Indocophantes*. For a full account of every thing relating to this inscription, published first by *Leo Allatius*, and afterwards by *Berkelius*, *Spon*, and *Montfaucon*, we must refer our readers to the learned Dr. *Chisholm* (7).

(H) *Cosmas* informs us, that from *Alexandria* to the *Cataracts* were thirty stations ; from the *Cataracts* to *Axuma* thirty more ; and from thence to the farthest part of *Ethiopia* producing frankincense, and contiguous to the ocean, called *Barbaria*, fifty stations. Near *Barbaria* lay the country known by the name of *Safus*, according to the same author, which was likewise reputed one of the remotest regions in *Ethiopia*.

The *Barbarians*, says *Cosmas*, imported various sorts of sauces, frankincense, cassia, and other commodities, the produce of their territory, into the country of the *Homerites*, separated from them by the straits of *Babal Mandab*. They supplied likewise the *Perians* and *Indians* with the same commodities. The sea beyond *Barbaria* our author calls the *Zingian* ocean, and intimates, that *Safus* abounded with gold-mines. Every other year the king of *Axuma* sent several persons of distinction to *Agau*, to traffick with the natives for gold ; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended

(7) *Cosm. Egypt. in topograph. Chisholm. A. D. 545. script. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. Paris. 1706. Chisholm. antiquitat. Asiae. p. 73—88. Lond. 1720. Vide Et Ludolf. PP. Tell. Mend. Pays, &c. pag.*

emperor *Justin I.* It is probable, however, that he abandoned these conquests, since henceforth we find nothing of moment concerning any branch of the *Proper Ethiopians* in the writings of the ancients, till the days of *Augustus*<sup>m</sup>.

**Petronius forces** ABOUT the year of *Rome 725.* when *Aelius Gallus* had drawn most of the *Roman forces* out of *Egypt*, in order to

<sup>m</sup> DIOD. SIC. ARRIAN. QUINT. CURT. aliiq; de reb. gest. Alexand. COSM. AEGYPT. topograph. Christian. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. JOB. LUDOLF. hist. AETHIOP. l. i. c. 8. LE GRAND, dissert. iii.

them. They brought with them cattle, salt, and iron, to barter for the gold. Upon their arrival there, they fixed themselves on a certain spot of ground, killed and cut in pieces several oxen, which they exposed, together with the salt and iron, to the view of the natives. Some of these then approaching with small ingots of gold, which they called *Tanebaras*, laid down one or more of them, as they pleased, upon the piece of the ox, salt, or iron, they had a mind to purchase, and then retired to a place at some distance. The proprietor, seeing this, took the gold, if he thought it sufficient, and went away; and the person who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the *Axumite* or *Ethiopian*, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain; which the other observing, either made an addition to what he had before deposited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found necessary, as being strangers to each others language; and it was generally finished in five days. This journey the *Axumites* commonly

performed in six months time, and were longer in going than returning, by reason of their cattle. They were obliged to travel armed, since several gangs of robbers sometimes attacked them upon the road, especially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the *Nile* were in this district, and as the rivers they found themselves obliged to pass were greatly swelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that season could intercept them. By the violence of those rains, continuing three months, many small torrents became rivers, that emptied themselves into the *Nile*. This method of trading is still used in various parts of *Africa*, as appears from several modern relations, which it is needless here to produce. We must not omit observing, that the district of *Agau*, mentioned by *Cosmas*, is undoubtedly the country of the *Agaus* taken notice of by Father *Pays*, the name of both these provinces being the same, and the source of the *Nile* being placed in both of them by these authors (8).

(8) *Cosm. Egypt.* ubi sup. p. 138, 139, 140. *P. Pays* spud *Le Grand*, *dissert. iii.*

invade Arabia, Candace queen of Ethiopia, or rather of the *queen* kingdom of Meroe, made an irruption into the province of Candace *Thebais* with a numerous army. According to Dio, Candace herself headed her troops in this expedition ; which *peace*, seems to be confirmed by Strabo. At first she met with *which is* great success, ravaged all the country as she advanced, took granted Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ, the Egyptian frontiers on the *ber by Augustus.* side of Ethiopia, without opposition, and made three Roman cohorts, garrisoned therein, prisoners of war. But, receiving intelligence, that Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was in full march to attack her, she retired into her own dominions. The Roman general pursued the Ethiopians as far as Pselcha, from whence he sent a deputation to the queen, to know the reason of the late hostilities, and to demand all the prisoners, as well as a restitution of all the effects, particularly the statues of *Augustus*, carried off from the cities above-mentioned. But Candace not sending a satisfactory answer, and seeking only to gain time, Petronius immediately attacked the Ethiopian army, consisting of thirty thousand men, tho' his scarce amounted to ten thousand, in the neighbourhood of Pselcha. As the Ethiopians were, for the most part, only armed with poles, hatchets, &c. and intirely undisciplined, he gained an easy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others dispersed in the adjacent deserts, and others swam to a neighbouring island of the Nile, few crocodiles infesting that part of the river, by reason of the rapidity of the torrent. Soon after this victory, Pselcha surrendered to him ; and one of his detachments brought off the corps, that had escaped to the aforesaid island, in which were several of queen Candace's general officers. At Pselcha he reviewed his forces, and, finding them in good condition, advanced to Premnis, a fortress of great strength, which he made himself master of. Flushed with this success, the Roman general marched to Napata, where Candace held her residence, which he took and destroyed. Her son, however, found means to make his escape. The queen herself had retired to one of her castles at some distance from Napata, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herself not in a condition to make head against the Romans, she thought proper to propose terms for an accommodation. But Petronius, by reason of the excessive heats, and a want of provisions, soon finding himself obliged to return to Alexandria, the conferences were broken off. After the departure of Petronius, Candace besieged Premnis, where the Romans had left a garrison of four hundred men ; but, being soon forced to raise the siege, she dispatched ambassadors a second time to treat of a peace with the Roman general, who sent them with an escort to *Augustus.*

That prince, whom they found at *Sams*, gave them a most gracious reception, and granted their mistress a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condescension may be attributed to the rich presents those ministers carried with them. *Pliny* intimates, that the kingdom of *Meroe* had been governed by queens for several preceding generations, who all went under the name of *Candace*<sup>n</sup>.

*History of Ethiopia continued to the accession of our blessed Saviour.*

Though *Augustus* restored all the towns taken by *Petronius*, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from *Candace*, yet the *Romans* now looked upon themselves as masters of *Ethiopia*. They complimented *Augustus* on the great glory he had acquired, in subduing a country unknown even to his great predecessor, which finished the reduction of *Africa*. Hence we find, on the reverse of one of that prince's medals struck about this time, three globes, denoting undoubtedly the complete conquest of *Europ*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, the three large continents or parts of the antient world. However, this ought to be considered as nothing more than an instance of the *Roman* vanity, since not only the *Ethiopians*, but several other nations, had hitherto preserved their liberties. No material alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of *Meroe*, which seems to have been the *Ethiopia* known to the *Romans*, happened either during the remainder of *Augustus*'s reign, or that of his successor *Tiberius*, queens still continuing to govern there, as we learn from Scripture. But that the Christian religion was introduced into *Meroe* about the nineteenth or twentieth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, has been believed by some writers of good authority. These writers make the eunuch baptized by *Philip* the deacon to have converted his royal mistresses, after his return home, to the Christian faith. St. *Luke* calls that princess *Candace*; from whence some have inferred, that she was the same queen of *Ethiopia* mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*. But as the interval betwixt the invasion of *Ethiopia* by *Petronius*, and the conversion of the aforesaid eunuch, was a term much longer than kings usually reign, and as the former author remarks *Candace* to have been an appellation common to the sovereigns of *Meroe*, we are by no means inclined to come into such an opinion. Several of the fathers thought, that the eunuch's name was *Candace*; which must certainly be deemed a mistake: for that this word either signified sovereign authority, or at least was a title pe-

<sup>n</sup> STRAB. I. xvii. p. 820. DIO. I. liv. p. 524, 525. PLIN. I. vi. c. 20. SALL. AUR. VITR. epit. de vit. & mor. imperator. ROMANOR.

Culiar to the royal family of *Meroe*, the testimony already produced seems to put beyond all doubt <sup>o</sup>.

LITTLE after this period, for above two hundred years, *And from* occurs concerning the *Ethiopians*. *Aelius Spartianus* relates, *thence to* that the emperor *Heliogabalus* frequently confined his most intimate friends for whole nights together with little old *Ethiopian* women, by way of diversion, saying, that these women were the most beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that, in his reign, about the year of Christ 220. there was an intercourse betwixt the *Roman* empire and the *Ethiopians*. *Probus*, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition against the *Blemmyes*, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of *Thebais*, vanquished them, and sent many of them prisoners to *Rome*. What occasioned this expedition, is not told us by any author; but that the *Blemmyan* captives graced *Probus*'s triumph, and exhibited such an odd appearance, as greatly astonished the *Romans*, we learn from *Vopiscus*. Towards the close of the third century, that nation and the *Nobatæ*, a people inhabiting the banks of the *Nile* near the *Upper Egypt*, committing great depredations upon the *Roman* territories, and the adjacent part of *Thebais* being, probably on this account, but thinly peopled, the emperor *Dioclesian* found his revenue in those parts scarce sufficient to maintain the garrisons placed there to repress the courses of the *Ethiopians*. He therefore assigned the *Nobatæ* lands in the *Roman* dominions, and gave both them and the *Blemmyes* a considerable annual sum, to desist from their former practices. But, notwithstanding their solemn assurances to the contrary, they continued pillaging the *Roman* subjects to the time of *Julian*, according to *Procopius*. That prince did not treat them with such lenity as they had met with from *Dioclesian*. For this last emperor did not only grant them the favour above-mentioned, but likewise transplanted some of them to an island in the *Nile* near *Elephantine*, gave them the use of the (I) temples there in

<sup>o</sup> *Dio*, ubi sup. Comes FRANCISC. MEDIOBARB. BIRAG. in numism. imp. Rom. congest. ad A. U. C. 732. p. 32. edit. Mediolan. 1730. Act. c. viii. ver. 27. *CALMET*. in voce *Candace*. *ANASTAS. SINAIT*. l. vi. *EUTHYM.* in psal. lxii. *GREB. NAZ.* in sanct. baptism.

(I) *Procopius* says, that the barbarians worshiped the *Sun*, *Isis*, *Ofris*, *Priapus*, and other pagan deities. It likewise appears from him, that they offered human sacrifices to their idols. Their religion was probably the same, or nearly so, with that of

in common with the *Romans*, and ordered priests to be selected from them all to officiate therein, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them. But *Justinian* ordered *Narses*, the commandant of the garison in *Philæ*, to demolish the temples of the barbarians, imprison their priests, and send all the images of their gods to *Byzantium*; which he did accordingly. That *Dioclesian* built the fortress of *Philæ*, and gave it that name, from the friendship and union, which, he imagined, the measures he had taken would occasion betwixt the *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* settled there, as we find advanced by *Procopius*, can by no means be allowed; since this very fortress was in being, and called by the same name, in the days of *Strabo*. *Procopius*, in agreement with *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, asserts *Elephantine* to have been thirty days journey from *Axum*, or, as he calls it, *Auxonis*. The same author also affirms, that, before the reign of *Dioclesian*, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire on that side extended so far into *Ethiopia*, that they were not above twenty-three days journey distant from this capital<sup>o</sup>.

*Nothing material to be met with in history concerning the Ethiopians, from the reign of Dioclesian to the time of St. Athanasius.*

We find nothing worthy of observation recorded of the *Ethiopians*, from the reign of *Dioclesian*, to the time of their conversion to Christianity, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. The modern *Abaffles* inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of *Bazen*, a prince of the *Solomonean* line, and the twenty-fourth from *Menilehec*, surnamed *El Hakim*, i. e. *the Wise*, or *Son of the wise*, above-mentioned. They likewise enumerate thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years, betwixt him and *Abreha* and *Atzbeta*, or *Abra* and *Asba*, who sat upon the throne when *Frumentius* carried the light of the gospel into *Abassia*. *Frumentius*, according to some, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. *Matthew*, who had applied himself to the conversion of the *Nubians*, a nation before disposed for the reception of Christianity by the eunuch of *Candace*, who had already sown in their minds the first seeds

<sup>o</sup> *ÆLIUS LAMPIDIUS* in *Heliogab.* *FLAVIUS VOPISCUS* in *Prob.* *Procop. de bell. Pers. I. i. c. 19.* *STRAB. I. xvii.* *COSMAS AEGYPTIUS* in *topograph. Christian. I. ii. p. 138, 139, 140.* *edit. D. Bern. de Montfaucon. Parisiis, 1706.*

the *Romans*; which, had the *Nobæ* and *Blemmyes* been people of any principles, might have greatly contributed to the keeping up a good correspondence between them (9).

(9) *Procop. in loc. laudat.*

of that religion. These St. Matthew, continue the same authors, took care to cultivate, and raise to fruit, tho' he could not reach *Abaffia*. The planting of the Christian faith in that country was reserved for the age of St. Athanasius, patriarch of *Alexandria*; of which great event Rufinus and others have given us the following relation P.

MEROPIUS the philosopher, a native of *Tyre*, took a resolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the conversation of other philosophers, or for the sake of traffick, which was not thought inconsistent with the profession of philosophy. This man, after having wandered over all *India*, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels; and, touching at an island in the *Red Sea*, was either cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. *Abaffines* will have it, *Fremonatus* and *Sidracus* (for so were his kinsmen called), falling into the hands of the barbarians, were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his person, and advanced them. Their talents and industry procured them such distinguishing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in *Frumentius* a greater capacity, he made him his treasurer, and *Edesius* his butler; in which posts they behaved themselves with so much applause, that, upon the king's death, which followed some time after, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her son, would not grant either of them permission to leave the kingdom, as they desired. On the contrary, she left the management of public affairs entirely to *Frumentius*, who made use of this new authority to bring the people under his inspection to the knowlege of JESUS CHRIST. Contracting an acquaintance with some Christian merchants, either trading to or settled in *Abaffia*, who sometimes came to that island, he granted them great privileges, and places to assemble in for public worship. This first excited in the *Abaffines* a desire to be instructed in the principles of Christianity; which induced *Frumentius*, after having got the queen's leave, to take a journey to *Alexandria*, in order to inform St. Athanasius of the disposition of that people. The patriarch hereupon consecrated him bishop of *Axuma*, and about the year of our Lord 335. sent him to propagate the Christian religion in *Ethiopia*. Soon after his arrival there, he baptized vast numbers of the *Abaffines*, ordained deacons and presbyters, built churches, and, in short, gained an assent to the divine truths

P RUFIN. I. i. c. 9. SOCRAT. I. i. c. 19. SOZOM. I. ii. c. 24.  
THEODORET. I. i. c. 23. "

of the gospel in almost every part of that vast region. The *Ethiopic book at Axuma*, held in the highest veneration by the *Abaffius*, agreeing in the main with this relation, as well as several Greek and Latin authors of good repute, it must deserve the greatest regard: That *Adad* or *Aidig*, therefore, king of the *Axumites*, first introduced Christianity into *Ethiopia* about the fifteenth year of the emperor *Justinian*, after an unparalleled defeat given the king of the *Homerites*, in consequence of a vow made before the engagement, as some have not scrupled to assert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at least the court and noblesse, afterwards relapsed into paganism, according to an Oriental author of some note; and embraced again the Christian religion, about the fourth year of the emperor *Justin*, an. Ch. 521. This they were then commanded to do by *Aidig*, for the reason above assigned. A full and minute account of this memorable transaction may be drawn from the extracts of several *Syriac* writers, to be met with in the learned M. *Assemanus's Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* <sup>1</sup>.

*Abra and Abba* and *Asha*, who jointly swayed the sceptre, are greatly celebrated by the *Ethiopian* historians. The harmony that reigned betwixt them was so singular and uncommon, that it almost became a proverb in *Ethiopia*. *Constantius* the emperor made use of many expedients to introduce *Arianism* into the country we are now upon, but without effect. He sent ambassadors to those kings, in order to prevail upon them to put *Frumentius* the bishop of *Axuma* into the hands of *George* the *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*, substituted in the place of *Athanagius*, who was forced to quit that see, and retire to a place of obscurity. But they refused to deliver up that prelate, and adhered to his doctrines as well as person with an unshaken resolution, notwithstanding *Philostorgius* falsely affirms an *Arian* bishop to have settled at *Axuma*. So mild and amiable was his conduct amongst them, that they called him *Abba Salamah, the pacific father*. The *Copts* and *Abafines* have a notion, that one *Tacalhaïmanout*, a saint or *Abafine* monk, descended from *Sadek* the high-priest in the days of *David* and *Solomon*, attended *Abba Salamah* into *Ethiopia*, to demonstrate to the people there the necessity of baptism;

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. THEOPHANES ad an. incarnat. secund. Alexandrin. 535. SIMEON episc. Beth-Arsamen. apud Cl. Asseman. in Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 359. & seq. ed. Romæ, 1719. CÆS. BARONII annal. ad an. 523. vol. vii. LUDOLF. hist. Æthiop. l. iii. c. 2. Vide & not. Cl. ASSEMAN. ubi sup.

## C. XX. *The History of the Ethiopians.*

32

they having till that time practised (K) circumcision. The twenty-fourth day of the month *Mesri*, corresponding with that of *August* in the Julian calendar, is celebrated as the festival of this saint by the *Copts*. The word *Tacalbaimanout* is *Ethiopic*, and, according to M. D'Herbelot, signifies *the paradise of the Trinity*. But *Ludoifus* gives us to understand, that this *Tacalbaimanout*, or, as he calls him, *Teda Haimanout*, that is, according to his interpretation of those words, *the plant of faith*, restored the monastic way of life in *Ethiopia* about the year of Christ 600. and lived till A. D. 630. The *Abaffines* believe, that he spoke in his cradle, and wrought several miracles in his infancy; as also, that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by *Cathil* metropolitan of *Ethiopia*, cotemporary with *Bonyamia* patriarch of *Alexandria*, of the *Jacobite* sect. *Genazas* relates, that he first converted the *Ethiopians* to Christianity, by destroying a serpent before worshiped amongst them; which, it is admitted, will bring him to the age M. D'Herbelot affirms him. Be that as it will, next to *Gabra-Menfis-Keddus* (L), i. e. *the servant*

(K) Authors are divided in their sentiments in relation to the origin of circumcision amongst the *Abaffines*. Some maintain, that this institution was introduced amongst them by *Moses*; others, that they received it from *Menilebeck* the son of *Solomon*. Which of these opinions is true, or whether either of them be so, we shall not pretend to determine. That it was not in use amongst the *Arabian Cyclopes* before the time of *Moses*, appears from Scripture. One strong presumption against *Herodotus*'s notion, that the *Egyptians* first practised circumcision, is, that this author has not told us how, or when, that nation came first to admit so painful a rite; whereas the Scripture is express in both those particulars, with regard to the origin of it amongst

the *Hebrews*. *Grotius* has evinced, from a multitude of different authors, that God, in commanding *Abraham* to use the rite of circumcision, meant it a mark of covenant between his posterity and the Creator; and that every other nation, practising it, learned it either from him, or his descendants. The firm persuasion of the *Abaffines* is, that they derived it from the *Hebrews*. We may perhaps say something of the circumcision of women, when we come to the modern history of *Abaffi* (1).

(L) *Gabra Menfis-Keddus* lived only upon herbs, and used for cloathing nothing but the leaves of trees, having all worldly pleasures and delights in the utmost contempt. He subdued lions and dragons, according to the *Abaffines*, who still preserve many

(1) *Exod. c. iv. Hugo Grot. in Gen. & alib. Ludoif. Etbiop. p. 263, & alib. Vid. & Calmet. diff.*

*servant of the Holy Ghost*, in honour of whom they kept holy-day once every month, he was the most celebrated saint in *Ethiopia*. D'Herbelot farther informs us, that *Claudius* king of the *Abassines* sent the life of this saint written in *Ethiopic* to *Gabriel* the ninety-fifth patriarch of *Alexandria*, which is at this day to be seen in the royal library at *Paris*, num. 796, under the title of *Sairat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalbaumannout*.

*The Ethiopians conquer the Himerites.*

HISTORY scarce supplies us with any memoirs relating to *Ethiopia*, from the reign of *Constantius* to the time of the famous *Elephas* or *Elephaan* king of *Ethiopia*, called *Caleb* by the *Abassines*, who seems to have been the same prince with *Adad* or *Adig* above-mentioned. This conqueror, having made up matters with *Xenodon* or *Axenodon*, an *Indian* prince, with whom, according to *Simeon Beth-Arsamensis*, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the *Himerites* or *Sabaeans* in *Arabia Felix*, after having vanquished in battle the impious *Dunawas*, *Dunaan*, or *Dhu Nowas*, the last king of that people, who was of the *Jewish* religion. *Elephaan* had some time before declared war against the king of the *Himerites*, for massacring certain Christian merchants, and vowed most solemnly to become a Christian, in case he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and stripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith of Christ, in pursuance of the vow already made, and placed a Christian prince upon the throne of the *Himerites*. After this prince's death, which happened in winter, when the *Ethiopians* could not transport (M) a body of forces into *Arabia*,

<sup>r</sup> JOANNES AS. episc. apud Dionys. patriarch. in Bibl. Orient. Asseman. ubi sup. PHILOSTORG. I. iii. PAGIUS ad an. 541. num. 6 & alib. LUDOLF. ubi sup. c. 33. & in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 479. ut & in calend. Æthiop. ibid. N<sup>o</sup>. 51. p. 436. LE GRAND, dissert. ix. D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. in voc. *Tacalbaumannout*, p. 834, 835. à Paris, 1697. Vid. etiam GONZALEZ apud Ludolf. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 479.

fabulous traditions concerning him! One of these is, that he had a conference with the ever-blessed Trinity, and our Saviour, at which he gave several answers too blasphemous to be mentioned (2).

(M) One of the most noted ports of the *Ethiopians* on the *Red Sea* was *Adule* or *Adulis*, twenty stadia from the city of that name, and twelve days journey from *Auxomis* or *Axuma* the capital of *Ethiopia*. The

(2) *Pret. Abaf. & Sandoval. apud Job. Ludolf. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 291, 292. ut & ipsa Ludolf. ibid.*

*Arabia*, Dunaan found means to seize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent persecution of the Christians, upon whom he exercised unheard-of cruelties, a detail of which has been given us by various authors. St. Aretas, in particular, and many others, he caused to be burnt in the city of *Nogra*. This induced the *Alexandrian* patriarch to invite, by letters, *Elebaan* to carry his arms into *Arabia*, in defence of the Christians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the most exquisite tortures (N). *Elebaan* embraced the occasion, and was favoured by God with a complete victory (O), which gave the *Abassines* (P) the possession of

Greek writers of the later ages denominated the *Ethiopians* in general *Axumites* from the name of this city, as we learn from *Nonnosus*, *Procopius*, and others. *Adula* was the great mart for the commodities of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, &c. to which the merchants of those countries constantly resorted. Besides the wares already mentioned, those merchants exported from thence vast numbers of *Ethiopian* slaves, who, by this means, were dispersed over a great part of the world (q).

(N) It appears from *Simeon Metaphrastes*, *Theophanes*, *Simeon Betb-Arsamenis*, *Alphonius Mendesius*, and others, that this *Caleb* or *Elebaan* was a prince of great sanctity, and as such the church of *Rome* has honoured him with canonization. M. *Ludolfus* informs us, that Father *Tellez* observed a surprising agreement betwixt the *Ethiopic* and *Latin* writers, with regard to the life and actions of *Elebaan*. To which we may add, that M.

*Affemanus* has likewise exhibited to our view the harmony betwixt *Metaphrastes* and *Beth Arsamenis*, in relation to the conduct and great achievements of the same prince. But we shall be more particular and explicit on this head, in the history of the ancient *Arabs*, whose country was the theatre of those achievements (4).

(O) This happened in the reign of the emperor *Justinian*, probably about the seventh or eighth year of it, A. C. 524. or 525.. and not, as *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* seem to intimate, 522. or 523 (5).

(P) *Procopius* attributes this famous exploit to *Hellesticus*, *Elebaan's* son, whom he calls king of the *Axumites*, and is followed herein by cardinal *Baronius*. But, as this notion has been overthrown by *Ludolfus*, as so noble an action seems more agreeable to the character of *Elebaan*, than that of his son, of whom the *Abassine* historians

(3) *Ptol.* in *geogr. Etiop.* *Nonnosus apud Phot.* *Procop. de bell. Persic.* l. i. c. 19. & alib. *Cosm. Cedren.* ad an. 15. imp. *Justinian.* *Cosm. Egypt.* ubi sup.  
 (4) *Simeon Metaphr. apud Surium*, tom. v. p. 943, & alib. *peff. Procop. Ev. gr. Tigristan. Cedren. Simeon episc. Betb-Arsamenis. aliquis apud Joseph. Simon. Affeman. in biblioth. Oriental. tom. i. p. 359—385. *Alphon. Mendes.* & *Balib. Tellez.* apud *Ludolf.* in *comment. ad hist. Etiop.* p. 232.  
 (5) *Vid. not. Cl. Affeman. ad Simeon. episc. Betb-Arsamenis. in Bibl. Orient.* p. 365.*

of *Arabia Felix* till the time of *Abd al Motaileb* grandfather of *Mohammed*. *Abraha Ebne Sabah al Ajbrah* was the governor of *Taman*, under the king of *Abaffia*, whose punishment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the *Koran*. He brought, says the author of that book, an army with a great number of elephants to the siege of *Mecca*; upon which came a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder, upon him. Each of these birds had a stone in its beak, which it dropped with such violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but, according to some, pursued the viceroy into his master's dominions, where one of these fowls let its stone fall upon his head, and killed him<sup>6</sup>.

*That Atz-ham king of Ethiopia embraced Mohammedanism, not probable.*

THE Mohammedan writers generally agree, that *Atzham*, or *Ishmael Ebne Abbar*, the *Najashi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, during *Mohammed*'s mission, did not only take under his protection a considerable number of *Mohammed*'s friends, who were driven out of *Hejaz* by the *Kneib*, but likewise became a convert to the new religion of that impostor. This conversion, according to *Mohammed Ebne Abd'l Bakri*, happened in the second year of the *Hieira*; though it is placed ten years higher by *Abulfida* and *Al Jannahius*. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly *Selden* and *Colomessus*. But the absurdities with which *Abd'l Bakides*' narration, which, by a very able Oriental critic, seems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, is stuffed, and the absolute silence of the *Ethiopians*, as well as those authors who have written the histories of the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and the *Saracens*, on this head, will not permit us to come into such an opinion.

\* NICEPH. CALLIST. & CEDREN. apud Ludolf. ubi sup. NONNUS apud Phot. SIMEON METAPHRastes apud Surium, p. 943, & alib. pass. JOANNES AS. episc. THEOPHANES & SIMEON episc. Beth-Arsamensis. apud Asseman. ubi sup. p. 364—385. PROCOR. de bel. Persic. l. i. c. 20. PAGIUS ad an. 523, & alib. LAMBERTUS, l. v. p. 133. Vid. etiam not. eruditiss. Cl. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 381—385. AL KORAN MOHAMMED. c. 105. & LE GRAND, in dissert. ix.

say but little, and as *Metaphrastes* and *Beth-Arsamensis* positively affirm *Elebaan* to have taken vengeance on *Dunaan*, we cannot but declare ourselves of another opinion (6).

(6) Procor. de bel. Persic. l. i. c. 27. Birn. ann. 523. num. 20. Sim. Metaphrast. p. 939. & seq. Sim. Beth-Arsamensis. apud Ajeman. Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 381—385. Ludolf. hist. Aethiop. l. u. c. 4. Vide & MS. Græcor. Menolog. apud Lambecium, l. v. p. 133.

That *Atzham*, all his bishops, presbyters, monks, &c. should allow, that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that *Mohammed* was this prophet; that the *Abassine* bishops and presbyters, by citing it to the *Najashi* in favour of *Mohammed*, should admit for genuine a passage of the New Testament not to be found there; and, to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, upon the sight of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of the *Koran*, they should all burst out into a flood of tears, and be in the sorest affliction; in short, that they should be converted to *Moslemism* by the gospel itself; these, we say, are such glaring absurdities, as can be swallowed by none but a most bigoted *Mohammedan*. And such a train of remarkable effects must have followed a king of *Ethiopia's* embracing *Moslemism*, that the above-mentioned historians could not have omitted taking notice of it. Nay, the *Mohammedan* writers themselves would undoubtedly have recorded many transactions, the necessary consequences of such an event, which we find they have not so much as touched upon, had their prophet converted the king of *Ethiopia*, even before the *Arabs* themselves. It is to us, therefore, matter of great surprize, that the very learned M. *Ludolfus* should run himself into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of *Ab'l-Bakides* and *Abulfeda* with regard to the introduction of *Moslemism* into *Ethiopia*. The spirit with which the *Koran* was written, that is, a lying spirit; the genius of the *Mohammedan* writers, not only with the worst kind of enthusiasm and superstition, but likewise addicted to romance and fiction in points abstracted from religion; these, we say, in conjunction with what has been just offered, greatly discredit the aforesaid story. Nay, they amount to little less than a demonstration, that it was invented by the *Moslems*, purely with a design to do honour to *Mohammed* and the *Koran*. For which reasons we shall make no scruple to reject it intirely, with Father *Marracci*<sup>t</sup>.

GEBRA-MESKEI, successor to *Elebaan*, according to the *Their history to the Ethiopian poet* so often cited by *Ludolfus*, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominions; though we have no particulars of his conquests. His subjects, however, emperors of the *Zagaden* enjoyed the sweets of a peace a good part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by him. *Procopius* gives <sup>mildly extremely</sup> us to understand, that the emperor *Justinian* entered into an <sup>short</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Poet. *Aethiop. apud Job. Ludolf. hist. Aethiop. I. ii. c. 4. ut & ipse Ludolv. ibid. Vid. & Procop. de bel. Persic. I. i. c. 9.*

alliance with him ; but what hereupon ensued, we no-where find. The same author also relates, that even in *Gebra-Mejkel's* time the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* were so little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they crossed the straits of *Bal al Mandab* in rude vessels, consisting of nothing but planks or boards fastened together with ropes. This seems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for shipping, their maritim provinces affording them scarce any thing of this kind, and the *Romans* being obliged, by a particular law, not to transport any naval stores into *Ethiopia*. Next to this pious king (for as such he is described by the *Abaffines*), one *Constantine* ascended the throne, and after him one *Fresenna*, whose name imports *good fruit*. During the (Q) interval between *Fresenna* and *Delnoad*, who reigned about the year of the Christian æra 960, the *Ethiopian* history is so barren, as not to supply us with one article meriting any great regard. About this time the usurpation of the *Zagaan* family commenced, the cause of which will hereafter be fully explained <sup>u</sup>.

## C H A P.

<sup>u</sup> ABULFEDA in vit. Mohammed. p. 24, 25, 26. 95, 96. edit. Oxon. 1723. FBN. SHOHNAH. ABDO'L-BAKID. in hist. Habessin. par. 2. c. 2. & c. 3. AL JANNABIUS in vit. Mohammed. AL Koran MOHAMMED. c 19. c. 29. & c. 30. AL-WAKEDIUS apud ABDO'L-BAKID. ubi sup. SEIDEN. de LX. Hebraic. p. 552. & alib. COLOMOS. in observat. sacr. Job. LUDOLF. in comment. ad hist. *Ethiopic.* p. 223. & p. 284. & alib. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS in prodom. par. i. c. 2. p. 45. edit. Patavii, 1698. Vid. etiam CL. GAGN. in Abulfed. ubi sup.

(Q) We are told, that about A. D. 836. *Ethiopia* groaned under the complicated miseries of war, pestilence, and famine ; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in sight of the enemy. The *Abaffines*, continues this author, attributed these evils to the violence and indignities offered *John* the metropolitan sent them by *Tastes*, the fiftieth patriarch of *Alexandria*. A knot of the nobility had before caballed against this prelate, and, after bringing others over to their party, driven him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the

above-mentioned persuasion, he was recalled and re-established. But the queen, who at that time held the reins of government, raised new persecutions against the *Abuna*, and left him only the choice of being circumcised, or leaving the kingdom. *John* chose to undergo circumcision, and, being stripped in order to the operation, had upon him, by a singular miracle, say the *Copts* and *Abaffines*, evident tokens that he had been circumcised on the eighth day. We must here observe, that as the church of *Abaffia* acknowledges that of *Alexandria* as its mother, it is subject to

## C H A P. XXI.

*The History of the Arabs, and their ancient State, to  
Mohammed.*

## S E C T. I.

*Description of Arabia.*

THE independence most of the *Arabs* maintained to the *Many authors have*  
*downfall of the Roman empire*, and the surprising con-*takengreat*  
*quests they made under Mohammed* and his successors, ren-*pains to*  
*dered their country so famous*, that it is no wonder many *give an*  
*authors should have taken such pains to give an accurate de-**accurate*  
*scription of it*. *Ptolemy* seems to have laboured this point *geographi-*  
*more than any other*: *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, with *cal descri-*  
*many more of the antients*, in their accounts of *Arabia*, are *ption of*  
*likewise pretty prolix*. But the *Arab* writers themselves have *Arabia*.  
*been indefatigable on this head*. They are very particular and  
*minute*, both in their historical and geographical relations;  
*which would have met with a more general esteem*, had not  
*the Arab* genius, so strongly tinctured with enthusiasm and  
*superstition*, and consequently inclined to fable and ro-  
*mance*, so eminently displayed itself through almost every part  
*of those compositions*.

ARABIA, or at least the most considerable part of it, was, *Whence*  
*from remote antiquity*, called by the natives *Arabah*; which *Arabia so*  
*name it still retains*. However, we find it frequently styled *called*,  
*by their historians Gjazirah or Jezirat al Arab*, the peninsula

\* PROL. in Arabia, edit. OXON. 1712. DIOD. SIC. I. iii. STRAB. I. i. l. xvi. & alib. PLIN. I. vi. c. 27, & alib. ABULFED. de- script. Arab. edit. OXON. 1712. Vid. etiam STEPH. BYZANT. in voce Χαράκμασος, & Huds. in præfat. ad vol. iii. geograph. vet. script. GRAC. min. OXON. 1712.

to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty of electing its own bishop. This subjection is as antient as the conversion of the *Abassines* to Christianity, and confirmed by that book of canons

which they held in equal esteem with the sacred writings. The particular canon here hinted at will be inserted when we come to the modern history of *Abassie* (7).

(7) Le Grand, disert. viii. c. 9.

of the *Arabs*, *Belad al Arab*, the region of the *Arabs*, *Diyar al Arab*, the provinces of the *Arabs*; and, by many of the *Orientals*, *Arabiştān*. Amongst some of the *Syriac* writers it seems to have gone under the appellation of *Cushatha*, and sometimes in Scripture that of *Cush*, as we have already observed in the history of the *Ethiopians*. *'Al Motarezzi*, in the book *Mogreb*, derives the name *Arabah* from *Arbah*, a district of *Tehâma*, where *Ishmael* dwelt, or, according to *Safiuddin*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*; and *'Ebn Saïd 'Al Magrebi*, in *'Abu'l-Fedab*, from *Ya'râb*, the son of *Kahtân* or *Jektan*, and grandsoa of *Eber*. But those bid the fairest for truth, who deduce it from an *Hebrew* original; the word *arab* or *ereb* having several significations very favourable to such a conjecture. For it imports, *the west*, *a mixture*, and *merchandise* or *traffick*. Now, that the western part of *Arabia* was at first called *ארָבָה* אֶרְצָה *eretz arab* or (A) *erab*, the western country, may be deemed highly probable from hence, that its eastern provinces are denominated in Scripture אֶרְצָה *eretz kelelm*, the land of the east. Which if we admit, from *arab* naturally and easily flows *Arabah*. This notion seems the less liable to exception, as *Moses* himself stiles the western *Arabia Arabah*; which goes a good way towards evincing, that, from its situation, it first received that name. Afterwards the *Ishmaelites*, who were possessed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word *Arabah* along with them, and applied it to the whole peninsula. Some, however, think, that this tract might have assumed the name we are now considering, from that mixture of different tribes, which, they presume, formed the *Arab* nation. In support of this opinion it is alleged, that in Scripture the *Arabs* are termed *a mingled people*, and that the ancients enumerate many nations inhabiting *Arabia*. But, as the passage of Scripture here hinted at does not appear necessarily to denote the *Arabs*; as the various names given by the ancients to the different clans of this region do not absolutely imply, that all those clans had a different original; and as the

(A) From hence, by the insertion of an epenthetic N, comes the word *Erembi*, the name of a nation mentioned by *Homer* and *Strabo*. *Homer's* scholiast and *Bocchart* intimate, that the *Erembi* were the same people with the

*Troglodytes*; though they likewise allow, that they might have been a branch of the *Arabians*. For a more ample discussion of this point, we must refer our readers to *Bocchart* (1).

(1) *Hom. Odyss. A. v. 85.* & *sibcl. in loc.* *Strab. l. i. Bocchart. Pbal. l. iv. c. 2. & c. 29.*

best Arabian historians assert all their countrymen to be sprung from two stocks only ; perhaps our readers will allow a greater degree of probability to the former etymon. Lastly, others deduce the name *Arabah* from the third signification of בָּרַע above-mentioned, because the *Arabs* in very early ages took their principal delight in merchandize or traffick ; the gold, frankincense, myrrh, jewels, spices, and many other valuable commodities, either the natural produce of their country, or brought thither from *India*, prompting them thereto. Now, though it cannot be denied, that this carries a good appearance of truth, and that the facts on which it is founded are clear and incontestable ; yet, as the most antient names of places seem chiefly to have been taken, either from those of the first planters of colonies, builders of cities, &c. or some circumstance in the situation, we are inclined to adhere to the etymon suggested by the signification of בָּרַע *arab*. The sacred historian calls the territory, where the descendants of *Joktan* settled, *Kedem, the east* ; which renders it probable, that in his time the name *Arabah* was not known there. This is sufficient to invalidate what has been advanced in the point before us by 'Ebn Saïd 'Al Magrebi, which depends only upon an Arabian tradition, that can by no means stand in competition with Scripture. Neither ought we to be censured for deducing the most noted name of *Arabia* from the Hebrew tongue. For, that *Moses* uses this very name, has been already observed ; and that in early ages the Hebrew and Arabic languages were the same, seems to be acknowledg'd by the *Arabs*, when they make themselves the descendants of *Eber* and *Abrahām*, the two great ancestors of the Hebrews b.

ARABIA, taken in its largest extent, lies between the *twelfth* and *thirty-fifth* degrees of north latitude, and the fifty-<sup>*The largest extent of Arabia.*</sup>

<sup>b</sup> GOLI note ad Alfraganum, p. 78, & alib. CL. GAGNIER in not. ad Abulfed. geogr. Arab. sub init. CUMBERL. Phœn. hist. Sanchoniath. p. 267. ed. Lond. 1720. EBN SAID AL MAGREBI apud Abulfed. hist. cap. 4. POCOCK. specim. hist. Arab. 33. AL MOTARREZZI in lib. *Megreb.* ALFIRAUZIBADIUS, & SAFIODIN. apud CL. Pocock. ibid. GAGN. diatrib. de Arabum & Arabiæ nomin. sect. 1. BUXTORF. SQHINDL. aliisque lexicograph. Hebr. Gen. c. xxv. v. 6. Job. c. i. v. 3. Jud. c. vi. v. 3. Deut. c. ii. v. 8. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 2. & 3. JER. c. xxv. ver. 20. 24. EZEK. c. 30. ver. 5. DION. Sic. lib. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28, & alib. PROL. in Arab. R. SAADIAS in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. c. x. v. 25. POCOCK. ubi sup. 39. GREG. ABULFARAG. p. 159. Gen. c. xxxvii. v. 25. DIONYS. Perieg. v. 927, &c. BOCH. præf. ad Chan. Gen. c. x. v. 30.

third and seventy-eighth of longitude. The greatest length, or a line drawn from a point on the coast of the *Red-sea* about  $1^{\circ} 25'$  S. of the tropic of *Cancer* to the extremity of cape *Ras al Ghat*, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greatest breadth, that is to say, the distance from the northern extremity of the deserts of *'Al-Jazira* to the straits of *Bab al Mandab*, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the west by *Palestine*, part of *Syria*, the isthmus of *Suez*, and the *Red-sea*, called by the *Arabs* the *Sea 'Al-Kolzom*; on the East by the *Euphrates*, the *Persian gulph*, and bay of *Ormus*; on the north by part of *Syria*, *Diyar-Becr*, *Irák*, and *Khúzeftán*; and on the south by the straits of *Bab al Mandab*, and the *Indian ocean*. It grows narrower as we approach the frontiers of *Syria* and *Diyar-Becr*; and, by reason of the proximity of the *Euphrates* to the *Mediterranean*, may be looked upon as a peninsula, and that one of the largest in the world<sup>c</sup>.

*Its proper limits.*

BUT the limits of the *Proper Arabia* are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the isthmus, which runs from *Ailah* to the head of the *Persian gulph*, and the borders of the territory of *Ciifa*; which tract of land the *Greeks* nearly comprehended under the name of *Arabia the Happy*. Here the *Arabs* have been settled almost ever since the flood. The eastern geographers make *Arabia Petrea* to belong partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Shám* or *Syria*; and *Arabia Deserta* they call the deserts of *Syria*. But as the *Arabs* have for many ages reduced these two provinces or kingdoms, either by settlements, or continual incursions, the *Turks* and *Perfuns* at this day include them in *Arabiyya*. The antients in like manner assigned different limits to this vast peninsula. *Pliny* extended it as far as the borders of *Commagene*, the north part of *Syria*, on account of the many *Arabian* colonies planted there by *Tigranes*; and *Xenophon* included in it the greatest part of *Mesopotamia*. But *Ptolemy*, who gives us a more accurate description of *Arabia*, determines its dimensions differently from those authors. According to him, the city of *Phara*, between the *Elanitic* and *Heroopolitan* gulphs; or rather a line drawn a little to the westward of this city near the district of *Heroopolis*, was its boundary on the side of *Egypt*. On the west it was terminated by *Palestine*, part of *Syria*, the confines of *Egypt*, and the *Arabian* gulph; on the north by the *Euphrates*, from the city of *Thapsacus*, near the borders of *Palmyrene*, to the district of *Iddara* in *Babylonia*; on the east by the *Chaldaean* mountains,

<sup>c</sup> *GOLI*: note ad *Alfragan*. p. 78, 79, &c. *ABULFED*. in *descript. Arab. pass. ut & ATWAL, KANUN*, *ibid.*

and the *Perſian gulph*; and on the south by the *Erythraean sea*. The same situation and extent, or nearly so, are assigned it by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Conformably to the sentiment of the *Arabs*, this region may be deemed a peninsula, whether we consider it as answering to the name of *Arabia* in its most usual sense; or as it is variously described by the antients, or, lastly, as comprehending all that large tract bounded almost intirely by the *Euphrates*, the *Perſian gulph*, the (B) *Sindian*, *Indian*, *Red seas*, and part of the *Mediterranean*<sup>a</sup>.

THE first division of the peninsula of the *Arabs* was into *Kedem* and *Arabah*, as we learn from Scripture. *Kedem*, or *division of the land of Kedem*, comprehended the *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Deserta* of *Ptolemy*, whose limits and extent we shall soon define from that geographer. *Arabah* answered to that country called, from *Petra* its metropolis, *Arabia Petrea* by *Ptolemy*; *Arabia Citerior*, from its situation in respect of *Italy*, by *Pliny*; and *Arabia Vetus* by *Stephanus* and *Procopius*, according to *Ortelius*. *Moses* seems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a precision worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the south it reached to the sea of *Suph*, or the *Red-sea*; on the west to *Paran* and *Tophel*; on the north to *Laban*, *Hatseroth*, and *Di-Zabab*, that is, to the borders of *Syria*; and on the east to *Kadesh-Barnea*, eleven days journey from mount *Horeb*. As *Arabah* imports the west, so *Kedem* does the east; and these significations agree with the situation of those regions. The *Arabic* version makes *Kedem* to extend as far as *Rekem* or *Petra*, which runs counter to some other authors. In one passage *Moses* apparently comprehends *Chaldea* under the name of *Kedem*; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The first inhabitants of *Arabah*, or the western *Arabia*, were the *Ca-*

<sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi sup. XENOPH. in *arabos*. I. i. PTOL. in Arab. ATWAL, KANUN, RASM, ABULFED. GOL. &c. ubi sup.

(B) *Sind* or *Sindia* is that large tract comprehending all those countries between *India*, *Carmania*, and *Sigistān*. On the south it is washed by the sea, which from thence is called the *Sindian sea*, contiguous to the bay of *Ormuz* and the *Indian ocean*. Its

metropolis is known by the name of *Manfoura*, according to the eastern writers. The *Sindon* of the antients was so denominated from *Sindia*, where it was produced in great abundance. The *Arabs* believe the people of this region to be the posterity of *Cham* (2).

(2) Strab. paff. Abulfed. apud Schult. ubi sup. Gol. in lex. & ad Alfragan. p. 77.

*Ishbim*, descended from *Misraim*, the *Caphorim*, and the *Horites*, who occupied mount *Seir*, before they were expelled from thence by *Esau* and his posterity. Afterwards *Ishmael* and his descendants settled here; and last of all the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*. As for *Kedem*, or the eastern *Arabia*, it was first peopled by the sons of *Joktan*, who are reputed the genuine *Arabians*; though in process of time the *Ishmaelites* spread themselves over this country. That some of the *Cushites* also possessed themselves of part of it in early times, has been already observed. The children of *Abraham* by his concubine *Keturah* likewise contributed towards replenishing it with inhabitants, as appears from the sacred historian <sup>c</sup>.

Ptolemy  
the first  
who di-  
vided it  
into three  
parts.

Arabia  
Petræa.

PTOLEMY seems to be the first who divided the peninsula we are now upon into three parts. These he termed *Arabia Petræa*, *Arabia Deserta*, and *Arabia Felix*; and since his time that division has generally prevailed. In order, therefore, to give our readers a succinct idea of every one of these provinces, we shall pursue the method he has observed, and describe them upon the plan he has laid down <sup>d</sup>.

ARABIA PETRÆA on the east was contiguous to *Syria* and *Arabia Deserta*; on the west to *Egypt*, or rather that neck of land separating *Africa* from *Asia*, called at this day the isthmus of *Suez*, and the (C) *Hercopolitan gulph*; on the

<sup>e</sup> GAGNIER. ubi sup. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. c. ii. ver. 8. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 6. Job. c. i. ver. 11. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. <sup>f</sup> PLIN. l. v. c. 11. & l. vi. c. 34. STRAB. ubi sup. PROCOPIUS, STEPHANUS BYZANT. & ORTELIUS apud Gagn. ubi supra. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. PTOL. Arab. ubi sup. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. & ver. 33. Gen. c. xxix. ver. 1. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. iv. sub init. Gen. c. x. ver. 26—31. c. xxxvii. v. 25. & c. xxv. ver. 1—19. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. vi. <sup>f</sup> PTOL. in Arab.

(C) The *Hercopolitan gulph* received its name from the city of *Heroopolis* bordering upon it. This gulph, the western arm of the sea *Al Kolzom*, is the *Yam Supb*, or *Yam Souph*, *The weedy sea*, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. Sharpe supposes it to have been so called from the variety of *alge* and *suci* that grow within its chanel, and, at low-water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the sea-shore. If this be admitted, the

word ים סוף has not been rendered so properly *flags* by our translators, *Exod.* c. ii. ver. 8. *Isa.* c. xix. ver. 6. nor *juncetum* by *Buxtorf*. The same worthy gentleman relates, that, whilst the surface of the sea is calm, such a variety of *madrepores*, *suci*, and other marine vegetables, present themselves to the eye, that they resemble a forest under water, agreeably to what we find observed by *Pliny*. It may not be improper farther to

the north to *Palaestine*, the lake *Aphaltites* and *Cæl-Syria*; and on the south to *Arabia Felix*. This tract did not admit of much cultivation, the greatest part of it being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here-and-there with some fruitful spots. *Petra*, its metropolis, seems to have been denominated by the Hebrews *Sela*. Among the *Syrians* it went by the name of *Rekem*, and was the same town that we find in Scripture stiled *Tokheel*. *Josephus* calls it *Arke* and *Arakeme*, which *Bochart* takes to be equivalent to *Rekem*, as being only that word with an article prefixed. *Petra* was the chief fortress of the *Idumeans*, *Edomites*, or *Nabathæans*, as already observed, and derived its name from its rocky situation. It was accessible only by one narrow path, wherein but few could go at once; which, with the steepness of the ascent, rendered it almost impregnable. Authors, however, differ (D) with regard

to remark, that the *Yam Souph* was likewise denominated *Yam Edom*, or *the sea of Edom*, by the antient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it. For the sons of *Edom*, having possessed themselves of those parts, from their father *Edom*, called the gulph we are now upon *the sea of Edom*. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Pbaenicians*, rendered *Yam Edom* improperly ἡγεμόνη θάλασσα, *The Red-sea*, mistaking the word *Edom* for an appellative. However, they seem to have been well apprised, that the name was not derived from any redness peculiar to this sea, or the territory bordering upon it. For *Agatharchides* and *Suidas* expressly assert, that it was so denominated from one king *Erythras*, who could be no other than *Esau* or *Edom*. Though there are sev-

eral thickets of the arundinaceus plants, at some small distances from the immediate banks of the *Yam Souph*, yet none are observed either upon them, or growing out of the sea; which is an additional argument in favour of Dr. *Shaw's* notion. The castle and garison of *Adjeroute* are supposed to occupy at present the spot of ground on which the antient *Heroopolis* stood (3).

(D) It will be found difficult enough to determine the situation of *Petra*. *Strabo* places it three or four days journey from *Jericho*, and five days journey from the forest of *Palm trees*, which was upon the *Red-sea*. *Pliny* makes it to be six hundred miles distant from *Gaza*, and an hundred twenty five miles from the *Persian* gulph. But *Reland* and *Cellarius* think, that the numbers have been changed, and

<sup>1</sup> (3) *Shaw's geograph. observat. in Egypt, Arabia Petrea, &c.* p. 342. 386, 387, &c. *alib.* *Exod.* c. x. v. 19. c. xii. v. 18, &c. *Strab.* lib. xvi. *Plin.* l. vi. c. 23. *McL.* l. iii. c. 8. *Agatharcid.* *Cnid.* *edit.* *Oxon.* p. 2. *Q. Curt.* l. viii. c. 9. & l. x. c. 1. *Philostrat.* l. iii. c. 15. *Arrian.* in *rer. Indicar.* libro, p. 579. *edit.* *Bland.* *Prid.* connect. of the *bifury of the Old and New Test.* Vol. i. p. 10, 11. *ed.* 21.

regard to its situation. Some think, that the city of *Karak*, or *Krak*, lying on the confines of *Arabia* and *Syria*, is the antient *Petra*. According to them, this fortress (for that the word signifies in the *Syriac* and *Chaldee* tongues) answers to the *Characha* in the *Maccabees*, the *Karkaa* in the book of *Joshua*, the *Charac Moab* or *Charac Moba* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Charakmoba* of *Stephanus*. Others make this city to be the same with *Hagr* or *Hjr* the capital of a district in the kingdom of *Hejaz*. And, lastly, others believe *Errakim*, or *Ar-rakeh*, a place in a northerly direction from *Hagr* near *Krak* or *Caracha*, to correspond with the *Petra* of the antients. None of these notions seems very remote from truth; though the last has been so strongly supported by the famous Mr. *Albertus Schultens*, that, we think, it cannot be easily overthrown.

IT

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid. Dr. SHAW's physical observations, &c. or an essay towards the natural history of Arabia Petrea, p. 377, 378, & seq. JOS. c. xv. ver. 3. 2 Maccab. c. 12. ver. 17. DIO-DOR. SICUL. lib. xix. STRAB. lib. xvi. JOSEPH. antiq. lib. iv. c. 4. 7. & l. xiv. c. 9, & alib. pass. EUSEB. & HIERON. in ARKEM. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. in Arab. Petr. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. in voc. Χαράκηνεβα. DIO. l. lxviii. p. 785, 786. HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528. ATHANAS. epist. ad monach. SHARIF AL EDRESI. clim. iii. par. 5. PTOL. l. v. c. 17. CALMET, in dict. bibl. voc. *Petra*. JUD. c. xii. ver. 3. 2 MAC. c. xii. v. 17. EUSEB. onomast. urb. & loc. ad <sup>2</sup>γαγ. Πέτρα. 2 KIN. c. xiv. ver. 7. ISM. ABULFED. in Arab. *Gōrāt* nota ad *Alfraganum*, p. 96, 97. BOCHART. Cham. lib. i. c. 44. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. *Salad*. in voc. *Errakimum*. Vide etiam GUL. TYR. lib. xxii. c. 2. & 5. BERN. THESAUR. de acquiſ. ter. sanct. EBN HAWKAL apud Abulfed. & ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. in voc. *Caracha*.

that the true reading in the last author is an hundred twenty-five miles from *Gaza*, and six hundred miles from the *Persian gulph*. *Eusebius* places *Ihemam* five miles from *Petra*, and *Carcuria* a day's journey from the same city. Some geographers believe, that there were more than one *Petra*. St. *Athanasius* distinguishes two, one in *Paleſtine*, and the other in *Arabia*. *Petra*, the capital of *Arabia Petrea*, is appropriated to *Paleſtine* by the author of the

antient *Notitia ecclesiastica*, being the metropolis of what was called the *Third Palestine*. *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom* also extend *Paleſtine* as far as the *Red-sea*, to *Eloth*. Father *Calmet* supposes the *Petra* called *Sela* by *Iaiaib*, and the author of the book of *kings*, to have been seated in the land of *Moab*, or the eastern part of *Idumea*, and afterwards named *Joktbeel*; whereas the other, called *Rekem*, was, according to him, situated in the south *Idumea*, or

IT cannot be supposed, that such a barren region should *Towns* <sup>in</sup> abound with large and populous cities ; and therefore most of Arabia those places, whose names have been handed down to us by *Petraea*. *Ptolemy*, must be considered as insignificant and obscure. The principal places appertaining to *Arabia Petraea*, taken notice of by Scripture, besides those already mentioned, were *Paran*, *Duma*, and *Pithom*. *Paran*, the *Phara* of *Ptolemy*, gave name to a famous desert adjoining to it. *Duma* stood upon mount *Seir* ; and, from what the prophet *Isaiah* intimates, was probably a place of some consideration. *Heroopolis*, <sup>or</sup> the western extremity of the Arabian gulph, is by some supposed to be *Pithom*, built by the *Israelites* for *Pharaoh*, during their servitude in *Egypt*, and the *Patumos* or *Patunon* of *Herodotus*. Be that as it will, it is certain the *Septuagint* and *Coptic* versions countenance such a supposition, the one rendering *Goshen Heroopolis*, and the other *Pethom*. The generality of the antient geographers have ranked this city amongst those belonging to *Egypt* ; but *Herodotus* was of another opinion. *Haura*, *Zathag* or *Zatha*, and *Zize*, three modern places of this country, correspond tolerably well with the *Auara*, *Zanaatha*, and *Ziza* of *Ptolemy* ; but as for *Lysa*, *Gypfaria*, *Gerasa*, and most, if not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geographer, scarce any footsteps or traces of them are now to be seen <sup>b</sup>.

THE most considerable nations inhabiting this tract, in the *Nations* of earlier ages, were the *Ishmaelites*, the *Nabatæi* or *Nabathæans*, <sup>Arabia</sup> the *Cedrai* or *Kedareni*, and the *Agareni* or *Hagareni* (E). <sup>Petraea.</sup> Of

<sup>b</sup> *PTOL.* ubi supra. *STEPH. BYZANT.* de urb. *HIERONYMUS* apud *Salmasi*. in *Solin.* p. 344. *Gen.* c. xxi. ver. 21. *Num.* c. x. ver. 12. *ISAI.* c. xxi. ver. 11. *Exod.* c. i. ver. 11. *LXX.* in *Gen.* c. xlvi. ver. 28, 29. & *INTERP. EGYPT.* *ibid.* *GUIL. BONJOUR.* in *monument.* *Coptic.* sect. 21. *HERODOT.* l. ii. c. 158. *Vide CELLAR.* *geogr. ant.* l. iv. c. 1. par. 1. sect. 7. & *chart. geograph.* *Arab.* a *SEN.* & *SAL.* ed.

or *Arabia Petraea*, or the country of the *Amalekites*. The same author, together with M. *Tillement*, also believes, that the capital of the *Hagarenes*, ineffectually attacked by *Trajan*, was different from the city we are now upon (4).

(E) To these we may add the inhabitants of the wilderness of *Mabon*, called in Scripture *Mebunim*, who bordered upon *Gerar* and *Pharan*, and consequently were seated in the neighbourhood of *Egypt*. For a further account

(4) *Strab. Plin. Jolepb. Dis. Cellar. geogr. ant.* l. iii. c. 14. *Reland. Paraf. l. iii. p. 927, 928. Vid. etiam SS. Script. pass. P. August. Casmet. in voc. *Petra* ; ut & D. *Tillement*, in *Traj. art.* xxiv. p. 274.*

Of these the *Ishmaelites* were the most potent, if they did not comprehend all the rest. The *Nabathæans* and *Kedureni* apparently deduced their names from *Nebaioth* and *Kedar*, the sons of *Ishmael*, and consequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the *Ishmaelites*, or in all respects as the same nation with them. It is probable the descendants of *Midian*, one of *Abraham's* sons by *Keturah*, seated themselves in the neighbourhood of the *Ishmaelites*; since we find the same people called in Scripture *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*. Amongst the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Petreæ* and *Arabia Deserta*, at least the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of *Arabes*, and *Nabatai*, *Nauatai*, or *Nabatæ*. They extended themselves, according to St. *Jerom*, from the *Red sea* to the *Euphrates*; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated *Nabatena*. Nay, so numerous were the *Nabathæans*, that we find them mixed with the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and people of *Moab*. The *Cedraei* or *Kedureni* and *Chanclei* seem to have been intermixed with them. *Cellarius* places the *Cedraei* near the northern confines of *Arabia Felix*. The *Midianites* made a settlement behind the *Elanitic* gulph, and incorporated themselves with the *Cushites*. If the *Hagareni* did not correspond intirely with the *Ishmaelites*, they must have been nearly related to them. *Kimchi* insinuates, that they were originally the children of *Hagar* by an *Arab*, after she had left *Abraham*; but others rather apprehend they assumed their name from the stony region they inhabited. *Cellarius* thinks, "that at first they must have been but an obscure people, though neither *Trajan* nor *Severus* could reduce their metropolis, according to *Dio*. Their territory bordered upon the land of *Moab*, as may be inferred from Scripture. In after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon were absorbed in that of *Saracens*, which continued famous for several centuries over the eastern and western parts of the world. It is observable, that the *Jerusalem Targum* styles the *Ishmaelites Saracens*. That the *Araceni* of *Pliny* were the *Saraceni* of *Ptolemy* and *Dioscorides*, may be evinced by several arguments: 1. The same proper name has sometimes an S, and sometimes a vowel, for its initial letter. So we find Αλαραντος and Σαραντος, Αρδράκοντς and Σαρδράκοντος, Εξιτανι and Σεξιτανι, Τασιπάτης and Σασιπάτης, Αρδιανος and Σαρδιανος, *Elana*, and *Selana*, Sam-

of *Arabia Petreæ*, or the country home of the Universal history of this people, our readers may (5).  
have recourse to the fourth vo-

*nitæ*, and *Amnitæ*, &c. 2. *Ptolemy* assigns the same situation to the *Saraceni*, that *Pliny* does to the *Arraceni*. 3. They had both the same origin, and deduced their names from that of the same city. This will more evidently appear from the account we shall give of the *Saracens* in the following section<sup>1</sup>.

BEFORE we leave *Arabia Petrea*, our readers will expect some reason to touch upon the following remarkable places : 1. The <sup>markable</sup> town of *Colzum* or *Kolzom*, giving name to the sea adjoining <sup>places of</sup> to it, the *Clysmæ*, as is supposed, of *Ptolemy*, which stood <sup>Arabia</sup> *Petrea*. on the western extremity of the *Red sea*, near the spot where the city of *Suez* was afterwards erected, and not far from the antient *Heroopolis*. 2. The wilderness of *Sdur* or *Shur*, which extends from the extremity of the *Heroopolitan* gulph, now called by the *Arabs* the western arm of the sea *Al Kolzom*, to the desert of *Paran*. 3. The wilderness of *Paran*, extending from the former desert to mount *Sinai*. 4. The wilderness of *Sin*, contiguous to the former, and lying between mount *Sinai* and the aforefaid branch of the sea *Al Kolzom*. 5. The desert of *Sinai*, which is separated from that of *Sin* by many windings, and difficult ways, that take up twelve hours in passing. It is a beautiful plain, more than a league in breadth, and near three in length, lying open towards the N. E. where passengers enter it; but is closed up to the southward by some of the lower eminences of mount *Sinai*. 6. The mounts *Casius* and *Sinai*, which were in *Arabia*, according to *St. Paul*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. 7. *Eziongaber*, a celebrated port in the reigns of *Solomon* and *Jehosaphat*, now called *Meenah el Dsabab*, the *Port of Gold*, on the *Elanic* gulph of the *Red-sea*. 8. The promontory of *Paran* between the *Heroopolitan* and *Elanic* gulphs, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. 9. *Adra*, in the northern part of *Arabia Petrea*, an episcopal see, over which *Proclus* presided at the council of *Chalcedon*, according to *Lucas Holstenius*. 10. *Elusa*, which, according to the *Jerusalem Targum*, seems to have

<sup>1</sup> DIOD. SIC. I. ii. & iii. OVID. metam. I. i. ver. 61. STRAB. I. XVI. PLIN. lib. V. c. II. I. vi. c. 28. & lib. XII. c. 17. EPIPHAN. hæref. ix. I Macc. c. ix. ver. 35. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. ubi supr. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 18. & c. xxxvii. ver. 25. 27. HIERONYM. in loc. Hebr. & alib. Psal. lxxxiii. ver. 6. & KIMCHI in loc. Dio, ubi sup. & alib. EUSER. in voc. *Madian*. PROCOL. de bell. Pers. lib. I. c. 17. 19. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. peripl. Sin. Arab. BOCHART. Phal. I. iv. c. 2, & alib. pass. CELLAR. geog. ant. I. iii. c. 14. TARG. HIEROSOL. in Gen. c. xxvii. ver. 25. IS. CASAUB. in comment. ad Strab. p. 32. col. 2. GAGA. ubi sup. sect. 8, 9, & alib.

corresponded with *Sur*, and was likewise the seat of a bishop. 11. *Bosra*, twenty-five miles from *Adra*, a town of this region greatly honoured by *Trajan*, and called also *Philipopolis*, from the emperor *Philip*, surnamed *Arabs* by *Aurelius Victor*. 12. *Moca*, a city taken notice of by a medal of *Antoninus Pius* as governed by its own laws. We shall pass over in silence here every thing relating to the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites* or *Idumæans*, *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*, though settled in *Arabia Petræa*, since they have been already treated of at large in the second volume of this history <sup>k</sup>.

**Arabia Deserta.**

**ARABIA DESERTA** was bounded on the north by the *Euphrates*, which, bending its course easterly, separated it from *Mesopotamia* (F) ; on the west by *Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia Petræa* ; on the east by *Chaldaea* and *Babylonia*, or more precisely by a ridge of mountains dividing it from those countries ; and on the south by *Arabia Felix*, from whence it was likewise disjoined by several ranges of hills. The *Cauchabeni*, according to *Ptolemy*, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the *Euphrates*, as the *Batanæi* did that upon the confines of *Syria*. The *Agubeni* and *Rhaabeni* were placed more southerly, towards the frontiers of *Arabia Felix* ; and by the Persian gulph the *Orcheni*. Under the *Cauchabeni*, near the borders of *Babylonia*, the *Efitæ* had their habitation ; and above the *Rhaabeni* the *Masani*. In the interior part the *Agræi* were seated ; and in the mountainous region, near *Chaldaea*, the *Marteni* or *Martini*. All these nations, or rather tribes, except the *Efitæ* and *Agræi*, were very obscure ; but those deserving some regard, a word or two concerning them may not prove unacceptable to our readers <sup>l</sup>.

\* *GOLII note ad Alfragan. p. 88.* 144, 145. *PTOL. HIERONYM. JOSEPH. antiqu. l. viii. c. 2, & alib. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. SALMAS. in Solin. p. 344. AUR. VICT. TARG. HIEROSOL. & LUCAS HOLSTENIUS, apud Cellar. ubi sup. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xiv. c. 27. ed. Vales. Num. Antonin. PII apud Patin. aliquo num. ant. apud Cellar. in loc. citat. SHAW ubi sup. p. 341—358.* <sup>1</sup> *PTOL. ubi sup.*

(F) It appears from *Strabo*, that all the *Arab* tribes bordering on *Mesopotamia*, from their way of life, were by the *Greeks* and *Romans* denominated *Arabes Scenite*. That roving people, whom some authors make the same with the *Saracens* and *Nabatæans*, dispersed themselves over several parts of *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Felix*, as well as through almost every district of this barren province (6).

(6) *Strab. l. xvi. p. 526. Plin. l. v. c. 24. & l. vi. c. 28. Vide etiam Cellar. geogr. antiqu. l. iii. c. 14. p. 586, 587, 594.*

BOCHART supposes the *Æsitæ* to have inhabited that tract *The Æsitæ.* where the holy and patient *Job* was seated. He believes, that Ptolemy wrote *'Ausitæ Aufitæ*; and that *Uz*, the son of *Nabor*, settling here, gave name to the whole district. This notion, it must be owned, as well as the emendation that supports it, is not void of a good degree of probability. For the Septuagint version renders *in the land of Uz ēv χώρᾳ Ausitidι*, *in the land of the Ausitæ*; and *Haran* or *Charræ*, where *Terah*'s family resided, was on the opposite bank of the *Euphrates*, and consequently in the neighbourhood of this place. Add to this, that the *Chaldaens* and *Sabæans* are represented as *Job*'s neighbours in Scripture; which circumstance agrees extremely well with the country of the *Ausitæ* or *Æsitæ*, as being contiguous to *Chaldaea*, and having, according to *Ptolemy*, a city called *Sabe* situated in it. Further, *Buz* was *Nabor*'s second son; and we find, adjoining to this territory, a district called *Busitis*, of which *Elihu*, one of *Job*'s friends, was a native; and another of them came from *Tema* or *The-ma*, a town of *Arabia Deserta*, not very remote from hence. From which considerations, as well as several others that might be offered, we may infer, that *the land of Uz, and the territory of the Ausitæ or Æsitæ*, were one and the same country <sup>m</sup>.

THE *Agræi* lay more westerly, and even close upon the *The Agræi.* skirts of *Arabia Petræa*; which possibly may have induced some learned men to call them *Agræi*, and make them the same people with the *Hagareni* above-mentioned, whom we have placed in *Arabia Petræa*. If this be admitted, they must have possessed a good part of *Arabia*, and been much more powerful than *Cellarius* is willing to allow them. Be that as it will, it is certain *Pliny* takes notice of the *Agræi*, and the city of *Egra* or *Agra*; that, in the cabinets of the curious, antique (G) coins

<sup>m</sup> BOCHART. Phal. I. ii. c. 8. VERS. SEPTUAG. in Job. c. i.

• FRID. SPANHEM. in Jobi hist. p. 50. Gen. c. xxii. ver. 21. Job. c. xxxii. ver. 2, &c.

(G) That the coins here mentioned belonged to this city, seems plain, not only from the legend they exhibit, but likewise from the workmanship, taste, and manner of them; since they agree entirely with those of the cities in

the neighbourhood of *Palestine*. They prove therefore *Pliny*'s text to have been corrupted, and that his present *Egra* was originally *Agra*. That *Jupiter* should have been honoured with such an appellation, will not appear strange, when

coins have been discovered, with the words ΖΕΤΣ ΑΓΡΕΤΣ, Jupiter of Agra, or Jupiter the protector of Agra, upon them ; and lastly, that the situation the Oriental geographers assign *Hagr*, a name not very remote from *Agra*, is not incompatible with such a supposition. But as it is not a matter of any great moment whether the *Agræi* and *Hagareni* were the same people or not, whether their territories were extensive, or confined within narrow bounds, we leave our readers to take which side of the question they please <sup>a</sup>.

*Some curious particulars relating to Arabia Deserta.*

IT is very well known, that the antient *Itureans*, *Edomites*, *Nabathæans*, people of *Kedar*, and other nations settled in *Arabia Petræa*, led, for the most part, a wandering life, like their posterity the present *Bedowees*, without houses, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greatest part of both these provinces or kingdoms was a lonesome, desolate wilderness, no otherwise diversified than by plains covered with sand, or mountains consisting of naked rocks and precipices ; neither were they ever, unless sometimes at the equinoxes, refreshed with rain. The few vegetables, therefore, which they produced, must have been stinted by a perpetual drought, and the nourishment afforded them by the nocturnal dews sufficiently impaired by the intense heat of the sun in the day. Throughout the sandy deserts were found huge mountains of sand, formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the day-time, though they ceased in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were so very rare in these parts, that it is no wonder they should have occasioned so much strife and contention. However, notwithstanding the natural sterility of the tract we are now upon, those vast plains of sand above-mentioned were here-and-there interspersed with fruitful spots, which appeared like so many little islands surrounded by an immense ocean, as has been observed by *Pliny*. These being rendered extremely delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of vegetables, and most excellent fruits, the *Arabs*, with their flocks, encamped upon .

<sup>a</sup> JACOB. DE BARRY apud Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 933, & seq. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PROTOL. ubi sup. MOHAM. ALFRAD. in clim. ii. astronom. c. 9. ut & GOL. in loc. & lex. Arab. Vide etiam not. ad CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592. & ABULFED. in Arab.

when we consider the *Diana* to *Clarius*, &c. of the antients *Ephesia*, *Apollo Delphicus*, *Apol-* (7).

(7) Jacob. de Barry apud Hadrian. Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 933, & seq. Vide etiam Plin. Macrob. &c. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592.

some

some of them, and, having consumed every thing there, retired to others, as is the custom of the *Bedowees* at this day. Such fruitful spots were likewise frequent in *Libya*, and by the *Egyptians* called *Anases* or *Abases*, as we learn from *Strabo*. The barren part of *Arabia Felix*, bordering upon the *Red-sea*, was, in like manner, interspersed with such *Abases*; which probably gave name to the *Abaseni*, a nation settled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of these, crossing the straits of *Bab al Mandab*, passed into *Ethiopia*, which from them received the denomination of *Abassia*. This, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *M. Ludolfus*, appears to us much more likely, than that either the *Arabs* or *Ethiopians* should have been called *Abassines*, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation. For the very notion of such a mixture is repugnant to the whole stream of *Oriental* antiquity, and even to the sacred writings themselves, as our readers will easily collect from several passages of this history. It is certain the *Nubians* (H), a people inhabiting part of *Libya Interior*, abounding with *Abases*, and *Ethiopia*, went antiently under the appellation of *Abaseni*; which adds no small weight to our opinion. That even the fruitful part of *Arabia Felix* itself should be called *Abasene*, is not to be wondered at, since it might as well derive this name from *Arabia Pe-Herodian* and *Dio*, who have given an account of *Severus's traea*, as it did from hence that of *Arabah* or *Arabia*. For, that *Arabia Peatra* was styled *Abasene*, appears from expedition into this country, in conjunction with a coin of that emperor, having on the reverse the word ΑΒΑΣΗΝΩΝ,

(H) That the *Nubians* were a branch of the antient *Ethiopians*, appears from *Aristotle*, *Ptolemy*, and others; and that the *Ethiopians* were nearly related to the *Egyptians*, after consulting *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, no one can doubt. The *Ethiopic* and *Egyptian* languages therefore, in early ages, must have been, in a manner, the same; which likewise may be immediately collected from the aforesaid authors.

*Anases* or *Abases*, therefore, was probably an *Ethiopic* as well as an *Egyptian* word. Now, that the *Arabic* tongue antiently agreed with the *Ethiopic*, cannot well be denied, so uncommon an affinity betwixt them remaining to this day; so that *Anases* or *Abases* may be considered likewise as a word used by the antient *Arabs*. These points add great weight to the conjecture here proposed (8).

(8) *Herodot. l. ii. Strab. l. xvii. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Aristot. Eti. animal. l. viii. c. 12. Ptol. l. iv. c. 8. Hesych. in voc. Νούβαι-Ιαυγαστοι. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Suid. Nonnus apud Ptol. Vide etiam Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Elmacin. bish. Sar. l. i. c. 17. & Bochart. Ptol. l. ii. c. 23. l. iv. c. 26, &c.*

exhibited by Goltzius. And this takes off the whole force of the objection offered by M. Ludolfus against the etymon of *Abasene* or *Abassia* here proposed<sup>o</sup>.

*Towns of  
Arabia  
Deserta.*

THOUGH Ptolemy has handed down to us a large list of the towns appertaining to *Arabia Deserta*, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing observations, that few of them were places of any great repute. That geographer makes *Thapsacus* on the *Euphrates*, a city of some note on account of the bridge over which *Alexander* and *Darius* marched their respective armies, its frontier on the side of *Mesopotamia*; but *Pliny* and *Stephanus* think this town belonged to *Syria*. Near the mountains separating *Arabia* from *Chaldaea* stood *Themma*, *Thema*, or *Tema*, so called from *Thema* or *Tema* the son of *Ishmael*, mentioned in Scripture; for the *Ishmaelites* extended themselves from the land of *Havilah* near the *Euphrates* to the confines of *Egypt*. *Seba* was upon the borders of *Arabia Felix*, and founded probably by *Seba* *Abraham's* grandson; since all that patriarch's children by *Keturah*, according to *Moses*, moved towards the east. *Gadirtha*, *Auzara*, *Audattha* or *Adittha*, *Balataea*, *Pburga*, *Belgnæa*, and the other antient cities situated along the banks of the *Euphrates*, have long since disappeared; unless we will allow some traces of *Audattha*, or *Adittha*, and *Balataea*, to be still visible in the modern *Haditha* and *Balladoc*. *Anmæa*, *Idacara*, and *Jucara*, towards the *Persian* gulph, are equally obscure; except the present *Al-Kere* should be thought to bear some resemblance to the two latter. *Salma*, *Calathusa*, *Arrade*, *Tedium*, *Odagena*, *Luma*, *Dumætha*, &c. in the mediterranean parts; *Artemita* and *Abæra* on the skirts of *Arabia Felix*; *Thauba*, *Erupa*, *Alata*, *Aurana*, *Choce*, *Barrathena*, &c. to the northward; never probably made any considerable figure. However, that some memory of *Salma* seems at this day to be preserved in mount *Salma*, of *Dumæ-*

<sup>o</sup> HEROD. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. &c. pass. SHAW, ubi supra; STRAB. l. ii. & alib. CASAUB. in Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. PLIN. l. v. c. 25. Voyage au camp du Grand Emir, par le chevalier D'ARVIEUX, pass. Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. 123, &c. SCALIG. in comput. ecclef. Æthiop. de emend. temp. lib. vii. Univers. hist. vol. xviii. p. 275—278. BALTH. TELLEZIUS, lib. i. c. 2. p. 5. J. LUDOLF. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 50. 51, 52. NONNOSUS apud Phot. HESYCH. in voc. Νοννός αἱ-Ιλυμαῖος. ARISTOT. hist. animal. l. viii. c. 12. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. lib. iv. c. 8. GEORG. ELMACIN. hist. Sar. lib. i. c. 17. DIO, ubi supra. HERODIAN. lib. iii. c. 28. edit. OXON. 1678. HUBERTUS GOLTZIUS in thesaur. rei antiquar. p. 217. edit. Antwerp. 1618.

*tha* in *Dawmat-al-Jandal*, of *Aurana* in *Auran*, and of *Alata* in *Aladi*, we think, cannot well be denied <sup>p</sup>.

ARABIA FELIX was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms just described ; on the south by the *Erythræan* sea ; on the east and west by part of that sea, together with the Arabian and Persian gulps. In short, it pretty nearly answered to that tract, which is looked upon as the proper peninsula of the *Arabs* by the Oriental geographers. Strabo tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which well enough corresponds with the division of the Proper Arabia into five provinces by the eastern writers. These provinces are *Yaman*, *Hrjaz*, *Tebâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama* ; to which some add *Bahrein*, as a sixth. But the more exact make this a part of *Irâk*, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with Strabo. However, others reduce them all to two, *Yaman* and *Hrjaz*, the last including the three provinces of *Tebâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*. The principal nations taken notice of by the antients as settled here were the *Sabæi*, *Gerræi*, *Minaei* or *Minnæi*, *Atramitæ*, *Maranitæ*, *Catabani*, *Ajitatæ*, *Homeritæ*, *Sapphoritæ*, *Omanitæ*, *Saraceni*, *Nabathæi*, *Thumydeni*, *Bni Zomenæ*, &c. As the limits and situation of these nations cannot be determined with any manner of precision, we shall be as concise as possible in the particular geography of the *Happy Arabia* <sup>q</sup>.

THE *Sabæi* seem to have possessed a very considerable territory in the southern and best part of this peninsula. Their country was greatly celebrated amongst the antients for the vast quantity of frankincense it produced. *Saba* or *Sabæ*, its metropolis, according to the antient geographers, stood upon an hill, at no very considerable distance from the *Red-sea*, being a large, opulent, and strong city. It was defended by a castle, and, as has been supposed by many learned men, together with the *Arab* nation in general, the residence of the queen of *Sheba*. However, provided we allow the modern *Mâreb* in the province of *Hudramaut* to correspond with the antient *Saba*, this last must have been seated more to the south, and near the coast of the *Erythræan* sea, or, as it is now called, the *Indian ocean*. And that the modern *Mâreb* answers to *Saba*, must be admitted at least extremely probable from Pliny, who, together with Strabo, mentions

<sup>p</sup> PTOL. ubi supra. ARIAN. lib. i. p. 116. & lib. iii. p. 168.  
 STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. l. v. c. 24. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. Vide etiam chart. geograph. Arab. a SEN. SAL. &c. ed. <sup>q</sup> PTOL. ubi supra. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 1129. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. AGATHARCHID. CNID. MEL PLIN. STEPH. BYZANT. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. AGATHEM. aliisque antiqu. script. pass.

*Mariaba* or *Meriaba*, the same words apparently with *Máreb*, as the capital of the *Sabæi*; but is entirely silent as to the city of *Saba*. According to the eastern geographers, the town of *Máreb* or *Márab* is something above three days journey from *Sanaa* the capital of *Yaman*, in an eastern direction. From the same authors it also appears, that *Saba* was originally the name of a district, as well as a city, which could only be deemed a small part of the kingdom of *Yaman*. But that this district should have been always confined to the province of *Hadramaut* or *Shibâm*, if not a part of it, as they seem to insinuate, cannot be allowed; since frankincense, for the production of which the territory of the *Sabæi* was so famous, is only found in the province of *Shibr*, different from that of *Hadramaut*. The Arabs assert both the town and district to have been so denominated from *Saba* the son of *Jexhab*, and grandson of *Joktan*, whose name imports to lead into captivity, because he was the first who reduced men to a state of servitude. *Pliny* makes the *Persian* and *Arabian* gulphs the eastern and western boundaries of this nation. The maritim towns were *Marana*, *Marma*, (I) *Corolia*, *Sabatha*, &c. and inland cities *Nascus*, *Cardaua*, *Curnus*, &c. *Rhegama* or *Rbegma*, founded probably by *Raamah* the son of *Cush*, seated on the *Persian* gulph, seems likewise to have appertained to the *Sabæi*.

#### The Gerrei and Minæi.

THE *Gerræi* and *Minæi*, according to *Strabo*, brought vast quantities of frankincense, and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or southern parts of *Arabia Felix* to the sea-ports; which is a strong presumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the *Sabæi*. We find the towns of *Bilâna* or *Bil-bana*, *Gera*, and *Magindana*; mentioned by *Ptolemy* as belonging to the *Gerræi*; and the *Minæi*, a powerful nation, joined with the *Gerræi* by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. The last

\* *Dion. Sic. lib. iii. AGATHARCHID. Cnid. peripl. p. 63. Ptol. ubi supra. DIONYS. perieg. v. 927, &c. GOLI notes ad Alsiaganum, p. 86, 87. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. par. 6, & alib.*

(I) It is possible, that this town might be seated on some part of the *Red sea* abounding with coral, especially since that sea was famous for the production of this marine vegetable; which if we admit, it may appear probable, that *Corolia* received its name from the coral in its neighbourhood. Notwithstanding what has been advanced by *Pliny*, the word coral seems to be of Oriental extraction. For חָרְלָה, חָרְלָה signifies a thorn, a nettle, a thistle, &c. which are vegetables, and consequently bear some analogy to coral. Some may perhaps imagine, that coral was so denominated from the town we are here speaking of (9).

(9) *Plin. l. xxxii. c. 2. Sebund. lex. pentaglot. in ecc. חָרְלָה.*

author calls the region of the *Minæi Minæa* or *Meinæa*, and makes its northern frontiers seventy days journey from *Ailab*. Its principal city was *Carna* or *Carana*, called, as should seem, *Carnus* by *Pliny*, and placed by him in the country of the *Sabæi*; which brings no small accession of strength to what we have just advanced. Some authors take notice of the *Charmæi* as a people contiguous to the *Minæi* and *Gerræi*; but deliver nothing of moment concerning them<sup>8</sup>.

As for the *Atramitæ* or *Adramitæ*, they undoubtedly inhabited part at least of the province at this day named *Hadramaut* or *Hadramutta*, and consequently were a tribe of the *Sabæi*. Their metropolis was called *Sabota* or *Sabatha*, as may be inferred from *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; besides which the port of *Cane*, at the southern extremity of *Arabia Felix*, belonged to them. *Xibân*, or *Shibam*, and *Tezim*, are now the principal towns of *Hadramaut*, both of them about a day's journey from the *Indian ocean*. *Shibâum* stands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the same name, is fortified with a citadel of great strength, and rendered almost impregnable by its situation. It goes likewise under the name of *Hadramaut* amongst the *Arabs*, lies in about  $13^{\circ} 30'$  N. latitude, and is seven days journey from *Aden*. The province was denominated *Hadramaut* from one of the sons of *Joktan*, whose descendants first peopled it. *Shibâum* and *Tezim* were also the names of two tribes, who founded, and settled themselves in, the cities so called, as we learn from the *Arab historians*. *Ebisma*, *Dama*, *Ægijlba*, *Trulla*, *Mæphath*, and other places fixed by *Ptolemy* here, deserve not the least attention<sup>9</sup>.

THE *Maranitæ* or *Maranenses* must have been in the neighbourhood of the two former cantons, though we cannot pretend to ascertain their situation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the *Mara* or *Amara* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Mara* of some of the *Oriental geographers*<sup>10</sup>.

CELLARIUS makes the *Catabani* a people of good consideration; which is confirmed by *Pliny*, who tells us, that the *Larendani*, *Catabani*, and *Gebanitæ*, had many towns, particularly *Nagia* and *Tamma* that contained 65 temples. *Tamma* must have been the seat of some *Arab* prince governing the *Catabani*, according to *Strabo*; from whence we may conclude, that they inhabited the province of *Tehano* stretching out as far to the southward as the city of *Aden*. *Golius* says, that the word signifies a violent heat; and that the country

<sup>8</sup> DIOD. SIC. I. iii. STRAB. I. xvi.

PROL. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 82.

I. viii. COTBODIN & EBX JOURN. apud Gol. ubi supra, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> PLIN. ubi sup.

" PROL.

was so denominated from its being greatly exposed to the solar rays, whose heat there is very intense. But as many other places in *Arabia* were subject to the same inconvenience, our readers may possibly suppose it rather to have deduced its name from *Tema* the son of *Ishmael*, whose posterity, in process of time, might settle themselves in it. This seems to be confirmed by *Almotarezzi*, who says, that *Ishmael* himself resided in *Araba*, a district of *Tehama*. *Tebala*, the capital of *Tehama*, a town of considerable note, built by *Tebala*, the son of *Midian*, stands in the road from *Mecca* to *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*<sup>u</sup>.

*The Asci-  
tae.*

THE *Asciæ* possessed all that tract about the promontory *Syagrus*, the cape *Ras al Ghat* of the moderns, including, as should seem, part of the provinces of *Omán* and *Mabra*. Nay, they must have spread themselves much farther, if we suppose *Háec*, a maritim town on the coast of *Hadramaut*, to have been so denominated from them. Whether any traces of the *Asciæ* are still visible in *Maskat* an *Arab* town on the bay of *Ormuz*, a little above a degree north of the extremity of cape *Ras al Ghat*, and almost under the tropic of *Cancer*, we must submit to the judgment of our curious and inquisitive readers<sup>v</sup>.

*The Ho-  
merites.*

PTOLEMY mentions the *Homerites* as a nation seated in the southern parts of *Arabia Felix*, and bounded on the east by the *Adramitæ*, or province of *Hadramaut*. His *Arabia Emporium* he likewise places in their country, as *Pliny* does his *Massala*. Some authors make them the same people with the *Sabæans*, whilst others consider them in a different light. For our part, we look upon *Sabæi* and *Homeritæ* to have been different names of the same nation, and are countenanced herein by the *Oriental* historians. For these inform us, that the *Sabæans* were called *Hamyarites* from *Hamyar* the son of their great ancestor *Saba*; and that they ruled over almost the whole country of *Yaman*. Though the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, or *Homerites*, was at length translated from the princes of *Hamyar* to the descendants of *Cabla* his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. We find them styled *Innireni* by *Theodorus Lector*, and *Theophanes Byzantius* gives them the name of *Ethiopians*, insinuating them to be the *Macrobi* of *Herodotus*, which yet we are by no means disposed to admit. They made a great figure amongst

\* CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 598, 599. PLIN. PTOL. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 95. KELEBAEUS in lib. de etymis locor. apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 85. Geogr. Nubiens. & YACUT ibid. ALMOTAREZZI in *Mogreb* apud Cl. Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 33.      \* PTOL. & ABULFED. in Arab.

the antient *Arabs* before the time of *Mohammed*, as will more fully appear in the sequel of this history \*.

THE *Sapphoritæ* of *Ptolemy* cannot be considered as a *The Sapphoritæ*, people distinct from the *Homerites*, notwithstanding the authority of *Ptolemy* and *Cellarius*. They were only the citizens of *Sapphar*, or, as *Pliny* has it, *Saphar*, a city of note in the dominions of the *Homerites*. *Ptolemy* assigns this place a position nearly agreeing with that of the present *Sanaa*, which we cannot help looking upon as extremely probable, especially as *Saphar* is affirmed to be the metropolis of this country by *Pliny*. The *Arabs* believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincense went, in the earliest times, by the name of *Sephar*; from whence the excellent *Golius* concludes this tract to have been the mount *Sephar* of *Moses*. A strong presumption of the truth of which notion is, that *Dhafir*, the same word with the modern *Arabs* as the antient *Saphar*, is the name of a town in *Shibr*, the only province of *Arabia* bearing frankincense, on the coast of the *Indian ocean*, five parafangs from (K) *Merbât*. This we learn from *Safioddin*, who likewise informs us, that this thuriferous mountainous country of *Dhafir* is about three days journey long, and of an equal breath. *Bochart* therefore deserves little regard, when he intimates, that the *Mesha* of *Moses* was the *Muzza* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mocha* of the moderns, a celebrated port of the *Red Sea*, about four or five days journey from *Dhafir*; since this is much too narrow an extent of territory to receive all the posterity of the thirteen sons of *Joktan*, as we are assured by *Moses* the tract between *Mesha* and *Saphar* did. For which reason we cannot help preferring the sentiment of *R. Saadias* and *R. Abraham Zachutus*, who assert *Mesha* to be *Mecca*; especially since it is a point agreed upon by the *Arabs*, that *Mesha* was one of the most antient names of *Mecca*. Some authors believe, that in early times there stood a city called *Dhafer* or *Saphar*, the *Arabic* letter *س* frequently answering to the *Hebrew* *שׁ* and

\* PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. GOLIUS in Alfragan. p. 86, 87. POC. spec. hist. Arab. p. 65, 66. PHILOSTORGIIUS, I. iii. num. 6. & I. iii. num. 4. THEODORUS LECTOR, I. ii. p. 567. THEOPHANES BYZANTIUS in excerpt. de legat. Vide & CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 599.

(K) A parafang is about three miles. Eight parafangs, according to *Abulfeda*, or twenty-four miles, make a station, or a day's journey. But the *Nahian* geographer says, that a station consists of thirty miles. \*

Greek Σ, in the neighbourhood of *Sanaa*; and others, that *Sanaa* itself went formerly by that name; which in a great measure confirms what we have just advanced <sup>1</sup>.

*The Omanites.*

We find the *Omanitæ* taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, and *Omanum* their chief city represented by him as one of the most considerable places in *Arabia*. It cannot be doubted but the *Omân* of *Alfraganus*, and capital of the province of the same name, the common boundary of *Yaman* and *Babrein*, is the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, and the country in which it is seated, the district of the antient *Omanitæ*. From whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the jurisdiction of the *Homerites*, and consequently ought to be looked upon as a clan of that people. The citadel of *Omân* is defended by a strong garrison of *Arabs*. Either the tract itself, or the metropolis, seems also to have been called antiently *Sohâr*; but at this day the former is denominated *Omân*, and the latter *Sohâr*. The province of *Omân* stretches itself out three hundred miles on the coast of the *Persian sea*, which is there called the sea of *Omân*. In the time of *Ptolemy*, *Omanum*, or *Sohâr*, was a famous mart; but has been, in a manner, deserted by merchants for several ages <sup>2</sup>.

*The Saracens.*

THE *Saracens* or *Nabathæans* possessed that part of *Arabia Felix* bordering upon *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deserta*; but what extent this territory was of, we no-where find. Contiguous to them the antients placed the *Thamudeni*, *Thamuditæ*, or *Thamydeni*, a people also mentioned in the *Koran*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that the (L) *Thamydeni* inhabited part of the coast of the *Arabian gulph*; and *Pliny* intimates their principal city to have been named *Badanatha*. In fine, *Golius* believes them to have occupied a good part at least of the province of *Hejâz*, and particularly that district wherein *Hagr* or *Al Hîjr*, the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Stephanus* and *Ptolemy*, is situated. This, as well as other considerations that might

<sup>1</sup> *PTOL. & CELLAR.* ubi sup. *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 23. & l. xii. c. 14.  
*AKRIAN.* peripl. mar. Erythr. Gen. c. x. v. 30. *R. SAADIAS* in vers. Arab. Pentat. *POCOCK.* in spec. hist. Arab. apud *GAGN.* ubi sup. sect. 2. *SAFIODDIN.* in lcx. geographic. *BOCHART.* Phal. p. 163. *RR. ABRAH.* *ZACHUTUS & SAADIAS* apud *BOCHART.* ibid. *GOL.* ubi sup. p. 84. <sup>2</sup> *PLIN.* l. vi c. 28. *PTOL.* in Arab. *GOL.* nota ad *Alfraganum*, p. 80, 81. *Geogr. Nubiens.* & *philosophus Xirafita* in clim. ii.

(E) The *Thamudeni* were the whom we shall have occasion tribe of *Thamud*, so famous hereafter to speak (3). amongst the *Arab* writers, of

be offered, plainly evinces them to have been nearly related to the *Saracens* and *Nabathæans*, if not intirely the same people with them <sup>a</sup>.

**DIODORUS SICULUS** tells us, that in the neighbourhood of *The Eni* the *Thamydæni* were likewise seated the *Bnizomenæ*, who lived *zomenæ*. upon wild beasts taken in hunting. In their country stood a temple held in the highest veneration amongst all the *Arabs*. It is probable this temple was sacred to *Isis*, as *Diodorus* relates an island near the *Bnizomenean* coast to have been more immediately under her protection. These likewise must have been settled in some of the maritim parts of *Hejaz*; but their situation, for want of sufficient light from antient history, cannot now be exactly determined. However, we doubt not but they appertained to the *Nabathæans*, as well as their neighbours the *Thamydæni* <sup>b</sup>.

We might here mention several other nations, or rather tribes, taken notice of by the antients as appertaining to *Arabia Felix*. But since these either coincide with some of the *Ethiopic* cantons already described, as the *Troglodites*, &c. or may be considered as branches of the *Saracens*, *Nabathæans*, *Sabæans*, *Homerites*, &c. our readers will excuse even a bare enumeration of them. The same may be said of that large catalogue of obscure and insignificant towns and villages, belonging to these tribes, to be met with in *Ptolemy*, of which that geographer himself had no idea. However, we must not pass over in silence some towns and sea-ports of *Arabia*, that were held in good repute by the old geographer, and historians <sup>c</sup>.

**NYSA** was a town of *Arabia* <sup>d</sup> on the *Red Sea*, famous for the education of *Bacchus*, who from thence, and his father *Jupiter*, received the name of *Dionysus*. *Arga* and *Budo*, <sup>e</sup> in *Arabia Felix*, two maritim cities in a southerly direction from *Nysa*, had royal palaces, in which the sovereigns of the country sometimes resided. *Pudni* we find esteemed by *Ptolemy* as one of the principal places of *Arabia Felix*. *Musa* or *Mura* was a celebrated emporium and harbour, to which the *Arab* merchants resorted with their frankincense, spiccs, and perfumes. The best authors take the modern *Mocha* or *Mokha* to correspond with the antient *Musa*; but, in our opinion, *Musa*, at present a small, but handsome town, near ten leagues from *Mokha*, seems to bid the fairest for that antient mart. This does not only appear from the very great affinity, or rather identity, of their names and situation, but likewise from hence, that

<sup>a</sup> **PLIN.** & **CELLAR.** ubi sup. **GOLII** notæ ad *Alfraganum*, p. 97.  
**GAGN.** ubi sup. sect. 9.      <sup>b</sup> **DIOD. SIC.** l. iii.      <sup>c</sup> **Vide STRAB.**  
**PLIN.** **PTOL.** &c.

*Mosa* is the rendezvous and thoroughfare of the fruits which come from the mountainous parts of *Arabia*, a circumstance well enough suiting with what the antients have related of *Musa*. Be that as it will, we cannot well deny, that some traces of *Musa* are still preserved in *Mosa*; especially as *Pliny* intimates the *Arab* merchants to have brought in his time vast quantities of the produce of their country to the former place. *Ocelis*, according to *Pliny* and *Arrian*, stood upon the shore of that narrow sea called by the moderns the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, and supplied the merchants with fresh water in their *Indian* voyages. *Arabiae Emporium* has been already mentioned, and will be described when we come to speak of the city of *Aden*, which is supposed to answer to it. The port of *Moscha* our readers will probably place upon the spot occupied at this day by the city of *Mafkat*; which is all that we can say of it. As for the *Itamas portus*, the memory and situation of it still remain in *Cadbeca*, a town or village on the *Persian* gulph, or bay of *Basra*<sup>d</sup>.

Oriental  
geography  
of Arabia.

BEFORE we conclude this section, our readers will expect a sketch of the Oriental geography of the peninsula of the *Arabs*. The best eastern writers, as has been already observed, divide this peninsula into five provinces or kingdoms, to wit, *Yaman*, *Hejaz*, *Tchama*, *Najd*, and *Tamima*. This division is of great antiquity, as appears from *Strabo*; which is not to be wondered at, since the *Arab* customs, names of towns, &c. are nearly the same now that they were above three thousand years ago<sup>e</sup>.

*Yaman.*

THE province of *Yaman*, so called either from its situation to the right-hand or south of the temple of *Mecca*, or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends itself along the *Indian* ocean from the streights of *Bab al Mandab* to cape *Rafalgat*. Part of the *Red Sea* bounds it on the west, as the towns of *Najran*, the *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, *Haly* or *Halja* on the sea *All Kolzom*, and *Omân* or *Sohar*, do on the north. It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as *Hadhamaut*, *Shibr*, *Omân*, *Mabra*, &c. of which *Shibr* alone produces the frankincense. The very learned Mr. *Sale* did not sufficiently attend to the Oriental geographers, when he limited *Yaman* on the north by *Hejaz*, and made *Najran* a province, neither of which particulars have any foundation in them<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. & l. iii. APOLLON. bibliothec. l. iii. c. 4. sect. 3. extr. p. 159. EUSEB. prep. Evang. l. ii. c. 2. ARRIAN. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 2. LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. 1711, 1712, 1713. ARRIAN. peripl. p. 8. CELLAR. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> STRAB. l. xvi. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 79. <sup>f</sup> LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. GOLIUS ubi sup. & p. 87. PTOL. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 2.

THIS country has been famous from all antiquity <sup>g</sup> for its Principal fertility, riches, and happiness of its climate. The principal cities in it known to the antients are the following : 1. <sup>antient ci-</sup>  
*Mokha*, if it was the *Musa* or *Muza* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and <sup>ties of Ya-</sup>  
*Arrian*; which yet, we apprehend, will admit of a dispute. It is at present a port and town on the *Red Sea* of considerable trade; contains ten thousand inhabitants, *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Mohammedans*; is surrounded with walls, after the antient manner; and has four gates without a ditch, though strengthened by four towers with a proper number of cannon <sup>h</sup> placed upon them. 2. *Aden*, a celebrated mart on the *Indian ocean*, not far from the straits of *Bab al Mandab*, so called, according to the *Arabs*, from its founder *Aden* the son of *Suba*, and grandson of *Abraham*. Some believe the name to be the same with *Eden*, the *Hebrew* word denoting *Paradise*, and that the town under consideration received this name from the delightful country in which it was situated. It stands at the foot of several high mountains, which surround it almost on all sides. The *Arabs* have erected five or six forts on the summits of these mountains, with curtains, and many other fortifications, on their necks. A fair aqueduct conveys from thence the waters into a great canal or reservoir, built about three quarters of a mile from the city, which supplies the inhabitants with very good water. *Golius* produces several reasons to prove, that *Aden* is the *Arabia* *Emporium* of *Ptolemy*, which seem to carry considerable weight. It can scarce be doubted, but that *Aden* is the *Adana* which *Stephanus* mentions from *Uranius*. 3. *Sanaa*, the capital of *Taman*, a very antient city, greatly resembling *Damascus*. It is seated in a mountainous territory, and blessed with a most delightful air; insomuch that it enjoys a double summer, or rather a perpetual spring. It is about fifty leagues distant from *Mokha* on the borders of *Hadramaut*, and was denominated *Ozál* from its founder the son of *Joktan*, as the *Arabs* pretend. They likewise make *Sanaa* the son of *Ozál* to have communicated that name to it, by which it goes at present. Some assert it to be the *Sapbur* of *Ptolemy*, as above observed. *Sanaa*, towards the beginning of the last century, consisted of good houses built with lime and stone, being as large as *Bristol*. It stands in a barren and stony valley, surrounded at a small distance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the

<sup>g</sup> STRAB. PLIN. pass. DIONYS. AF. ubi sup. <sup>h</sup> LA ROQUE, ubi sup. GOLIUS not. ad Alfragan. p. 84. URANIUS apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. GOLIUS, ubi sup. p. 83. LA ROQUE, ubi sup. ABUL FED. in Arab.

*Arabs* have built a small castle to keep off the neighbouring mountaineers, who sometimes insult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from far, and consequently very dear. On the east side stands the castle invironed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are posted proper guards. The king of *Yaman* does not now reside here, but at *Muab*, a town built by one of the last monarchs of this country, not a mile from *Dhamar* a little to the S. E. of *Sanaa*. About three quarters of a mile from this place, on a pretty high hill, the prince above-mentioned built a palace or pleasure-house, to which he frequently retired, in order to divert himself; and, from the pleasant country in which it was seated, styled it *Hish almawahib*<sup>k</sup>, or the *castle of delights*. 4. *Saba* or *Mareb* in the province of *Hadramaut*, of which an account has been given above. It is at present little better than a village, and stands above three days journey E. of *Sanaa*<sup>l</sup>. 5. *Skibam*, *Dhafar*, &c. towns of a very high antiquity, have been m already described. 6. *Oman*, or *Sobar*, the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, was formerly frequented by merchants of various nations; but has for several ages been deserted by them. This seems to have been occasioned by the vicinity of a small rocky island called *Kis*, so low that it cannot be discovered at any distance, on which many ships were dashed to pieces. *Kis* lies a little to the east of *Charec*, another small island opposite to the coast of *Oman*, and famous for a pearl fishery, according to *Abulfeda*. *Iucitus* and the *Nubian* geographer make both these islands, now called the isles of *Sobar*, about half a day's sail from the main land of *Arabia*; but authors are not agreed in this point. The heats in *Oman* are frequently so intense, that they have passed into a proverb amongst the *Orientals*. The town of *Sobar* must be in something more than 24° N. lat. though *Ptolemy* places his *Omanum Emporium* in 19° 45' N. lat. and *Ebn Maruph*, mathematician to sultan *Morad* or *Amurath* II. asserts *Oman* or *Solar* to be in about 23° N. lat. All other particulars of note relating to this place our readers will find in the authors here referred to<sup>n</sup>.

*Soil, mountains, rivers, &c., of Yaman.* THE best part of *Arabia Felix*, or that which the *Greeks* called *most happy*, was probably the country of *Yaman*; the

" *LA ROQUE*, p. 232, & alib. *GOL.* ad *Alfrag*, p. 83, 84. Sir *HENRY MIDDLETON*'s journey to *Sanaa*. <sup>1</sup> *GOLII* not. ad *Alfrag*, p. 86, 87. <sup>m</sup> *Idem ibid.* p. 82. *ut & ABULEFD.* in *Arab.* " *PLIN. PROL.* ubi sup. *Geogr. Nubiens. & philos. Xirasta* in *clim. ii.* *ABULEFD.* in *Arab.* *YACUT.* & *EBN MARUPH*, apud *Gol. ibid.* p. 78, 81.

delight-

delightfulness and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its mountains. For all that part lying along the *Red Sea* is a dry barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over; but, in return, bounded by the aforesaid mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almost perpetual spring, and, besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. The principal of these mountains taken notice of by the antients were *Cabubathra*, *Melan*, *Prionotus*, and *Didymi*, whose *Arabic* names have not hitherto been brought into *Europe*. As the *Greeks* and *Romans* were little acquainted with this region, we must allow *Ptolemy* to have been very inaccurate in his geography of it; which might also be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. Admit this, and we may be allowed to suppose, that the present *Arab* river *Falj*, emptying itself into the *Bay of Bafra*, is the *Prion* of *Ptolemy*; and the modern city *Masfa* his *Mephath*, situate about  $0^{\circ} 30'$  N. of the source of that river. However, it must be owned, that a river of *Oman*, falling into the *Indian ocean* at *Sûr*, about  $0^{\circ} 40'$  N. of *Maskat*, possibly the *Moscha portus* of *Ptolemy*, bids likewise fair for the *Prion*. No other rivers of note are to be met with in *Yaman*; which is not to be wondered at; since the streams, which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast.

**H E J A Z**, either so named, because it divides *Najd* from *Ta-Hojaz-hama*, or because it is surrounded with mountains, is limited with its on the south by *Yaman* and *Tebama*; on the west by the sea chief cities, &c. *Al Kolzom*; on the north by the deserts of *Sham* or *Syria*; and on the east by the province of *Najd P.* This province is famous for its two chief cities *Mecca* and *Medina*, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to *Mohammed*; and the other for being the place of his residence for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment. The soil of *Hejaz*, as that of *Najd*, *Tebama*, and *Yanama*, is much more barren than that of *Yaman*; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm-trees. The chief towns in *Hejaz*, deserving any attention on account of their antiquity, are these that follow:

\* *LA ROQUE* voy. de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. 123. 153. PROL.  
*STRAB.* PLIN. ubi sup. *ABULFED.* in Arab. . . . P GOI. ad  
*Alfragan.* p. 98. *ABULFED.* in Arab. p. 5.

1. *Mecca*, sometimes also called *Becca*, which words are synonymous, and signify *a place of great intercourse*, is certainly one of the most ancient cities in the world. Some authors imagine it to be the *Mesa* or *Mesha* of the Scripture, as above observed, and that it deduced its name from one of *Ishmael's* sons. It stands in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides by mountains under the same parallel with the *Macoraba* of *Ptolemy*, and about forty *Arabian* miles from the sea 'Al Kolzom. The length of *Mecca*, from *Maalab* to *Maspalab*, is about two miles; and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain *Ayyad* to the top of another called *Koikaan*, about a mile. In the midst of this space the town is seated, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains. The *Arab* authors tell us, that near a chapel or holy house (for so the *Arabs* term it) in the centre of 'Al-Haram, or great temple, here called 'Al-Caabah, stands a white stone, which was the sepulcre of *Ishmael*; and that 'Al-Caabah was first built by *Adam* of stone, but destroyed by the deluge. However, add they, God commanded *Abraham* and *Ishmael* to rebuild it; which they did, covering it with the boughs of olive-trees, and for pillars encircling the trunks of palm-trees. There being no springs at *Mecca*, at least none but what are bitter, and unfit to drink, except only the well *Zenzem*, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drunk for any continuance, being brackish, and causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it, the inhabitants are obliged to use rain-water, which they catch in cisterns. But this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about *Mohammed's* time, *Zobair*, one of the principal men of the tribe of *Koreish*, endeavoured at a great expence to supply the city with water from mount *Arafat*, but without success; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of *Soliman* the *Turkish* emperor. But, long before the time of that prince, another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years labour, finished by the *Khalif al Moktader Abbasida*. Notwithstanding the sterility of the soil near *Mecca*, it being so barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, yet a traveler is no sooner out of its territory, than he meets on all sides with plenty of good springs, and streams of running water, with many gardens and cultivated lands. The prince or *Sharif* of *Mecca* has a garden well planted at his castle of *Marbaa*, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides. This prince is lineally descended from *Hashem*, *Mohammed's* great-grandfather, who, being

being the head of his tribe, appointed two caravans to set out yearly, the one in summer, and the other in winter, to foreign parts, in order the more effectually to supply his countrymen with provisions, the people of *Mecca* having no corn or grain of their own growth. They are supplied with dates in vast abundance from the adjacent country, and with grapes from *Tayef*, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at *Mecca*. As for the citizens of *Mecca*, they are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently, in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. The *Sharif* of *Mecca*'s troops consist intirely of infantry, which the *Arabs* call '*Al-Harrabah*', i. e. archers or dartmen. We must not omit observing, that *Safa* and *Mutwah* were two places in *Mecca*, in which the idols *Asaph* and *Nayelah* were placed before the time of *Mohammed*. As for the temple of *Mecca*, and the reputed holiness of this territory, they will be treated of in the modern history of the *Arabs*. Some authors write, that the interior or middle part of *Mecca* only had the name of *Becca* assigned it, because it was greatly crowded with inhabitants, which that word imports; others believe, that *Mecca* was the name of the city, and *Becca* of the temple; and lastly, others think, that *Becca* passed into *Mecca*, as *Balbec* into *Mulbec*, *Banbe* into *Manbe*, &c. which seems to us the most probable opinion. We must distinguish between the *Haram* of *Mecca*, considered as the territory of the *Sharif*, extending some miles beyond the city, and the magnificent temple in it so called, being three hundred and seventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and supported by four hundred and thirty-four pillars. It must not be forgot, that the

\* R. SAADIAS in version. Arab. Pentat. ABRAHAM ZACHUT. in Sefer Juchasin, 135. Gen. c. x. ver. 30. c. xxv. v. 15. PITI's account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, p. 96. 107. GOLII nota ad Alfraganum, p. 82. 98, 99. SHARIF AL EDRISSI apud Pocock. in not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 122. 124, 125, ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. p. 51. ALGIAWHARY apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40. ALB. SCHULT. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. sub voc. *Manbesium* & *Mecca*. SHARIF AL EDRISSI apud GAGN. in not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 29, 30. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. Vid. etiam ADR. RELAND. lib. de relig. Mohammed. & cfig. *Cæba cum Templo ei circumd. ibid.*

*Arabs* have a tradition amongst them, that *Ishmael*, with his mother *Hagar*, fixed his residence here; which seems to have induced them frequently to visit *Mecca*, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of *Mohammed*. They likewise believe *Zemzem* to have been the well, near which *Hagar* sat down with her son *Ishmael*, and was comforted by the angel. *Abulfeda* places the city we are now upon in  $67^{\circ} 31'$ . long, and  $21^{\circ} 20'$ . N. lat. Some of the *Orientals* make the patriarch *Abraham* to have been the founder of it; but others with more reason attribute its foundation to one of the sons of *Ishmael*. It does not follow from *Moses's* mentioning *Mejba* as inhabited by the posterity of *Joktan*, that *Mecca* was built before the time of *Ishmael*, supposing those places to have been the same, since he more than once uses the appellations by which towns went in his age, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary.<sup>2</sup> 2. *Medina*, which, till *Mohammed's* retreat thither, was called *Tathreb*, is a city standing in a plain, surrounded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coast of the *Red Sea*. *Abulfeda* intimates, that one of its antient names was *Tailab*, a word importing *sulubious*, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half as big as *Mecca*, ten days journey from thence, and salt in many places. In some parts its territory produces palm-trees, fruits, and several salsuginous plants. About the mountains *Air* and *Chud*, the first of which is about two leagues to the south, and the other as many to the north, of *Medina*, the country is fruitful in dates. The name *Tathreb* was derived from the chief of the tribe that first settled here, whom the *Arabs* make the great-grandson of *Aram*. *Celius* takes it to be the *Ιαθρεβα* of *Stephanus*, and the *Αιθρεβα* of *Ptolemy*. Here *Mohammed* lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a *cupola*, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city. Its situation has not been exactly defined, some authors determining its longitude to be  $67^{\circ} 30'$ . and others  $65^{\circ} 20'$ . and its latitude either  $24^{\circ}$  or  $25^{\circ}$ . N. The most ingenious Mr. *Sale* must be deemed guilty of an error, when he makes mount *Thabit* two leagues distant only from *Medina*, since that mountain is in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*. *Medina* is dignified by the *Mohammedians* with the title of *the city of the prophet*, from the kind reception *Mohammed* met with there, as we shall

<sup>2</sup> *GOLI* note ad *Alfraganum*, p. 99. Gen. c. x. & c. xxxi.  
*ABULFED. & ALB. SCHULT.* ubi sup.

hereafter have occasion more fully to observe\*. 3. *Taifa* or *Taifa*, a town sixty miles to the east of *Mecca*, behind mount *Gazwan*, where the cold is more intense than in any other part of *Hejaz*, but the air most salubrious. It had the name of *Vegja* given it at first by its founder. The *Turks* call it the region of *Al Abbas* from the uncle of *Mohammed*, who fixed his residence here. The word *Taifa* plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is surrounded. Lat. 21°. 20'. N.  
 4. *Gjudda* or *Jodda*, a port and maritim city, the bulwark of *Mecca*, must undoubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though scarce ever taken notice of by the *Greek* or *Roman* authors. The town of *Aidab*, on the confines of *Abassia*, stands on the opposite shore, where great numbers of the *African* *Mohammedans* take shipping, in order to visit the holy city of *Mecca*. Lat. 21°. 45'. N.  
 5. *Yanbo'*, or *'Al-Yanbo'*, is undoubtedly the *Iambia* of *Ptolemy*, and not far from *Medina*, or, as the *Arabs* more properly stile it, *'Al-Madinah*. We find it represented as a small city by *Abulfeda*, who likewise cites *Ebn Said*, as affirming it to have a castle, and several fountains in its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading to *'Al-Madinah*. A little to the east of *Yanbo'* stands mount *Radwa*, about seven stations from *'Al-Madinah*, from whence a vast quantity of the whetstone is exported into various regions. All the district of *Yanbo'* produces palm-trees, water, corn, &c. and was inhabited by the *Hbasanites*, who lived after the manner of the antient *Arabes Scenitæ*, and resembled them in all particulars. *Ebn Hhawkal* observes, that the *Hbasanites* and *Giasarites*, whose territories were contiguous, so weakened one another by bloody wars, that their country became a prey to the king of *Yaman* w. 6. *Magian*, the *Midiana* of *Ptolemy*, and *Midian* or *Madian* of Scripture, is a city of *Hejaz*, at present little better than a heap of ruins. It is situated on the eastern shore of the sea *'Al Kolzom*, at no great distance

\* *GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum*, p. 97, 98. *ABULFED.* in Arab. p. 40, 41. *ALB. SCHULT.* in *ind. geographic.* ubi sup. *PTOL.* & *STEPH. BYZANT.* apud *Gol.* ubi sup. *SHARIF AL EDRISI*, vulgo *geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 5.* *KAIKASHENDI*, p. 400. *POCOCK.* in *not. ad specim. hist. Arab. pass.* *SATIÖD.* in *compend. lexic. Yacüt.* & ipse *Yacüt.* sub litera *E* *Ain.* *AL SHARISTANI* apud *Pocock.* ubi sup. *Vid. etiam Cl. GAGN.* not. ad *Abulfeda.* Arab. p. 31. & *SAL.* *prelim. disc.* p. 5. <sup>1</sup> *GOLIUS* ubi sup. p. 99, 100. *SHARIF AL EDRISI*, *clim. ii. par. 5.* *ATWAL*, *RASM*, *ULUGH BEIGH* apud *Abulfeda.* ubi sup. <sup>2</sup> *GOLIUS*, *SHARIF AL EDRISI*, ubi sup. *ATWAL*, *KANUN*, *RASM* apud *Abulfeda.* *ibid.* <sup>w</sup> *EBN SAID* & *EBN HHAWKAL* apud *Abulfeda.* in Arab. p. 45. ut & ipse *ABULFED.* *ibid.* & alib. *PTOL.* in Arab.

from the gulph of Ailah. The *Arabs* have several traditions relating to this place; to wit, that it received its name from the tribe of *Madian*, who first built and inhabited it; that *Shoaib*, the son of *Mikail*, the son of *Tashjar*, the son of *Madian*, of that tribe, was the same person with the father-in-law of *Moses*, called in Scripture *Reuel* or *Reguel*, and *Jethro*; and that the well, whence *Moses*, or, as they call him, *Musa*, watered *Jethro's* flocks, still remained when *Abulfeda* wrote his geographical description of *Arabia*. Most authors agree, that the *Midianites* ought to be looked upon as the descendants of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, who afterwards seem to have coalesced with the *Ishmaelites*; since *Moses* names the same merchants, who sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Ishmaelites*, and in another *Midianites*. The sacred historian makes *Jethro* both the priest and prince of *Midian*. *Ptolemy* asserts the latitude of *Mediana* to be  $27^{\circ} 45'$  N. which almost exactly corresponds with that assigned it by 'Ebn Said, to wit,  $27^{\circ} 50'$ . though other *Oriental* writers place it in  $* 29^{\circ} 00'$  N. lat. *Hajr*, or 'Al-Heg'r, in  $28^{\circ} 30'$  N. lat. according to 'Ebn Haukal, was the seat of the tribe of *Thamud*, the *Thamydeni* of the antients. This clearly evinces *Hajr* to be the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Pliny*, since that author makes the *Thamydeni* neighbours to that city. 'Al-Heg'r stands amidst a ridge of rocky mountains, out of which many houses have been cut, as some suppose, by the *Amalekites*, or their ancestors the *Adites*, *Iramites*, *Thamudites*, &c. But this notion we cannot rely upon, as depending chiefly on the authority of the *Koran*. 'Ebn Haukal calls this ridge of mountains 'Al-Athaleb, i. e. the fragments of stones <sup>y</sup>.

**Tihama.** TIHAMA, or *Tchama*, is a small province, whose limits have not been sufficiently defined by the *Arab* geographers,

\* Ptol. in Arab. GOLII nota ad Alfraganum, p. 143, 144. ABULFED. & EBN. SAID, ubi sup. SHARIF. AL EDRISSI, clim. iii. par. 5. p. 109. AL BEIDAWI, TARIKH MONTAKHAB. Gen. c. xxy. ver. 2. c. xxix. ver. 1. c. xxxvii. ver. 36. Exod. c. ii. ver. 18. c. iii. ver. 1. Vide etiam D'HERBELOT, bibl. Orient. art. *Schoaib*. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 24, & alib. *Sbaifel hakkab*. p. 12. Deut. c. xxv. ver. 13, 14. SAL. in not. ad Al-Kor. sur. vii. p. 126. & GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 6. <sup>y</sup> EBN HAWKAL apud Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 43. GOLII nota ad Alfraganum, p. 96. Ptol. in Arab. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. ABULFED. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISSI apud Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 44. POCOCK in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 37. ALB. SCHULT. in Ind. geographic. ad vit. Salad. sub voc. *Errakinum*. Vide etiam Al Kor. sur. lxxxix. ver. 9.

who have sometimes confounded it with *Yaman* and *Hegaz*. *Tehama*, according to *Golius*, derived that name from its sandy soil, as it did another, to wit, *Gaur*, from its low situation. It is bounded on the west by the *Red Sea*, and on the other sides by *Hijáz* and *Yaman*, extending almost from *Mecca* to *Allen*. *Abulfeda* mentions several towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Tanna* of *Pliny*, and *Thunna* of *Ptolemy*, by the latitude he assigns it, to wit,  $17^{\circ} 15' N.$  seem to bear some relation to *Tihama*<sup>z</sup>.

As the *Nabathæans* possessed the best part of, if not all, the province of *Hegaz*, contiguous to *Tihama*, the *Thimanei* of *Pliny*, neighbours to the *Nabathæans*, must be the *Arabs* of *Tihama*.

THE province of *Najd*, which word signifies *a rising* *Najd*, country, lies between those of *Yamana*, *Yaman*, and *Hegaz*; and is limited on the east by *Irák*. *Najd* is peculiarly opposed to *Tehama*, as the name implies, though this last has several ridges of mountains in it<sup>a</sup>.

**YAMAMA**, also called *Arud*, from its oblique situation in *Yamama*, respect of *Yaman*, is encircled by *Najd*, *Tehama*, *Bahrein*, *Omán*, *Sibhr*, *Hadrāmaut*, and *Saba*. The chief city is *Yamāma*, which gives name to the province, and was anciently called *Jaw*, or *Gjauva*. It is four degrees to the E. of *Mecca*, and deduced its name; according to the excellent *Golius*, from the niece of *Tasm*, whose brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her so famous amongst the *Arabs*, that one of their proverbs was, *more sharp-sighted than Yamama*. This lady governed *Yamama*, and therefore the quality above-mentioned was the more conspicuous in her. However, some authors relate, that there was a river, or fountain, in this province, called *Yamama*, from whence the province itself was so denominated. The false prophet *Mysilama*, *Mohammed's competitor*, rendered this place famous by residing in it. But, he being vanquished and killed, it submitted to *Abubecr*<sup>b</sup>.

THOUGH the more accurate *Oriental* geographers make *Bahrein*, *Bahrein* part of *Irák*, yet a short description of it ought not to be omitted here. *Bahrein* then, in the most extensive acceptation of the word, denotes that maritim tract lying between *Basra* and the farthest limits of *Omán*; to which the *Arabs* have given the name of *Bahrein*, i. e. *Of two seas*,

<sup>a</sup> *GOLIUS*, ubi sup. p. 95. *SHARIF AL EDRISI*, clim. ii. par. 5. *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 28. *PIOL*. ubi sup. <sup>a</sup> *GOLIUS*, ubi sup. p. 94. *ABULFEDA*. in Arab. pass. <sup>b</sup> *GOLIUS* note ad *Alfraganum*, p. 95. *SHARIF AL EDRISI*, clim. ii. par. 6. *GEORG. ELMACIN.* hist. Sar. l. i. c. 2.

or the country of two seas, because it connects the Persian gulph with the Indian ocean. In a more confined sense it is applied to an island, or rather two, of the Persian gulph, in 26° 30' N. lat. about a league from the town of 'Al-Katif seated on that gulph. One of these islands seems to be the Ichara of Ptolemy, and Icharia of Strabo. As Jalfar and the other principal towns of Babrein were built after Moham-mud's death, our readers will expect some account of them in the modern history of Arabia<sup>c</sup>.

The principal islands on the coast of Arabia.

As for the islands of *Henus*, *Timagens*, *Zygæna*, and many others, both in the Arabian and (M) and Persian gulphs, enumerated by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Aelian*, &c. as appertaining to *Arabia*, they merit not the least attention. But it may not be improper to observe, that, in our opinion, *Ptolemy*'s island of *Socrates* may be looked upon as the same with the *Socotra* of the moderns. It is true, he places the former two or three degrees more to the northward, than the latter is found to be by experience. However, his inaccuracy, which we have frequently had occasion to observe, and the little acquaintance the *Greeks* and *Romans* had with the people of *Arabia Felix*, sufficiently account for such a difference; which being admitted, the affinity of the names *Socrates* and *Socotra* seems no inconsiderable argument in favour of the

<sup>c</sup> *GOLIUS* ubi sup. p. 96: *PTOL.* ubi sup. *STRAB.* l. xvi. *AELIAN.* de animal. l. xi. c. 9. *SHARIF AL EDRISI*, *YACUT*, & *ABULFED.* apud *Gol.* ibid. p. 78. 81.

(M) The antients frequently called the *Persian* gulph, or gulph of *Bafra*, as well as the *Indian* ocean, the *Erythræan* or *Red Sea*, as we learn from *Herodotus*, *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Philostratus*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Dionysius Afer*, and *Aelian*. Several reasons have been assigned for that appellation; but the most probable seems to be the reflexion of the solar rays in that hot climate, which gave the water a reddish colour. The learned

*Dr. Prideaux*, without a sufficient foundation, asserts this to have been the only proper *Red Sea* of the antients; since, according to *Pliny*, the *Arabian* and *Persian* gulphs were both branches of that sea. He seems likewise to be mistaken, when he affirms the whole *Arabian* gulph to have been the *Tam Soub* of the *Hebrews*; since it is highly probable, that the *Heroopolitan* gulph only was so called by that people (1).

(1) *Herodot.* l. i. c. 180. & l. iv. c. 37. *Strab.* l. xvi. *Polyb.* l. v. *Philostrat.* vit. *Apollon.* l. iii. c. 50. p. 136. *Mel.* l. iii. c. 8. *Plin.* l. vi. c. 23. 26. *Solin.* c. 58. *Dionys. Af.* v. 1132. *Aelian.* hist. animal. l. xvi. c. 14. *Prideaux* & *Sbarw*, ubi sup.

conjecture here proposed. With this observation we shall close our description of *Arabia*<sup>d</sup>.

## S E C T. II.

*The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Learning, Arts and Sciences, Disposition, Manner of Life, &c. of the Arabs.*

SOME of the descendants of *Cush* fixed themselves in that part of *Arabia Petraea* bordering upon *Egypt*, and extending itself along the eastern shore of the *Red Sea* towards the frontiers of *Palaestine* and *Arabia Felix*, in very early times, *Cushites* as has been already observed in the history of the *Ethiopians*, in *Arabia*. His sons *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabtab*, *Regma* or *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and grandsons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, seated themselves likewise in the Happy and Desert *Arabia*, as appears from the cities *Sabota*, *Rhegana*, *Rhegama* or *Rhegma*, *Saba*, *Sau*, *Saptha* or *Saptah*, *Dedan*, and the country of the *Sabæi*, whose metropolis was the great city *Saba*. All these places preserved very sensible footsteps of the names of the first planters of those two provinces or kingdoms. However, it seems to us most probable, for the reasons already given, that the bulk of the *Cushites* made settlements in other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may be observed, that the *Arab* writers take little or no notice of them<sup>e</sup>.

As for the *Casluhim*, *Caphtorim*, and *Hhorites*, occupying Casluh—the hilly district about mount *Seir*, though very ancient, they him, never made any considerable figure. The posterity of *Edom*, Caphtor who after their excision seized upon the tract they inhabited, rim, in process of time intermixing with the proper *Arabs*, formed *Hhorites*, one people with them. But neither do the present *Arabs* &c. look upon *Esau* or *Edom* as one of the proper founders of their nation<sup>f</sup>.

We have already observed, that the *Arraceni* and *Saraceni* of the antients were the same people. From the situation assigned them by the old geographers, it can scarce be doubted

<sup>d</sup> DIODOR. SIC. I. iii. STRAB. PTOL. & AELIAN. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 254—257. 275—278. & alib. Gen. c. x.

ver. 7. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. Diod. SIC. I. iii.

STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. HYDE hist. rel. vet. Pers. p. 37, &

alib. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 9. <sup>f</sup> Gen. c. x. ver. 14. c. xxxvi.

ver. 8. c. xiv. ver. 6. Deut. c. ii. ver. 12. Vide etiam Cl. GAGN.

diatrib. sect. 4.

but that the *Arra* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* was the capital of the region they inhabited, and gave them the appellation they went under. *Strabo*, describing *Aelius Gallus's* expedition into *Arabia*, intimates, that the province of *Ararena* was thirty days journey from *Petra*, and fifty from the city of the *Negrani*, or *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, i. e. the modern *Nag'ran*; that it was for the most part desert, and inhabited by the *Nomades*, or *Arabes Scenitæ*; and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city was a wild pathless region, interspersed in some parts with palm-trees. All which particulars, as well as the name itself, clearly evince this province to be the country of the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni*, which had the above-mentioned *Arra* for its capital city. From several circumstances in the description of the expeditions into *Arabia* made by *Trajan* and *Severus*, to be met with in *Dio*, it appears that the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni* were likewise sometimes in the east denominated *Agareni*, and their chief town *Arra Atra*, or, as *Herodian* calls it, *Atræ*. It is therefore highly probable, that the antient *Saracens* were stiled *Hagarenes*, either from the nature of the tract they inhabited, or from *Hagar* the mother of *Ishmael* §.

In order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther observed, that *Stephanus* mentions a country called *Saraca*, inhabited by the *Saraceni* (N), as contiguous to that of

§ Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 342, 343. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PROT. in Arab. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 781. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 855. HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 28. edit. OXON. 1678. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14.

(N) Mr. *Gagnier* thinks, that the *Saracens* of *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Petraea* were two different nations; and that the latter received their name *Araceni* from the city of *Arke*, *Arakeme*, or *Petra*, their metropolis. But in the first article, we humbly conceive, he seems to contradict himself; since in the former part of the *Diatriba* so often cited, he appears to us to be of opinion, that the *Ishmaelites* spread themselves gradually over *Arabia Felix*, as well as *Arabia Petrea*;

and that the *Ishmaelites*, *Arabes Scenitæ*, and *Saracens*, were frequently taken for the same people. This notion we own ourselves inclined to espouse, as being not only supported by the proofs brought by Mr. *Gagnier* for that purpose, but likewise by Scripture, all those authors who have so justly represented the *Saracens* as a most numerous and powerful nation, *Mohammed Al-Firuzabadius*, and other eastern writers (2).

(2) *Gagn. diatrib. scđ. 11. Vide etiam scđ. 3. 4. 6. Isai. c. xxi. ver. 13. Jer. c. xl ix. ver. 28. Targ. Hierosol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. Mohammed Al-Firuzabadius apud Peacockium, in not. ad spec. lisp. Arab. p. 110. ut & ipse Peacock. ibid.*

the *Nabathæans*. The Arab writer *Yakut* also takes notice of the town 'Al-'Arakh seated on *Agja*, one of the two celebrated mountains of the *Taites*, or the tribe of *Tai*, the *Taueni* of *Pliny*, and *Tairoi Taini* of *Bardesanes* in *Eusebius*, who joins them with the *Saracens*. From hence, in conjunction with the reasons alleged by the learned M. *Gagnier*, we may conclude, that *Pliny* called this nation *Araceni*; and that *Dioscorides* was the first of the antiquits now extant that prefixed to that word the hissing letter S, as has been determined by the excellent *Salmasius*<sup>h</sup>.

THE *Jerusalem Targum* takes the names *Ibmaelites* and *Saracens* to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the same nation. This not only included the *Arubes Scenitæ*, bordering upon *Palestine*, *Syria*, and *Chaldaea*, but likewise those separated by the *Red Sea* from *Ethiopia*; all of whom we find in Scripture going under the general name of *Arabians*. That the word *Saraceni* cannot be derived from any of the following sources, notwithstanding the authority of the learned men here mentioned, we believe our readers will allow<sup>i</sup>.

1. JOANNES DAMASCENUS, *Nicetas Choniates*, and others, suppose this word to have been of Greek extraction, alluding to *Sarab's* sending away *Hagar* empty, without any sort of necessaries or accommodations. But this is too absurd to merit any attention. 2. *Sculiger* deduces the name *Saraceni* from the Arabic سرقة *sarak*, i. e. *He stole privately*, alluding, as that great critic observes, to their ancestor *Ibmael*, who lived upon rapine and robbery. This, it must be owned, carries with it a greater appearance of truth than the former, since it is much more probable, that the word should be of an *Arab* than a *Greek* origin. But the misfortune is, that *Ibmael* was not a pickpocket, but a robber or highwayman; and therefore the root سرق *sarak* by no means comes up to the signification of *Saraceni*, as determined even by this author himself. 3. Dr. *Pocock* asserts *Saraceni* to import *Oriental*, or *people of the east*. But, as Mr. *Gagnier* has demonstrated, that the chief arguments he has offered in defence of this opinion hold equally true of the *Chaldeans*, *Perians*, *Indians*, and *Chinese*, they prove too much, and therefore we think<sup>k</sup>

<sup>h</sup> STEPH. BYZANT. in voc. Σάρακα. PROL. ubi sup. YAKUTUS geogr. Ar. apud Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 9. PLIN. ubi sup. BARDESANES apud Euseb. de præp. Evang. p. 277. Vide etiam HARDUIN. in Plin. ubi sup. GAGN. diatr. sect. 9. & SALMAS. in exercit. Plinian. p. 344. col. 2. sub init. <sup>i</sup> Targ. Hierosol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. 2 Chron. c. xvii. ver. 1. & c. xxi. ver. 16. Isa. c. xiii. ver. 20. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 4. sub fin.

not the least regard is due to them. The etymon of *Saraceni* we have given must therefore be allowed to approach the nearest to truth. As the *Saracens* were so celebrated a nation, and such different notions relating to their name, which points out their origin, have been advanced, we could not well avoid the prolixity our readers may possibly think us guilty of on this occasion<sup>k</sup>.

*Jawz* If we follow the Oriental writers, we must divide the classes of *Arabs* into two classes, to wit, the old lost *Arabians*, and the *Arabs present*. The most famous tribes amongst the former were *Ad*, *Ihamid*, *Tasm*, *Judis*, the first *Jorham*, *Amalek*, *Amtem*, *Haslum*, *Abil*, and *Bur*. Though these were very numerous, yet they are now either all destroyed, or lost and swallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them. However, as the memory of some very remarkable events, that happened amongst them, and the catastrophe of some of these tribes, have been preferred by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the *Koran*, we think it not improper to give our readers a succinct and concise account of them<sup>l</sup>.

THE tribe of *Al* deduced their origin from *Ad*, the son of *Avis*, or *Uz*, the son of *Ham*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Nuh*, who, after the confusion of tongues, settled in *Al Akf*, or the winding sands in the province of *Hadramaut*, upon the confines of *Oman* and *Yaman*, where his posterity greatly multiplied. The first prince that reigned over them was *Sheddad* the son of *Ad*, of whom we find many fabulous things related by the eastern writers. Some of these, however, tell us, that *Ad* had two sons *Sheddad* and *Sheddid*, who jointly swayed the sceptre after his decease, and extended their dominions from the sands of *Alaj* to the trees of *Oman*. *Sheddid* dying first, his brother became sole monarch, and, having built a sumptuous palace, made a delightful garden in the deserts of *Alen*, in imitation of the celestial paradise, which he called *Hem*, after the name of his great grandfather. When it was finished, he set out with a great retinue, in order to take a view of it; but, being arrived at a place within

<sup>k</sup> JOANNES DAMASCENUS de haeres. apud Cotelerium in lib. de monument. eccles. Græc. p. 326. NICET. CHONIAT. MS. in bibliothec. Colbert. HIERONYM. comment. in Ezech. l. viii. c. 25. FULLER. in miscel. sacr. c. 12. JOS. SCALIG. ap. Fuller. ibid. POCOCK. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 33. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. xi. p. 62, 63. MOHAMMED. AL FIRAUZABADIUS, & SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 35. <sup>l</sup> GRIG. ABULF. p. 159. SAIE's prelim. disc. p. 5. JALLAO'DDIN. in lib. *Mesbar*. Vide & Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 38, 39.

a day's journey of it, they were all destroyed by a terrible noise from heaven. However, according to them, the city still remains, though invisible, being preserved by Providence as a monument of divine justice, *Sheddâd* proposing by this impious imitation to create in his subjects a superstitious veneration of himself as a god. *Al Beidawi* adds, that one *Abdallah Ebn Kelabah*, or, as *D'Herbelot* calls him, *Colabah*, in the reign of the khalif *Moâwiyah*, accidentally had *Irem* discovered to him, as he was seeking a camel he had lost; but, seeing no creature there, he was so terrified, that he staid no longer than to take with him from thence some fine stones, which he shewed the khalif <sup>m</sup>.

AFTER the death of *Sheddâd*, the kingdom of *Ad*, was governed by a long series of princes, of whom the Oriental historians deliver many particulars, that have no great appearance of truth. The *Adites*, in process of time, falling from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent the prophet *Hûd*, supposed to be the same with *Heber*, to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowlege his mission, or to obey him, God sent an hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days without intermission, and, entering at their nostrils, passed through their bodies, and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had listened to *Hûd*, and retired with him to another place. Others relate, that before this terrible destruction they had been previously chastised with a three years drought; and therefore sent *Kail Ebn Ithar*, and *Morthed Ebn Saad*, with seventy other principal men, to *Mecca*, then in the hands of the tribe of *Amalek*, whose prince was *Moâwiyah Ebn Beqr*, to obtain of God some rain. *Kail*, continue these authors, having begged of God, that He would send rain to the people of *Ad*, three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered him to choose which he would. *Kail* failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be loaden with the most rain; but, when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempest broke forth from it, which destroyed them all. Some authors affirm, that *Lokmân* king of the *Adites*, after his subjects had been afflicted with a drought for four years, to incline them to hearken to the preaching of *Hûd*, and brought to the very brink of destruction, went with sixty others to *Mecca* to beg

<sup>m</sup> Gen. c. x. ver. 22, 23. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. lxxxix. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 51. 498. AL-BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ubi sup. POCOCK. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 35, 36.

tain ; which they not obtaining, *Lokman* with some of the company staid there, and by this means escaped being involved in the common calamity. They farther relate of this *Lokman*, that his life was extended by God to the length of those seven eagles, each of the six last of which was hatched the instant its predecessor expired. The few *Adites* with *Lokman* that survived their countrymen, gave rise to a tribe called the latter *Ad*, who were afterwards changed into monkeys. *Hûd* returned into *Hadramaut*, and was buried near *Hafec*, where there is a small town now standing called *Kabr Hûd*, or the sepulcre of *Hûd*. When the *Arabs* would signify the high antiquity of any thing, they say *as old as king Ad*, in like manner as the *Greeks*, when they would express any thing extremely antient, made it coeval with *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, and *Ogyges*<sup>n</sup>.

**Thamûd.** THE tribe of *Thamûd* were the posterity of *Thamûd* the son of *Gather* or *Gether*, the son of *Aram*, who falling into idolatry, the prophet *Saleb* was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true God. M. Bochart takes this prophet to be *Phaleg*, and M. D'Herbelot *Salab* the son of *Arphaxad*, and father of *Heber* or *Hûd*. The learned Mr. Sale determines in favour of M. Bochart, because, says he, the prophet *Saleb* lived between the time of *Hûd* and of *Abraham*. On the contrary, we own ourselves of M. D'Herbelot's opinion, because the identity of names is a stronger argument in favour of that opinion, than any small inaccuracy in chronology of the *Arab* historians can be against it. Besides, it does not appear from any *Oriental* author, that the prophet *Saleb* did actually live between the times of *Hûd* and *Abraham*, as Mr. Sale suggests; nay, Mr. Sale himself disproves this, when he cites with approbation an eastern author making him later than *Abraham*. Some few of the *Thamudites* received *Saleb* as a true prophet; but the rest, as a proof of his mission, required that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence; which having obtained of God, the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned. But, instead of believing, the *Thamudites* cut the ham-strings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety God being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake, and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some say, was the voice of *Gabriel* the archangel crying aloud, *Die, all of you.* *Janda Ebn Amru*, prince of the *Thamudites*, pro-

<sup>n</sup> POCOCK. ibid. AL-BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Houd*. ISM. ABULEFD. AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL-JANNABIUS apud POCOCKIUM, ubi sup. p. 36.

posed this miracle to *Sâleb*, promising, that if it was wrought, he and his people would believe. Accordingly *Jonda* acknowledged the prophet's mission; but the greatest part of his subjects perished in their infidelity, as above observed. *Sâleb*, with those reformed by him, was saved from this destruction. The prophet afterwards went to *Palæstine*, and from thence to *Meca*, where he ended his days. This tribe first dwelt in *Yaman*; but, being expelled thence by *Hamyar* the son of *Saba*, they settled in the territory of *Hejr*, in the province of *Hejaz*, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the *Koran*, are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye-witness hath declared, is sixty cubits wide. These houses of the *Thamudites* being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake, who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature. They will likewise confute those commentators on the *Koran*, who affirm, that the largest of the old *Adites* were an hundred cubits high, and the least of them sixty. By comparing the eastern writers with those of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we shall find, that the tribe of *Thamud* corresponded exactly with the *Thamudeni* or *Thamydeni* of *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy* <sup>a</sup>.

THE tribe of *Tasm* were the descendants of *Lud* the son *Tasm and Shem*, and that of *Jadis* a branch of the posterity of *Ge-*  
*Jadis*. *ther*, as we learn from *Abulfeda*. Both these tribes lived promiscuously together under the government of *Tasm*, till a certain tyrant made a law, that twenty maids of the tribe of *Jadis* should not marry, unless first deflowered by him; which the *Jadisians* not enduring, formed a conspiracy, and, inviting the king and chiefs of *Tasm* to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand, and in the midst of their mirth fell on them, slew them all, and extirpated the greatest part of that tribe. However, the few who escaped obtaining aid of the king of *Yaman*, *Dhu Habshân Ebn Akrân*, assaulted *Jadis*, and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of those tribes. As all the traditions relating to *Tasm* are reckoned of a very dubious authority, when any thing is advanced without a proper foundation to support it, the *Arabs* call it *a story of*

<sup>a</sup> Gen. c. x. ver. 23. D'HERBELL. bibl. Orient. 366. 740.  
ABULFEDA, AL-ZAMAKHSHARI. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. vii. & c. xv. BOCHART. geog. sacr. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 7. & note upon the *Koran*, c. vii. p. 124. EBN SHIONAH. ABU MUSA AL ASHARI. POCOCK. ubi sup. p. 37. 57. DION. Sic. l. iii. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. sub voc. *Errakim*.

*Tasm.* The notion many of the *Orientals* have of *Tasm's* grand-daughter *Yamama*, our readers will find in the former section, where we give a short description of the province of the same name <sup>p</sup>.

*Jorham.* ALL that we find delivered by the *Arabs* of the former tribe of *Jorham* is, that their ancestor was an antediluvian, and one of the eighty persons, who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were saved with *Noah* in the ark <sup>q</sup>. This tribe was cotemporary with that of *Ad*, and utterly perished, in a manner to us unknown.

*Amalek.* SOME of the *Oriental* authors inform us, that *Amalek*, the progenitor of the tribe of the same name, was the son of *Elipaz* the son of *Esaу*, though others make him the son of *Ham* the son of *Noah*. This tribe, under their king *Walid*, the first who assumed the name of *Pharaob*, before the time of *Joseph*, conquered *Egypt*, according to the eastern writers, who seem to confound the *Amalekites* with the *Phoenician* shepherds of *Manetho*. After they had possessed the throne of *Egypt* for a considerable period, they were expelled by the natives, and at last totally destroyed by the *Israelites* <sup>r</sup>.

*Amtem, Hashem, Abil, Bar.* As for the tribes of *Ait' em*, *Hashem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*, all that the *Orientals* know of them is, that by some means or other they became extinct, most of them being cut off, and the rest incorporating with the other tribes <sup>s</sup>.

*The present Arabs.* ACCORDING to their own historians, the present *Arabs* are sprung from two stocks, *Kabtan*, the same with *Joktan* descended the son of *Leber*, and *Adnan* descended in a direct line from *Kah-Ishmael* the son of *Abraham* and *Hagar* (O). The posterity of *Joktan*.

<sup>p</sup> Poc. ubi sup. p. 37, 38. 60. ABULFED. GOLII notæ ad ALFRAGANUM, p. 95. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 365. <sup>q</sup> ABULFED. Poc. ubi sup. EBN SHONAH. <sup>r</sup> Gen. c. xxxvi. ver. 12. D'HERREL. p. 110. EBN SHONAH. Num. c. xxiv. ver. 20. MIRAF CAINAT. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. I. i. Exod. c. xvii. ver. 18, &c. 1 SAM. c. xv. ver. 2, &c. & c. xxvii. ver. 8, 9. 1 Chron. c. iv. ver. 43. <sup>s</sup> JALLALO'DDIN. apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 39. ut & ipse Pocock ibid.

(O) As the genealogy of these tribes is of great use to illustrate the *Arabian* history, our readers would have judged this work incomplete, had we not here inserted the two genealogical tables of the descendants of *Kabtan* and *Ishmael*, formed by the late learned and ingenious Mr. *Sale*

from the most approved *Oriental* authors. In order to render that of the descendants of *Ishmael* the more perfect, we have added thereto the nine generations between *Ishmael* and *Adnan*, which is the most approved series of descents between them; though this, as here observed, cannot be

of the former they call *al Arab al Ariba*, i. e. the genuine or *pure Arabs*, and those of the latter *al Arab al Moftareba*, i. e. *naturalized* or *instititious Arabs*, though some reckon the antient lost tribes to have been the only *pure Arabians*, and therefore call the descendants of *Kabtan* also *Motareba*, which word likewise signifies *instititious Arabs*, though in a nearer degree than *Moftareba*; those acknowledging *Adnan* for their great ancestor, being the more distant graft. As *Ishmael* was by origin and language an *Hebrew*, it is no wonder those supposed to be descended from him should have no claim to be admitted as *pure Arabs*; however, since he contracted an alliance with the *Jorhamites*, by marrying a daughter of *Modad*, accustomed himself to their manner of living and language, and became blended with them into one nation, they have certainly a right to be considered as *Moftareba*. The uncertainty of the descents between *Ishmael* and *Adnan* is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore look upon as the father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eastern writers scarce take any notice at all of *Abraham's* progeny by *Keturah*, though they undoubtedly made up a considerable part of the inhabitants of *Arabia*. Their names were, *Zimran*, *Fokshin*, *Medan* or *Madian*, *Ishbak*, and *Shuah*. Notwithstanding the *Arabs* affirm *Ishmael's* wife to have been a genuine *Arabian*, the Scripture says she was an *Egyptian*; which greatly shakes the authority of their historians, except it should be admitted, that he had a second wife, or several at once. His sons were *Nebuioth*, *Kadar*, *Adeel*, *Mibsam*, *Mishma*, *Dumah*, *Maffa*, *Hadar*, *Tema*, *Setur*, *Naphisj*, and *Kelemah*; besides which he had a daughter called *Mahalath* and *Bashemath*, whom *Edom* took to wife. Some writers

be absolutely depended upon. For *Al Beibaki* reckons one generation less, differing also in the names, in the following manner: *Ishmael*, *Nabet*, *Yashub*, *Yarab*, *Yarab*, *Yabur*, *al Mokarwam*, *Odad*, *Odd*, *Adn.in*; and *Mohammed* himself, according to a tradition of his wife *Omm Salma*, counted but three generations between *Ishmael* and *Adnán*, to wit, *Berá*, *Zeid*, and *Odad*. With the tables here exhibited, we have intermixed some few addi-

tional observations, that may tend either to illustrate or correct them, as our readers will find by comparing them with the originals in Mr. *Sale's* excellent *preliminary discourse*. We must not forget to remark, that in the first series of descents between *Ishmael* and *Adn.in* Mr. *Sale* has omitted *Odd*, which makes him run counter to the best *Oriental* writers, and therefore in that particular we have dissented from him.

make *Kabtan* a descendent of *Ishmael*; but among the *Oriental*s this is not the most received opinion. However, it agrees the best with the *Chaldee* and *Arabic* paraphrasts, who believed the name of *Ishmaelites* to be as general and extensive as that of *Arabs*<sup>1</sup>.

*Govern-  
ment of  
the Scenite  
Arabs.*

We have already observed, that the customs, manners, and genius, of the *Arabs*, except in matters of religion, are in effect the same at this day that they were betwixt three and four thousand years ago; and therefore we may presume, that the antient and modern forms of government of this nation may be considered as agreeing in almost all particulars. The *Arabes Scenitæ*, therefore, as their successors the present *Bedowens*, were governed by *Shekhs* and *Emirs*. The *Shekhs* superintended only particular *Dow-wars*, that is, collections of tents called *Hlymas*, answering to villages or towns, already described. Every one of these *Dow-wars*, therefore, might have been looked upon as a little principality, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greatest name, substance, and reputation, amongst the *Arabs* that composed it. The *Emirs* or *Emeers*, the phylarchs of the *Greeks*, ruled over a whole tribe, and consequently their authority extended to many of those *Dow-wars*. It is probable, that they were sometimes dignified with the title of (P) *Shekh al Kileer*, as some of their successors are at this day. And lastly, from what has been observed of the *Phylarchs* of the *Nomades*, agreeing in most points with the *Arabes Scenitæ*, we may conclude, that the *Emirs* were under the domination of one particular prince, who was the sovereign of these *Arabs*, or at least distinguished from the other *Emirs* by the title of the *Grand Emir*, consonant to the form of government still prevailing amongst the modern *Bedowens*. However, we take this prince not to have been intirely despotic, but considered by his subjects only as their supreme magistrate, who maintained them in the pollution of their private laws, privileges, and customs<sup>2</sup>.

THE

<sup>1</sup> Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. c. xxv. ver. 1, &c. AHMED BEN YUSEF, AL-JAUHAR, AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, ABULFED, SHAHABODDIN. AHMED BEN YAHYA, &c. Vide etiam POCOCK. ubi sup. 49—52.  
<sup>2</sup> Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 133. not. (A). SHAW ubi sup. p. 286, 287, 288. 300. 310. Univ. hist. ibid. p. 137. 194, 195. APPIAN. in Libyc. 67. Les mœurs & les coutumes des Arabes, p. 115, 116. à Paris, 1717.

(P) *Shekh* or *Sheikh* شیخ according to *Golius*, is equivalent to the Latin *senex*, *senior*, *doctor*; or *authoritate*, *principatu*, *pietate*.

THE *Arabs* that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubt- *Of those*  
edly ruled in the same manner as the *Bedowrens*. That several *that dwelt*  
*cities of Arabia Felix*, particularly those of the *Adramite* or *in cities*  
*Chatramotitæ*, were governed by princes of their own, we *and towns,*  
learn from *Eratosthenes* in *Strabo*. That author likewise in-  
forms us, that the order of succession in these cities was not  
hereditary, but that the first child born in any of the noble  
families after the king's accession was deemed the presumptive  
heir to the crown. As soon, therefore, as any prince ascended  
the throne, a list was taken of all the pregnant ladies of  
quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of  
them was delivered of a son, who always received an education  
suitable to his high birth. However, *Artemidorus* in the same  
author intimates, that the *Sabean* nation had only one sove-  
reign; which manifestly implies, that all the little princes or  
*Emirs* above-mentioned had a supreme head presiding over the  
whole region. And that regal government prevailed here, as  
described by *Artemidorus* and *Eratosthenes*, seems confirmed  
by Scripture, when the *Psalmist* mentions the *KINGS OF*  
*ARABIA and SABA*. The *Arabians* were, for some centu-  
ries, under the government of the descendants of *Kábtan*;  
*Yúrab*, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of *Yáman*, and  
*Yerham*, another of them, that of *Hijáz*. The kings of  
*Hamyar*, who possessed the kingdom of *Yáman*, or at least  
the best part of it, had the general title of *Tobba*, which sig-  
nifies *successor*, and was affected by these princes, as that of  
*Cæsar* was by the *Roman* emperors, and *khalif* by the suc-  
cessors of *Mohammed*. There were several lesser princes,  
who reigned in other parts of *Yáman*, and were mostly, if not  
altogether, subject to the king of *Hamyar*, whom they call  
*the great king*; but of these history has recorded nothing re-  
markable, or that may be depended upon. *May you avert*  
*all malediction*, or, *May GOD be propitious to you*, was the  
form in which the antient *Arabs* used to address themselves to  
their king <sup>w</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> ERATOSTHENES & ARTEMIDORUS apud Strabon. l. xvi  
VERS. SEPIUAG. in Psal. lxxii. ver. x. AL-MOTAREZZI in lib.  
Mogreb. AL-JAUHARIUS, ABULFEDA, EBN AL ATHIR, & AL-  
FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 65, 66. ut & ipse Pocock  
ibid.

Emir or Emeer verb *μανδεῖτι, γυγίτι, πρε-*  
*μίσθις* according to the same au- *cepit, &c* (3).  
thor, is to be deduced from the

*Laws of the Arabs.* THE principal civil institutions among the *Arabs*, that seemed to wear the face of laws, were the following : 1. That establishing the above-mentioned order of succession. 2. That in force among the *Sabaeans*, whereby the king was solemnly invested with his prerogative by an assembly of the people. 3. That injoining the said king never to go out of his palace after he had taken upon him the reins of government. 4. That commanding his subjects to stone him to death, in case he should be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an absolute and implicit obedience to all his commands, consistent with the aforesaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the *Arabs* observed may be considered as coinciding with their customs, there is no necessity of touching upon them here <sup>w</sup>.

*Religion.* THE religion of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, which they call the *state of ignorance*, was chiefly gross idolatry ; the *Sabian* religion having almost over-run the whole nation, tho' there were also great numbers of *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, amongst them. The idolatry of the *Arabs*, as *Sabians*, chiefly consisted in worshiping the fixed stars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whose intercession they begged, as their mediators with God. For they acknowledged one supreme God, the Creator and Lord of the universe, whom they called *Allah Taāla*, the most high God ; and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply *Al Ilahāt*, i. e. the goddesses. “ These words, says Mr. *Sale*, the Greeks “ not understanding, and it being their constant custom to “ receive the religion of every other nation into their own, “ and find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pretended the *Arabs* worshiped only two deities, *Orotalt* and *Alilat*, as those names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the same with *Bacchus* and *Urania* ; pitch-ing on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods, and educated in *Arabia* ; and on the other, because of the veneration shewn by the *Arabs* to the stars.” But that this notion will at least bear some dispute, may, perhaps, hereafter more fully appear

THAT

\* AGATH. Cnid. de mar. rubr. l. v. c. 50. apud Phot. p. 1374.  
ERATOSTHENES apud Strabon. ubi sup. ut & ipse STRAB. ibid.  
x POC. not. ad specimen. hist. Arab. p. 138. GOLII notae ad Alfraganum, p. 251. MAIMONID. in moreh nevochim, par. iii. c. 29.  
HOTTINGERI hist. Orient. l. iv. c. 8. HYDE hist. rel. vet. Pers. pass.  
PRIDEAUX in connect. p. i. b. iii. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 8.  
ARRIAN. p. 161, 162. STRAB. l. vii. GREG. ABULFARAG. hist.  
dynast.

THAT the *Arabs* should easily be led into the worship of *most of the stars*, is not at all surprising, since, by observing the *Arabs* *Sacred changes of the weather to happen at the rising or setting of bians*. certain of them for a considerable period, they might easily be induced to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country. Hence possibly it came to pass, that they had seven celebrated temples dedicated to the seven planets; one of these, in particular, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, by *Dahac*, to the honour of *Al Zoharab*, or the planet *Venus*, and was demolished by the khalîf *Othman*. By the murder of this khalîf was fulfilled, as the *Mohammedans* pretend, the prophetic inscription, set, as is reported, over this temple, to wit, *Ghomdân, He who destroyeth thee, shall be slain*. The temple of *Mecca* is also said to have been consecrated to *Zohal*, or *Saturn*. That planetary worship was the first species of idolatry, we have already observed; and therefore it is no wonder the *Arabs*, at present the most ancient nation in the world, should have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we shall here beg leave to add the testimony of *Pausanias*, who intimates, that the worship of the planets was earlier than the first arrival of the *Pelasgi* in *Greece*; and that before this time they had statues erected in their honour. This observation will not only illustrate, but likewise bring a fresh accession of strength to, what has been advanced in a former note<sup>y</sup>.

BUT, besides those stars which were the general objects of *Worship* throughout *Arabia*, there were some more peculiarly *the fixed stars*, as reverenced in particular provinces. Thus the *Hamyarites* *stars*, as chiefly worshiped the *Sun*; *Misam*, *Al Debaran*, or *the bull's well as the eye*; *Lakm* and *Jodam*, *Al Mosstari*, or *Jupiter*; *Tay*, *planets*. *Sobail*, or *Canopus*; *Kais*, *Sirius*, or *the dog-star*; and *Afad*, *Otared*, or *Mercury*. *Abu Cabsha*, a worshiper of *Sirius*, whom some will have to be the same with *Wabeb*, *Mohammed*'s grandfather on the mother's side, though others make him of the tribe of *Khozaah*, used his utmost endeavours to persuade the *Koreish* to leave their images, and worship this star. For which reason, when *Mohammed* endeavoured also to draw them off from image-worship, they nick-named him the son of *Abu Cabsha*. However, the *Arabs*, together with

dynast. p. 281, &c. *AL-SAHRESTANIUS apud Pocockium*, ubi supra, p. 108. ut & ipse *Pocockius ibid.* *SAI'L's* prelum disc. p. 15, 16. <sup>y</sup> *Poc. ubi supra*, p. 163. *AL-JANNABI. SHAHRESTANI. PAUSAN. Laconic*, p. 202. *Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 269—272, (R).*

the Indians in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed stars, than to the planets; which distinguished the Sabians amongst them from those amongst the Greeks, who directed their worship to the planets. The Arabs did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed stars, but likewise their winds, storms, tempests, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in their atmosphere. They differed, however, amongst themselves in this, that some ascribed the influence producing all the meteorological phenomena to the rising, and others to the setting, of the constellations known amongst them by the name of *Al-Anwa*<sup>2</sup>.

*As likewise angels, or intelligences.* Of the angels or intelligences which they worshiped, we find only three mentioned in the Koran, to wit, *Allat*, *Al-Uzza*, and *Mauah*; these they called *gaddejirs*, and *the intelligences, daughters of God*; an appellation they gave not only to angels, but also to their images, which they believed either to be inspired with life by Gon, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, because they believed them to intercede for their votaries with Gon. The Arab Sabians likewise, in common with those of other nations, imagined, that the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Fixed stars* were inhabited by intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the same manner as the human body does the soul; and that this was the true cause of all their motions. These beings, they had a notion, became mediators between Gon and them; for the necessity of a mediator they clearly discovered from the beginning, and therefore, as gods mediators, directed divine worship to them. They first worshiped them by their *tabernacles*, i. e. their orbs themselves; but these, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address themselves to them in their absence. To remedy this, they had recourse to the invention of images, in which, after their consecration, they thought these inferior deities to be as much present by their influence, as in the stars themselves; and therefore that all addresses were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this may be considered as the origin of image-worship. All other material particulars

<sup>2</sup> ABULFARAGIUS, ubi supra, p. 160. AL SHAHRESTANI. ABUL-FFO. AL JAUHARIUS, ENN'OL ACHIR. & AL FIRUZABADIUS apud POCOCKIUM, ubi supra, p. 163, 164. ut et ipse POCOCK. p. 130. 132.

relating to the *Sabians*, omitted here, will either be found in note (Q), or a former part of this history <sup>a</sup>.

ALLAT,

<sup>a</sup> Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. liii. POC. p. 138. GOL. MAIMONID. HOTTING. HYDE, PRIDEAUX, ubi supra. SHAHRESTANIUS apud Hyde, c. 5. p. 124. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 726. HOUSAIN VAKZ comment. Pers. in A-Koran, c. 2. Lb, Phar. Gj. apud Hyd. ubi supra. KALKASHENI apud Hyde, ubi supra, p. 125. EBN AL ATHIR apud POCOCKIUS n. 1. 3. 139.

(Q) We find no religion, except the *Sabian*, *Jouïb*, and *Christian*, tolerated by the *Koran*. The eastern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the first sect; though those here mentioned seem to be attested by the best of them. The *Sabians* produce many strong arguments for the unity of God, and address themselves to Him in the following terms: *I dedicate myself to thy service, O GOD! I dedicate myself to thy service, O God!* 'Thou hast no companion, except thy companion, of whom thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his.' From whence it appears, that they suppose idols not to be *sui juris*, though they offer sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, who was also formerly often put off with the least portion, as Mohammed upbraids them. The reason assigned by them for this was, that the *idol wanted what was God's*, but God HIMSELF wanted nothing. A sort of baptism they admit, and profess a great veneration for St. John *Baptist*, styling themselves, in their language, which is composed of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, *Mendai Jakia*, i. e. *Disciple of St. John*; and by this name they go amongst the Christians of the *Lewant*. Besides the book of *Psalms*, the

only true Scripture they read, they have another supposed to have been written by *ddam*. The language of these books, which they regard as their Bible, almost entirely agrees with the *Chaldee*: but the characters differ from those of all other nations. *Ebn Shonab* makes them the descendants of the most ancient people in the world, and intimates, that, besides the books just mentioned, they have others esteemed equally sacred, particularly one full of moral discourses, denominated by them *the book of Seth and Enoch*, or, as they call him, *Edris*. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, seven times a day. The first prayer begins half an hour, or less, before sun rising; and is so ordered, that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations: the second prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in saying of which they perform five such adorations as the first and the same they do the third time, concluding just as the sun sets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the next nine, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlick, and some

**ALLAT**, whom some of the *Arabs* called *Allab*, was the idol of the tribe of *Thakif*, who dwelt at *Tayef*, and had a temple

some other pulse and vegetables. As to the *Sabian Kebla*, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ ; one affirming it to be the north, another the south, a third *Mecca*, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions. They have a great respect for the temple of *Mecca*, as also the pyramids, in the third of which they believe *Sabi* or *Sabius*, the founder of their sect, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to *Harran*, either out of regard to the memory of *Abraham*, or of *Sabi Ebn Mari*, who lived in *Abraham's* time, and is looked upon by some as the first propagator of their religion. *Ebn Hazem* asserts *Sabianism* to have been the universal religion till the age of *Abraham*, from whence all the succeeding sects were derived. According to *Al-Sharefiani*, the *Sabians* say, that the difference betwixt them and the *Mohammedans* consists in this, that, among creatures, they give the preference to spirits, angels, or intelligences moving the celestial orbs ; whereas the *Mohammedans* choose to pay the greatest honour to body and matter, i. e. men ; as patriarchs, &c. *Houffain Yaez*, in his *Persic* commentary on the *Koran*, says, that they were a sort of *Sadducees*, not believing a future state. We must not omit observing, that, at the pyramids, they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incense. *Ebn Khalecan*, in his life of *Ibrahim al Sabi*, affirms, that the *Sabians* are as antient as the *Magians*, but different from them ; however, that both

of them pretended to deduce their origin from *Abraham*, whom they confounded with *Zerdusht*. The same author relates, that the word *Sabi* in the *Arabic* tongue denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one ; for which reason the *Koreib*, by way of reproach, called *Mohammed Sabi*, or *Sabian*. The eastern Christians scruple not to affirm, that *Constantine the Great* himself professed *Sabianism* before he became a convert to Christianity. *Sharefiani* divides the *Sabians* into two sects, those that worship the stars, and those that worship images. The first maintain, that God created the world ; but has commanded his servants to pay great regard to the stars, and to turn themselves towards those luminous bodies whenever they pray ; the other, that, by the mediation of images, they have access to the stars, and, through the assistance of those intellectual agents animating them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but that afterwards they shall be received to mercy. Their feasts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exaltations of the planets happen ; but the greatest of them, in particular, upon the day that the sun enters *Aries*, which, with them, is the first day of the year, when they all wear their best cloaths. They celebrate the feast of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from *Noab* himself. The *Sabians*

temple consecrated to her in a place called *Nakhlah*. We shall see more of this deity hereafter, when we come to the modern history of *Arabia*, especially that part of it which relates to the transactions wherein *Mohammed* was more immediately concerned <sup>b</sup>.

*AL-UZZA*, or *Al-Ozza*, was the idol of the tribes of *Al Uzza*, *Koreish* and *Kenanah*, and part of the tribe of *Salim*, as some affirm. But others make it to have been a tree called the *Egyptian thorn*, or *Acacia*, worshiped by the tribe of *Ghatfan*, and first consecrated by one *Dhâlem*, who built a chapel over it named *Bos*, so contrived, as to give a sound when any one entered. When *Khâled Ebn Walid*, by *Mohammed*'s order, had demolished the chapel, cut down the image, or tree, and slain the priestess of *Al Uzza*, *Mohammed*, alluding to the death of the priestess, said, she was *Al-Uzza*, who therefore will never hereafter be worshiped. The name *Uzza* is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies the *most mighty* <sup>c</sup>.

*MANAH* was the object of worship of the tribes of *Hedhail Manah*, and *Khozâdah*, possibly the *Cassanitæ* of *Ptolemy*, who dwelt between *Mecca* and *Medina*, and, as some say, of the tribes of *Aws*, *Khazraj*, and *Thâkif* also. Dr. *Pocock* renders it highly probable, that the *Manah* of the *Arabs* was the *Minni* of the prophet *Isaiah*. This idol was a large stone, demolished by one *Saad* in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, to satirize the idols of *Arabia*. The name seems derived from *manâ*, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity or intelligence it represented. Hence the valley

<sup>b</sup> ABULFARAG. p. 160. POC. ubi supr., p. 92.

<sup>c</sup> AL-

JAUHAR. AL-SHAHRESTAN. & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud POCOCK. ibid.

*bians* of mount *Lebanon* seem to pay a greater regard to *Seth*, than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath when they swear by the former, but frequently break it when they swear by the latter. They likewise maintain, that once in 36425 years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues; *God* they call *Gon* of gods, and *LORD* of lords; but those intelligences supposed to

actuate the stars gods and lords. This sect say, they took the name of *Sabians* from the above-mentioned *Sabi*, though it seems rather to be derived from *Saba*, or *Tsaba*, the *host* of *heaven*, which they worship. Before the growth of *Christianity* and *Mohammedanism*, the greatest part of the world professed the *Sabian* religion. The other particulars, relating to this sect, our readers will find, either in a former part of this work, or in the authors here referred to (4).

of *Mina*, near *Mecca*, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices. Some take *Meni*, or *Manab*, to be the name of a constellation; which notion is favoured by the most obvious signification of the word *Manab* in the Arabic tongue<sup>d</sup>.

*Wadd,*  
*Sawâ,*  
*Yaghûth,*  
*Yâük,* and  
*Nasr.*

BESIDES these, we find five antediluvian idols taken notice of by the Arabian writers; to wit, *Wadd*, *Sawâ*, *Yaghûth*, *Yâük*, and *Nasr*. These are said to have been men of great repute and piety in their time, whose statues the *Arabs* at first revered with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship<sup>e</sup>.

*Wadd.*

*WADD* was supposed to represent the heaven, and was worshiped under the form of a man by the tribe of *Calb*, in *Dawmat al Jandul*. For a further account of him, we must refer our readers to the authors here cited<sup>f</sup>.

*Sawâ.*

*SAWÂ* was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of *Hamadan*, or, as others write, of *Hodhail* in *Robat*. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge; was at length, as the *Arab* writers assert, discovered by the devil, and worshiped by those of *Hodhail*, who instituted pilgrimages to it<sup>g</sup>.

*Yaghuth.*

*YAGHÛTH* was an idol in the shape of a lion, and received divine honours from the tribe of *Madraj*, and others, who dwelt in *Yaman*. Its name seems to be derived from *ghathâ*, which signifies to help<sup>h</sup>.

*Yâük.*

*Yâük* the tribe of *Morâd* esteemed as their proper object of worship, or, according to others, that of *Hamadan*, under the figure of an horse. The name *Yâük* probably comes from their verb *âka*, to prevent, or avert<sup>i</sup> (R).

<sup>d</sup> AL-JAUHAR, AL-BIDAWI, AL-SHAHREST. ABULFED. AL-ZAMAKIR-SHARIUS, & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. ISAI. c. lxv. ver. 11. Vide etiam Poc. spec. p. 90, 91, 92. <sup>e</sup> Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 71. Comment. Persic. in Al-Kor. Vide etiam HYD. de rel. vet. Persi. p. 133.

<sup>f</sup> AL-JAUHAR. AL-SHAHRESTAN. <sup>g</sup> Idem apud Pocock. p. 93. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS & SAFIODDIN. ibid. <sup>h</sup> AL-SHAHRESTAN. ibid.

<sup>i</sup> AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, AL-JAUHAR. EBN KHALICÂN in vit. Al-Battran. Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 101. 338. 389, 390.

• (R) It is said *Yâük* was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in an human form, and, undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their

temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and seven others, of extraordinary merit, had the same honours shewn them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest (5).

(5) Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 94.

NASR seems to have been the proper deity of the tribe Nasr. of *Hamyar*, whom we may consider either as the *Hemeritæ* or *Hamiræi* of *Pliny*. He is said to have been adored at *Dhū'l Khalaah* in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies <sup>k</sup>.

THE four deities *Sakia*, *Hufedha*, *Razeka*, and *Salema*, *Sakia*, *Ha-* were peculiar to the tribe of *Ad*. The first supplied them with sedha, rain, the second preserved them from all dangers abroad, the Razeka, third provided food for their sustenance, and the fourth re- and Salema stored them to health when afflicted with sickness; according ma- to the signification of their several names. To these may be added *Al-Daizan*, or *Saturn*, a most antient *Arab* idol, *Hether*, *Al Auf*, &c. mentioned by *Al Jauharius*, *Al Firsuza- badius*, and others <sup>l</sup>.

As image-worship in some measure proceeded from the dei- Jupiter fication of dead men, who had been the authors of some sig- Ammon- nal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or and Bac- else greatly famed for their conquests, it is no wonder the chus wor- Arabs, as well as other nations, should fall into it. Sir Isaac <sup>skiped by</sup> Newton takes hero-worship, or the worship of deified dead <sup>the Arabs;</sup> men, to have been no older than the age of *Sesac*, the great Egyptian conqueror so often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he conquered, and amongst the rest some of the *Arabians* at least, to pay divine honours to his father *Ammon*, under the name of *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Ammon*. This therefore was the great hero god of the *Arabs*, as well as of the Egyptians, *Garamantes*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, &c. and his son and successor, *Sesac*, who enjoined this worship, the *Bacchus*, according to Sir Isaac Newton, of the antients, little inferior to him. The *Arabs*, it is probable, set up oracles to *Ammon*, who reduced part of their country, as well as the *Libyans* and *Egyptians*. And *Sesac*, on account of his having coasted *Arabia Felix*, sailed to the *Persian gulph*, penetrated afterward into *India*, where he erected two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the *Ganges*, and another at *Dire*, a promontory of *Ethiopia*, was esteemed as his father's colleague in *Arabia*, as well as the other regions subjugated by him. This, considering the authorities on which it is founded, is a much stronger proof in favour of the *Arabs* really wor- shiping *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, or *Ammon* and *Sesac*, than what Mr. *Sale* has offered, from the supposed vanity and ignorance of the *Greeks*, is to evince the *Arab* worship of those deities to be purely imaginary. Nay, we may venture to add, that,

<sup>k</sup> AL-JAUHAR. SHAHRESTAN. & POCOCK. ubi sup. p. 93.

<sup>l</sup> ABUL-FED. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in art. *Houd.*

could he have produced a whole volume of *Arab* traditions, stuffed as they are with fables and absurdities, in support of his opinion, it would not have mended the matter; especially as he gives up the main point, by allowing *Bacchus* to have been educated in *Arabia*. For this concession, though the thing granted is false, must be deemed a sufficient reason, on his part, for the *Arabs* to have paid divine honours to so celebrated a personage as *Bacchus*, as well as his father *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Uranius*<sup>m</sup> (S).

**Arabs  
call their  
children  
after the  
names of  
their idols.**

**Have a  
great va-  
riety of  
idols.**

We must not omit observing here, that the antient *Arabs*, in order to shew the high veneration in which they had their idols, reckoned it glorious to be accounted their servants and votaries; which they demonstrated by the names given to their children; to wit, *Abd If'add*, *Abd Yaghūtb*, *Abd Manab*, *Abdol Uzza*, &c. i. e. the servant of *If'add*, the servant of *Yaghūtb*, the servant of *Manab*, the servant of *Uzzah*, &c.<sup>n</sup>.

BESIDES the idols already mentioned, the *Arabs* worshiped many others, the chief of whom was *Hobal*, brought from *Belka* in *Syria* to *Arabia* by *Amra Ebn Lobai*, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to *Safioddin*, *Hobal* was placed without the *Caaba*, under the figure of a man. His statue was made of red agate, which having, by some accident, lost an hand, the *Koreish* repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the *Arabs* used in divination. This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image of *Abraham*, found and destroyed by *Mohammed* in the *Caaba*, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, when he took *Mecca*. That image was surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some say, was *Ishmael*, with divining arrows in his hand. *Hobal*, according to *Al Fannabius*, was the chief of three hundred and sixty idols, a fresh one of which the *Arabs* might, if they thought proper, worship every day in the year. We are told, that, among the idols in the *Caaba*, there was a wooden pigeon, as likewise another above, to destroy which, *Mohammed* lifted *Ali* upon his shoulders. *Aṣaf*

<sup>m</sup> NEWT. chronol. pass. HERODOT. I. iii. DIOD. Sic. I. i. DIO-  
NYS. periag. v. 623. POCOCK. not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 106,  
107. SALE's prel. disc. p. 15, 16. <sup>n</sup> AL-KOR. MOHAM-  
MED. POC. ubi supra, p. 95.

(S) The *Arabs* also worshiped *Mars*, according to *Suidas* (S).

(S) *Suid. in voc. "Aρης."*

and *Nayelab*, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with *Hobal* from *Syria*, and placed the one on mount *Safa*, and the other on mount *Merwa*. They tell us, *Afaf* was the son of *Amru*, and *Nayelab* the daughter of *Sabal*, both of the tribe of *Jorham*, who, committing whoredom together in the *Caaba*, were by God converted into stone, and afterwards worshiped by the *Koreisb*, and so much reverenced by them, that though this superstition was condemned by *Mohammed*, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of the divine justice. We are told, that these idols were first fixed on the mounts *Safa* and *Merwa* by one *Amru* in the reign of *Sapor* or *Sabur* surnamed *Dil Eclaf*, king of *Persia*; but this notion has been overthrown by *Abulfeda*. As for the idols *Saad*, an oblong stone on the shore near *Giodda*, *Sair* or *Sair* worshiped by the tribe of *Anza*, *Aud* adored by the tribe of *Becr Wayel*, *Nash* or *Nosh*, *Al Sharek*, and *Dar*, from whence the Arab names *Abdol Sharek* and *Abdol Dar* were derived, they merit little regard. Nor of *Madan*, *Yailil*, *Awal* peculiar to the tribes of *Becr* and *Taglab*, *Dul Caf*—*fain* the deity of the tribe of *Daus*, *Bajar* or *Bajr* that of the tribe of *Azd*, *Al Okaisar* worshiped in the eastern part of *Syria*, *Bag* or *Bagh*, from whence *Abulfeda* deduces the name of the city *Baghdad*, *Al Chalasab*, *Dushshara*, the *Dysares* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, &c. have we much to say. Besides these, according to the *Oriental* authors, every house-keeper had his household-god, which he last took leave of, and first saluted, at his going abroad, and returning home <sup>o</sup>.

SEVERAL of the *Arab* idols, besides *Saad* above-mentioned, *Some of* and *Manab* in particular, were no more than large rude stones, *these idols* the worship of which the posterity of *Ishmael* first introduced, *stones*, according to *Al Jannabius*. To us it seems most probable, that these great stones were the first public places of divine worship amongst the *Arabs*, on which they poured wine and oil, as *Jacob* did upon the stones that served him for a pillow, when he saw his vision. Afterwards they might worship these stones themselves, as the *Phœnicians*, in all probability, did; but this has already been touched upon. Some authors relate, that, when the territory of *Mecca* grew too streight for the *Ishmaelites*, so that great numbers of them found themselves obliged to look out for new habitations, those that departed

<sup>o</sup> ABULFED. AL-SHAHRESTAN. SAFIODDIN. AL-MOSTATRAF. VID. etiam POCOCK. ubi sup. p. 95. 97, 98. EBN AL ATHIR. AL-JANNABIUS. AL-KOR. MOHAMMED c. ii. MOHAMMED. AL-FIRAUZABA-DIUS apud POCOCK. p. 97. AL-JAUHAR. SUID, II. VOC. Δυσάρης. POC. p. 98—106.

from *Mecca* took with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land ; and at first only compassed them out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the *Caaba*. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the said *Ishmaelites* forgetting the religion, left them by their father, so far, as to pay divine honours to any fine stone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of *Hanifa*, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never presumed to eat, till they were compelled to it by famine<sup>p</sup>.

**Magian  
religion in  
Arabia.**

THE *Persians*, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourse with, the *Arabians*, introduced the *Magian* religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of *Tamim*, a long time before *Mohammed*, who was so far from being unacquainted with it, that from it he borrowed many of his own institutions. The professors of this religion acknowledged the world to have been created by *God*, as their successors do at this day : but, being at a loss otherwise to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles, a good one and an evil one. The first they supposed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be represented by light and darkness, as their truest symbols, and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good principle or *God* they named *Yezad* or *Yezdan*, and *Ormuzd* or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes* ; and the evil daemon they called *Abariman* or *Ahriman*, and the *Greeks* *Arimanius*. Though one sect of the *Magi* asserted, as the *Mannicheans* and other heretics did, both those principles to have existed from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox ; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or *God* only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from *Zoroaster's* description of the Supreme BEING. Amongst other tenets they maintained, that there were good and bad angels ; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter instigating them to all kinds of wickedness. They also believed, that the wicked angels, after they had drawn men out of the paths of virtue, became the instruments of their punishment ; and that these angels were continually meditating the ruin and destruction of mankind. As for *Zoroaster*, or *Zerdusht*, as the *Persians* called him, he made no alterations in the doctrinal and fundamental points of the *Magian* religion, but only abolished some superstitious rites and practices, that had crept in amongst the professors of it.

<sup>p</sup> AL-JAUHAR. AL-BEIDAWI, & AL-ZAMAKHSHARIUS. Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 287. AL-MOSTATRAF. AL-JAUHARIUS apud Pocock. p. 110.

These, according to Dr. Hyde, constantly adhered to the worship of the true GOD, as they received it from their great ancestors *Shem* and *Elam*. But, as so ample an account has already been given of the *Magi*, and their system of religion, we shall expatiate no farther on this head here. However, our readers will permit us to observe, that, whether we consider the *Arabs* as *Sabians*, or followers of *Zerdusht*, it must be allowed, that they held the existence of *Dæmons*, *Genii*, or middle intelligences, influencing the affairs of the world : a truth indeed near as extensive as the belief of a GOD, and acknowledged by the antient heathen of almost all denominations <sup>q.</sup>

HOWEVER, some of the pagan *Arabs* believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their dissolution to age. Others allowed both ; among whom were those, who, when they died, had their camel tied by their sepulcre, and so left without meat or drink to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot ; which was reckoned very scandalous. Some believed a *metempyschysis* ; and that of the blood near the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named *Humah*, which once in an hundred years visited the sepulcre ; though others say, this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries *Osciui, Osciui*, i. e. Give me to drink, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged ; and then it flies away. Some of the antient *Arabs* seem to have been addicted to augury, since they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended something bad. The camel above-mentioned furnished the *Arabs* with a proverb, which they applied to all people doomed to a miserable end. Those who expected a future judgment, adored idols, as they pretended, that the heroes or deities they represented might be hereby induced to intercede for them with GOD hereafter. It appears probable from some passages of the *Koran*, and the commentators on those passages, that the antient *Arabs*, under the word *Jin* or *Genii*, comprehended angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate species of rational invisible beings going among the present *Orientals* by the same name. From the

<sup>q.</sup> AL-MOSTATRAF. LORD's account of the religion of the Persees, p. 5. DIOG. LAERT. in proem. p. 6. PLUT. &c. IUD. & in D.O. LIB. Sad-der apud Hyd. hist. rei. vet. Pers. pass. DAMASCUS, PLUTARCH. & SHAHRESTANI. apud Hyd. ubi sup. c. 22. PRIDEAUX in connect. p. i. v. iii. Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 65, 66, & sub. VID. etiam POCOCKIUM in not. ad spc. hist. Arab. p. 146—150.

same passages and commentators we may likewise infer, that most of the *Arabians* before *Mohammed's* time, in conformity to the *Sabian* scheme, paid religious honours to these *Genii*. The *Mohammedans* call the evil principle of the *Magi* the *Satan* of the *Scripture*, and *Sammael* of the *Jews*, *Eblis*, which seems to be a corruption of the *Διάβολος* or *Diabolus* of the *New Testament*<sup>r</sup>.

*The Jewish religion embraced by some of the Arab tribes.*

ABU CARB ASAD king of *Yaman*, about seven hundred years before *Mohammed*, is said to have introduced *Judaism* among the idolatrous *Hamyarites*. The *Jews* likewise, who fled in great numbers into *Arabia* after the destruction of their country by the *Romans*, made proselytes of several tribes, those of *Kenanab*, *Al Hareth Ebn Caaba*, and *Kendah*, in particular. In time, therefore, they became very powerful, and possessed themselves of several towns and fortresses. At last one *Yusef*, surnamed *Dhu Nowas*, king of *Yaman*, having raised a terrible persecution against all who would not turn *Iesus*, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, from whence the *Arabs* gave him the opprobrious title of the *lord of the pit*, *Caleb* or *Elebaan* king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge the massacre of the Christians at *Najran*, put an end to *Judaism*, and the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, in *Yaman*, at the same time. This happened in the reign of the emperor *Justin*, as has been already related in the history of the *Ethiopians*, and will be more fully set forth in the following section<sup>s</sup>.

*And likewise Christianity.*

WHETHER St. Paul preached in any part of *Arabia*, properly so called, we cannot pretend to determine; but that the Christian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a dispute. The *Arabians* we find ranked amongst those nations, some of whose members first had the happiness of being made converts to Christianity, several of them being present when the HOLY GHOST descended upon the apostles. When the eastern church, soon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly harassed by disorders and persecutions, vast numbers of Christians sought for shelter in *Arabia*; who being for the most part of the *Jacobite* commu-

<sup>r</sup> AL-SHAHRESTANI. AL-JAUHARI. EBN AL ATHIR. AL-DAMIRIUS. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM, ubi supra, p. 134—136. A-KOR. MOHAMMED. c. 6, 7, 72, &c alib. <sup>s</sup> AL-KOR. MOHAMMED. c. 50, & 85. BARONII anni. ad sec. 6. SIMEON episc. BETH-ARSAMENS. apud ALEMAN. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 363—385. METAPHRASES apud SURIUM, tom. v. p. 936. &c alib. NICEPH. CALLIST. l. xviii. c. 6. Vid. etiam ABULFED. SHAHRESTANI. & SAFIODDIN, apud POCOCKIUM, ubi supra, p. 137, 138.

nion, that sect generally prevailed among the *Arabs*. The principal tribes that embraced Christianity were *Hamyar*, *Ghassan*, *Rabia*, *Taghlah*, *Bahra*, *Tonuh*, part of those of *Tay* and *Kodua*, the inhabitants of *Najran*, and the *Arabs* of *Hira*. The people of *Najran* became converts to Christianity in the time of *Dhu Nowas* above-mentioned, and those of *Hira* received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of that prince. How *Al-Nooman*, surnamed *Abu-Kabus*, king of *Hira*, who was slain a few months before *Mohammed*'s birth, came to profess himself a Christian, and brought off with him from paganism the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to *Abulfeda*, his grandfather *Mondar* embraced Christianity, and built several churches for the Christians in *Hira*. *Safioddin* says, that *Najran* was a bishop's see, and remarkable for having a Christian church in early times. From *Shahrestani* we learn, that *Mondar* king of the *Arabs* declared war against the emperor *Justinian*, because he had treated ill those who asserted only one nature in Christ, since the *Arab* Christians at that time were of the *Jacobite* persuasion. This is a sufficient proof, that Christianity had got footing in *Arabia* before the reign of that prince. The *Jacobites* give out, and *M. Asseman* thinks it probable, that the *Syrian* bishop *Jacobus Baradaens*, who, according to *Abul-Farajius*, visited all the regions adjacent to *Syria*, and ordained there bishops, presbyters, &c. of the *Jacobite* sect, first infected the *Arabian* Christians with *Monophysism*. How our Saviour appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, to the *Jews* of *Hamyar*, who had challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation about *Dhu Nowas*'s time, our readers will be informed when we come towards the close of this history <sup>5</sup>.

IT is natural to suppose, that, as the Christians were so *Bishop-* numerous in *Arabia* before the age of *Mohammed*, they had *ricks* in several bishops there, when that impostor first began to form *Arabia*, a new system of religion. Accordingly we find, that the *Jacobites* had two bishops of the *Arabs* subject to their *Masiyan*, or *metropolitan of the east*. One of these was styled ab-

<sup>5</sup> Gal. c. i. ver. 17. Act. c. ii. ver. 11. ABUL-FARAJ. p. 93. 149. ASSEMAN. dissert. de Monophysitis, & bibl. Orient. tom. I. p. 166. 167. AL-MOSTATRAF. ABULFED. SHAHRESTAN. & SAFI-ODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi supra. AL-JANNABIUS. ibid. p. 63. BEN KHALICAN in v.t. ABULOL. post. GREGENT. dispur. cum Herban. Jud. in biblioth. patr. Parisiensis tom. i. PAGIUS ad an. 523. a. num. 10. Vid. etiam Cl. LAMBECIUM, l. v. p. 131. & ASSEMAN. not. ad Simon. Beth-Arsamens. episc. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 383.

folutely the bishop of the Arabs, whose seat was for the most part at *Akula*, which some authors make the same with *Cufa*, others a different town near *Baghdad*. The other had the title of the bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of *Thaalab* in *Hira* or *Hirta*, as the Syrians call it, and seated in that city. *Gregentius*, who held a famous dispute *sub dio* for three days with *Herbanus* the Jew, before the king of *Hamyar*, was bishop or archbishop of *Dhafar* or *Tephra*, as it is called by the Greek authors, in the century preceding *Mohammed*; and that *Najran* also was a bishop's see at the same time, has been already observed from *Sufiuddin*. We find likewise a prelate of this country styled the bishop of the *Tayites*, though the extent and limits of his diocese cannot so easily be defined. The *Nestorians* had but one bishop, who presided over both the dioceses of *Hira* and *Akula*, and was immediately subject to their patriarch. *Arabia* was in the earliest ages famous for heresies, which Mr. *Sale* says might in some measure be attributed to the liberty and independency of its tribes. The specification of these heresies will more properly fall under our province in the modern history of the *Arabs*, when we shall enumerate the principal causes that concurred to favour the propagation of the *Mohammedan* religion.

*Other sects  
in Arabia  
different  
from those  
already  
mentioned.*

BEFORE we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions of the antient *Arabs*, we must observe, that some of them attributed a power to the fixed stars superior to what even the *Lubians* themselves allowed; insomuch that they would not take the least step without receiving a favourable omen from them. Several of them also not only worshipped *Demons* or *Genii*, but likewise asserted them to be the daughters of God. The *Korish* were infected with *Zendicism*, an error nearly related to that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*. We are told, that several of this tribe worshipped one *Ceto*, and distanced from all the other religions of the country, *i.e.* the time of *Mohammed*.

*Language.*: As the *Arabs* are one of the most antient nations in the world, having inhabited the country they at present possess,

<sup>w</sup> *SATURNIN.* apud *Pocockium*, ubi sup. *ABUL-FARAJ.* in chron. *Syriac.* M.S. *Abu'l-Fida* in script. *Iscac.* *GREGENT.* disput. cum *Herban.* u'1 supia. *SALE* in lib. iii. c. 27. *ASSIMAN.* bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. tom. ii. in dissert. de *Monotheistis*. & p. 459. *LAMALCIUS* ubi sup. *SALE*'s prelimin. dictior. lect. 2. p. 34. 35. <sup>x</sup> *SHAHRESTANI.* A' *Qor.* *MOHAMED.* c. vi. *AL MOSTATRAF.* apud *Pocockium*, p. 136. *RELAND.* de relig. *Mohammed*, p. 270. & *MILLIUS* de *Mohammedismo ante Mohammedem*, p. 311. *SALE*'s prem. a'fc. sect. i. p. 24.

almost from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being subjugated by any foreign power, their language must have been formed soon after, if not at, the confusion of *Babel*. The two principal dialects of it were that spoken by the *Hamyarites* and other genuine *Arabs*, and that of the *Koreish*, in which *Mohammed* wrote the *Koran*. The first is styled by the Oriental writers the *Arabic of Hamyar*, and the other the *pure* or *defecated*. As *Tarab*, grandfather to *Hamyar*, is supposed by the Oriental writers to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the *Syriac* to the *Arabic*, the *Hamyaritic* dialect, according to them, must have approached nearer to the purity of the *Syriac*, and consequently have been more remote from the true genius of the *Arabic*, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the *Koreish*, termed by the *Koran* the *perspicuous and clear Arabic*, is referred to *Ishmael* as its author, who, say the above-mentioned writers, first spoke it, and, as Dr. *Pocock* believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of *Jorham* by marriage, formed it of their language and the original *Hebrew*. As therefore the *Hamyaritic* dialect partook principally of the *Syriac*, so that of the *Koreish* was supposed to consist chiefly of the *Hebrew*. But, according to *Tallalo'ddin*, the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the *Koreish* ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remotest antiquity, the custody of the *Caaba*, and dwelling in *Mecca* the centre of *Arabia*. For by this situation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourse with foreigners, who might have corrupted their language, but likewise frequented by the *Arabs* of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged most pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The *Arabs* are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expressive, and, as they say, so immensely copious, that no man, uninspired can be a perfect master of it, in its utmost extent. How much in this last article it is superior to the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, in some measure appears from hence, that sometimes a bare enumeration of the *Arabic* names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a considerable volume. Thus we are told, that *Ebn Khalawih*, one of the most learned of the *Arab* grammarians, wrote a whole treatise, which consisted entirely of an interpretation of five hundred words signifying a *lion*; and another whose only subject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a *serpent*. *Mohammed Al Firauzibadius*, author of the great *Arabic* lexicon called

*Kamus,*

for which reason he was turnnamed *Al Khattat*, or the scribe. In order to perpetuate the memory of Moramer's invention, some authors call the Arabic letters *al Moramer*, i. e. the progeny of Moramer. The most remarkable specimens of the Cufic character, so denominated from *Cufa*, a city of *Irak*, where some of the first copies of the *Koran* were written, are the following: Part of that book in it on vellum, brought from *Egypt* by Mr. Greaves; some other fragments of the same book in it published by Sir John Chardin; certain passages of a MS. in the Bodleian library; the legends on several Saracenic coins dug up about twenty years ago on the coast of the Baltic, not far from Dantzick; and, according to Mr. Professor Hunt, those noble remains of it that are, or were lately, to be seen in Mr. Joseph Ames's valuable collection of antique curiosities. As to the true origin of the antient and modern Arabic alphabets, we must own ourselves pretty much in the dark. However, that very learned and profound Orientalist Mr. Schultens seems not very remote from truth, when he deduces the letters, of which they consist, from the most antient Hebrew or Assyrian<sup>2</sup>.

*Antient  
and mo-  
dern al-  
phabets, as  
likewise  
those of the  
African  
Saracens  
and Per-  
sians.*

In order to give our readers a clearer idea of what that learned gentleman has advanced on this head, we shall here insert both the antient and modern Arabic alphabets, together with that of the African Saracens published by Kircher, which seems to be the old Hamitic character mentioned by *Al Firauzabadius*, *Al Jannabius*, *Ebn Khalican*, and *Georgius Ebn Amid*, under the title of *Al Mysnād*. As the Persians were neighbours to the Arabs, and of the same religion with part of them, before the time of Mohammed, we have thought proper here likewise to give them the old *Perſic* alphabet (S), which, we doubt not, they will look upon as a very agreeable curiosity<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> EBN KHALICAN. EBN HAFIM. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. AL-JANNABIUS. GEORG. EBN AMID. Job, c. xix. v. 23, 24. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom. p. 29, 30. CHARDIN's travels, vol. iii. p. 119. D'HERBELL. bibl. Orient. p. 59. 168. & 194. GRAVIUS apud POCOCKIUM, ubi supra, p. 158. HUNT, ubi supra, p. 12. V de & MONARCH. Asiatico-Saracen. a M. GEOR. JACOB. KEHR SIEUJING. FRANCO. Oriental. edit. Lipsie, 1724. ALB. SCHULT. instru. ad fundam. ling. H-br. p. 20. c. 1. LUGD. BATAV. 1737. <sup>3</sup> LORESCA, de cauf. ling. Hebr. p. 224. ed. FRANCO. & Lipsie, 1726. SCHULT. ubi supra. ATHAN. KIRCH. in prod. Copt. p. 199, 200. ROMÆ, 1636. AL-FIRAUZABAD. AL-JANNAB. EBN KHALICAN, & GEORG. EBN AMID. Vid. etiam POCOCK. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 154, 155.

(S) For this we are obliged to a gentleman of great erudition, the Reverend Mr. Costard, Fellow of Wadham college, Oxford, and particularly eminent for his skill in the Oriental tongues.

The modern *Arabic* alphabet.

Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.
1	A or E.	Elif.	إ
2	B.	Be.	ب
3	T.	Te.	ت
4	T, blæſe, or lisping.	Thſe.	ث
5	G.	Gjim.	ج
6	Hh.	Hha.	ح
7	Ch.	Cha.	خ
8	D.	Dal.	د
9	D, blæſe, or lisping.	Dhſal.	ذ
10	R.	Re.	ر
11	Z.	Zc.	ز
12	S.	Sin.	س
13	Sj.	Sjin.	ش
14	S.	Sad.	ص
15	D.	Dad.	ض
16	T.	Ta.	ط
17	D.	Da.	ظ
18	The Hebrew y.	Ain.	ع
19	G Latin.	Gain.	غ
20	F.	Fe.	ف
21	K.	Kaf.	ك
22	C.	Kef.	كـ
23	L.	Lam.	ل
24	M.	Mim.	م
25	N.	Nun.	ن
26	W.	Waw.	و
27	H.	He.	هـ
28	I.	Ic.	يـ

The

The old *Arabic* Alphabet.

ا	ل	Elif.	ج	ج	Lam.
ب	ب	Be.	ك	ك	Mem.
غ	غ	Gain.	س	س	Nun.
د	د	Dal.	هـ	هـ	Sad.
ذ	ذ	Dsal.	كـ	كـ	Ain.
هـ	هـ	He.	مـ	مـ	Fe.
زـ	زـ	Gim.	زـ	زـ	Ze.
خـ	خـ	Hha.	قـ	قـ	Kaf.
تـ	تـ	Ta.	صـ	صـ	Re.
يـ	يـ	Ye.	وـ	وـ	Sin.
فـ	فـ	Caf.	فـ	فـ	Shin.
					Te.

The old *Persic* alphabet.

وـ	جـ	Like the English U.
زـ	كـ	Like the English V, and at the end of a word قـ.
غـ	هـ	
ـ	ـ	
ـ	ـ	

### The old *Perſic* alphabet continued.

		Like the English F.
		Like the English P.
		at the end of a word.
		Tch.
		Td.

### The old *Persec* vowels and diphthongs.

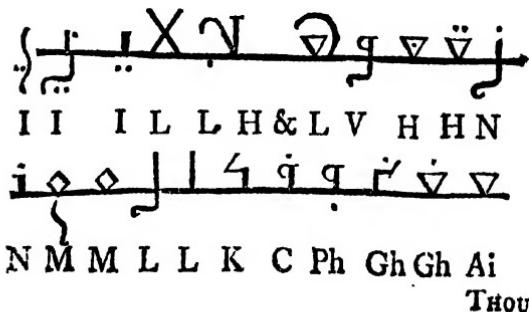
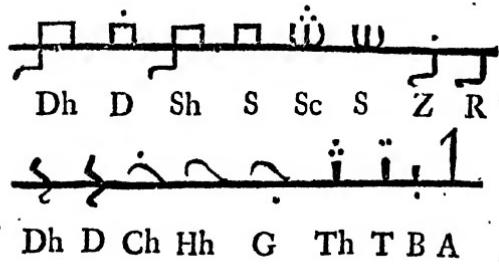
a	w		ü	ꝝ
e	ɛ	ai	ü	ꝑ
ao	bv	juɔ̄w		
i	ɪ		ei	ꝑw

IT appears, from comparing the old *Persec* and modern *Arabic* alphabets, that the following letters of the latter are wanting in the former, to wit, ش غ ظ ط ح ص م. Now *Ludovicus de Dieu*, in his *Persec* grammar, observes, that the true *Persec* words have scarce ever any of these letters in them. It is observable likewise, that the *Arabic* characters, which the *Persecans* adopted in the reign of *Jezdegerd*, do not always answer the sounds they represent, as well as the old *Persec* letters did. In proof of which, it will be sufficient to produce the two following instances.

Arab.

Old *Persec*.

The *African Saracenic* alphabet, probably the same as the ancient *Hamyaritic*, given us by *Kircher*.



The orators were the greatest part of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed*. *Mo-*  
*hammed* could neither read nor write, every one of which went *rig.*, &c.,  
under the denomination of *Al Ommia*; yet several of them <sup>the anti-</sup> *Arabs*  
became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect skill in their  
own tongue. Herein they exercised themselves by composing  
of orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts,  
metrical and profaic, the one being compared to pearls strung,  
and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in  
both, and whoever was able in an assembly to persuade the  
people to a great enterprize, or dissuade them from a danger-  
ous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honour-  
ed with the title of *Khatib* or *orator*, which is now given to  
the *Mohammedan* preachers. They called an oration giving  
a detail of some glorious achievements, delivered from the  
rostra, *Khorabah*, according to *Al-Barezi*, a word of the same  
origin with *Khatib* above-mentioned. From what we find in  
several authors, they pursued a method very different from  
that of the *Greek* and *Roman* orators; their sentences being  
like loose gems, without connexion; so that this sort of com-  
position struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the pe-  
riods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the  
proverbial sayings (T). So persuaded were they of their ex-  
celling

(T) Now we are speaking of the *Arab* literature, our readers will expect some account of the fabulist *Lokman*, so famous all over the East. *Lokman*, sur-  
named *Al Hakim*, i. e. *the Wise*, or *the Sage*, according to *Saddi*, *Akramas*, and *Schaab*, was end-  
ued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by suc-  
cession, he having been the son or grandson of a sister or aunt of *Job*. The author of *Taiaffir* makes him the son of *Baura*, or *Béor*, the son of *Nabor*, the son of *Te-  
rab*, and consequently related to *Abraham*. *Abourleis* gives *Lokman* the surname of *Abou Anam*, i. e. *the father of Anam*; tho' others call his son *Mathan*. The author of the book intituled *Ain al mani* says, he was born in the time of *David*, and lived till the age of *Jonah*; but this exceeds all be-

lief. According to the descri-  
ption of his person by the *Arab* writers, he must have been de-  
formed enough; for they say he was an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian*  
slave, and consequently of a black complexion, with thick  
lips, and splay feet. But, in re-  
turn, he received from God  
wisdom and eloquence in a great  
degree, which some pretend were  
given him in a vision, on his  
making choice of wisdom prefer-  
ably to the gift of prophecy,  
either of which were offered him.  
The generality of the *Mohamme-  
dans*, therefore, hold him to  
have been no prophet, but only  
a sage or wise man. Others re-  
late, that when God, in order  
to reward his transcendent piety,  
offered to make him his vicege-  
rent on earth, he chose rather to  
remain in the condition of a slave,

elling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public, except themselves

though with an intire resignation to the divine will, begging that God would enable him to execute all His orders, in case He thought proper to fix him in so sublime a post. This, continue the same authors, so exceedingly pleased God, that he made him superior to all other men in wisdom; insomuch that he wrote ten thousand proverbs and fables for the instruction of mankind. From several authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, and that by nation he was an *Ethiopian*, sold to the *Israelites*, but by religion a *Jew*. The author of *Tarikk Montakbab* affirms, that the sepulcre of *Lokman* was to be seen in his time at *Ramlah* or *Ramah*, near *Jerusalem*; and that he was interred near seventy prophets, who had been starved by the *Jews*, and all died in one day. He is said to have obtained his liberty on the following occasion: His master having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him such exact obedience as to eat it all; at which his master being surprised, asked him, How he could eat so nauseous a fruit? To which he replied, It was no wonder, that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from the same hand, from which he had received so many favours. Our readers will naturally observe, that *Lokman*, who lived in the time of the prophet *Hud*, or *Heber*, could not be the same person with the fabulist here mentioned.

As most of the particulars relating to the person of *Lokman*

here recited, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made the author by the commentators on the *Koran*, agree so well with what *Maximus Planudes* has written of *Aesop*, these two sages are generally thought to have been the same person. The great resemblance the fables of *Lokman* bear to those of *Aesop* is an additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to believe, that *Planudes* borrowed great part of his life of *Aesop* from the traditions he met with in the East concerning *Lokman*, and concluded these two persons to have been the same from the circumstances above-mentioned. That the fables attributed to *Aesop* were of *Oriental* extraction, cannot well be denied, since they favour much more of the genius of the *Orientals* than of that of the *Greeks*. Fable or apologue was of a very high antiquity in the East, and even the countries bordering on *Arabia*, if not in *Arabia* itself; as may be learned from the noble example of this form of instruction in the speech of *Jotbam* to the men of *Shechem*, which was made near two hundred years before the time of *Lokman*, supposing him to have been cotemporary with *David*. In fine, we are disposed to think, that the *Arab* traditions concerning the wisdom of *Lokman* were only corruptions of some passages of Scripture relating to *Solomon* king of *Israel*, especially if we admit the queen of *Sheba* to have been a *Nubian* or *Ethiopian*. This will appear at least probable,

selves and the *Perſians*; which laſt were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the *Arabians*. Two of the antient *Arabs*, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were *Koſs* and *Sabban*, of the tribe of *Wayel*. Hence came the proverbs, *More expert in the art of ſpeaking than Koſs*, and *More eloquent than SABBAN*. To their poetry they ſeem to have been chiefly indebted, for the polishing, and even preservation, of their language, before the uſe of letters was introduced amongst them; for which reaſon their authors generally conſider this and the ſtudy of their language together. In their poems, likewiſe, were preſerved the diſtin-  
ction of deſcents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe; ſo that as ſoon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes ſent publicly to congratula-  
te them on the occaſion, and themſelves made entertainments, at which the women attended, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, ſinging, to the ſound of timbrels, the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preſerve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity. For all this was performed by their poems, to which they were ſolely obliged for their knowlege, and iſtructions, moral and œconomical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and diſferences. No wonder, then, that poetry was in ſuch esteem among them, that they looked

ble, from *1 Kings* c. iii. ver. 9—13. c. iv. ver. 30—34. compared with what has been al- ready obſerved of *Lokman* from the eastern writers. The gene- rality of these writers make *Lok- man* cotemporary with *David* and *Solomon*, and of the ſame religion with thoſe princes; which adds no ſmall weight to our opini- on. As for the deformity of his perſon, that might have been introduced by them, in order to ſet off to the greater advantage, by ſuch a contrast, the excellency

of his wiſdom. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the thirty- first chapter of the *Koran*, from whence feveal hints relating to our ſage may be drawn, is intituled *LOKMAN*; nor that ſome fables going under his name have been published by *Golius*, at the end of his edition of *Erpenius's Arabic grammar*. What is here advanced will meet with a better reception from our readers, when they have conſulted Mr. *D'Herbelot* in the article *Lokman* (5).

(5) *Al Zamakhſ. Al Beidawi, &c. Al Kor. Mōammed. c. 31. Jud. c. ix. ver. 7. Maracci in Afc. p. 547. ed. Patavii, 1668. Saddi, Akramas, Schaab, &c. Maxim. Planud. in vit. Aſop. Vaheb. in comment. Turcic. ad Alo-Korān. Mōammed. Poc. in met. ad ſpecim. bif. Arab. p. 36. La vie d'Eſope, par M. de Meniriae, Bayle in diſ. bif. art. Eſope. Var. auſtor. apud D'Herbel. in art. Lokman. Vide etiam Lokmanni fab. in oalce gram. Arab. Thom. Eſpici, a Gallo, ed. Lugd. Bot. 1656.*

upon it as a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence ; nor that even in their common discourse they made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. As the *Arabs* considered an elegant and instructive poem as the summit of human performances, a spirit of emulation was kept up among their poets ; in order to which, the tribes had once a year a general assembly at *Ocadh*, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our *Sunday*. This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize ; whence the place, it is said, took its name. The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called *Al Moallakat*, rather than from their being hung up on the *Caaba*, which honour they also had by public order, being written on *Egyptian* silk, and in letters of gold. On this account they had also the name of *Al Modhababat*, or the *golden verses*. It is worthy observation, that such a public congratulation as has been already mentioned was made only on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed ; which they reckoned three points of felicity. Though poetry was of so high an antiquity among the *Arabs*, they did not at first use to write poems of any just length, but only expressed in verse occasionally ; nor was their prosody digested into rules, till some time after *Mohammed*. For this was done, as it is said, by *Al Khalil Ahmed al Farabidi*, who lived in the reign of the khalif *Harun al Rashid*. The first author of a poem that consisted of thirty verses, or *Al-Kafidah*, was *Mohalbel*. According to *Al-Khalil*, there are fifteen different kinds of *Arabic* verse ; *Zamakhsharius* makes them sixteen, and others only eleven or twelve. *Mohammed* suppressed the fair and assembly at *Ocadh*, which occasioned poetry to decline in his time, and for some years after, the *Arabs* being then employed in extending their conquests ; which having done, upon the return of peace this study was revived, and almost all sorts of learning encouraged, and not a little improved by them. However, this interruption occasioned the loss of most of their antient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory. The *Arabian* poetry agrees with the *Greek* and *Roman* in this, that it consists of *Ajzac*, parts corresponding with their feet ; and these differ, according to the different number and quantity of syllables, as the *Greek* and *Roman* feet

feet did. The whole art of the *Arab* versification consists in the due position of letters called *moveable* and *quiescent*. A *moveable* letter has its proper vowel; a *quiescent* letter one that has no vowel of its own, but is joined to the preceding letter, and with it makes one syllable. Thus, for instance, in  $\omega\gamma \sim (H)$  has its vowel (*a*), and therefore is *moveable*; but  $\rho (R)$  is destitute of one, and there joined to the preceding  $\sim (H)$ , with which it forms but one syllable. We must not here omit taking notice of the quick transitions from subject to subject in the *Arab* poetry, nor of the most celebrated ancient *Arab* poets, whose works were hung up in the *Caaba*, adorned in the above-mentioned manner; to wit, 1. *Amriol Kais.* 2. *Tarafab.* 3. *Zohair.* 4. *Lapid.* 5. *Antarah.* 6. *Al-Hareth.* 7. *Amru Ebn Kalthum.* Some authors, in the room of *Antarah* and *Al-Hareth*, substitute *Al-Aasfa* and *Al-Nabega*. The title affixed to every copy of verses in the *Caaba* was *Modhabhabato Foblan*, i. e. *the golden verses of a certain poet, which are the best he ever wrote*<sup>b</sup>.

BEFORE we dismiss our present subject, it will be proper *Some particulars* to take notice of some few particulars relating to the chronological nomenclature of the *Arabs*. They divided the year into twelve months, whose antient names were, 1. *Mutemer.* 2. *Nagir*, *lating to* 3. *Chavan.* 4. *Savan.* 5. *Ritma.* 6. *Ida.* 7. *Ajam*, *the chronology of* 8. *Adil.* 9. *Natil.* 10. *Vail.* 11. *Varna.* 12. *Burec*, *nology of* But *Kelab*, the son of *Morrah*, from whom *Mohammed* was *the antient* lineally descended, having, from certain events happening in *Arabs*, every month, given new names to them, the old ones in his time began to grow obsolete amongst the *Koreisb*; and afterwards, by the authority of *Mohammed*, when he had brought all the rest of the *Arab* tribes under his power, were totally abolished in every part of *Arabia*. As *Mohammed* made the use of the modern names one of the distinguishing characteristics of his followers, it is no wonder they should still prevail among the *Mohammedans*. The first day of *Mutemer*, or

<sup>b</sup> *AL-MOTAREZZI*, in lib. *Mogreb.* *EBN AL ATHIR.* *JALLALO'DDIN.* in lib. *Mezbar*, c. 29, & alib. *MOHAMMED.* *EBN SALAIN,* *AL-JAUHAR.* & *AL-FIRUZABAD.* apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 159—162. ut & ipse POCOCKIUS ibid. *IBRAHIM AL BARREZI* in schol. ad sermon. Nobatii. Poc. orat. ante carmen *Tograi*, p. 10, 11. & not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 162, 248. *EBN RASHIK* apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 160, 381. *AL KHALIL* & *AL-ZAMAKHSHAR.* Vide etiam *JALLALO'DDIN AL SOTURI*, ibid. & p. 159. *Geogr.* *Nubienf.* Pocock. in calce notar. ad carmen *Tograi*, p. 233. & *SALE*'s prelim. disc. p. 27, 28.

*Mubarram*, being the first day of the year, was celebrated by the antient kings of *Yaman* with great festivity and munificence, as it was likewise by the *Perſians*, and other eastern nations. The nation we are now upon antiently divided the year also into six seasons : 1. The ſeafon of herbs, flowers, &c. 2. Summer. 3. The hot ſeafon. 4. The ſeafon of fruits. 5. Autum, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. That the antient *Arab* year was lunisolar, has been already obſerved ; but the cuſtom of intercalating months, in order to make the course of the moon to agree with that of the ſun, was abolished by *Mohammed*. The *Arabs*, like the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, &c. antiently com-puted their time by weeks, or periods of ſeven days, as we learn from a very antient *Arab* poet, who died many ages before the publication of the *Koran*. The old names of theſe days are given us by that poet in the following order : 1. *Euvel*. 2. *Bahun*. 3. *Gebar*. 4. *Debar*. 5. *Munis*. 6. *Aruba*. 7. *Xijar*. We have already delivered our ſentiments concerning the origin of this manner of computing time, and may poſſibly ſay ſomething farther of it, when we come to the history of the *Indians* b.

*The ſci-  
ences they  
chiefly cul-  
tivated.*

THE ſciences chiefly cultivated by the antient *Arabians* were three ; that of their history and genealogies, ſuch a knowlege of the ſtafs as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themſelves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and ſo many diſputes happened on that occaſion, that it is no wonder, if they took great pains in ſettling their deſcents. Their knowlege of the ſtafs was gathered from long expeſience, and not from any regular ſtudy, or astronomical rules. The *Arabians* and *Indians*, as has been already hinted, applied themſelves to obſerve the fixed ſtafs, contrary to other nations, whose obſervations were almost confined to the planets ; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature. The ſtafs or aſteriſms they moſt uſually foretold the weather by, were thoſe they call *Anwā*, or the houses of the moon. These are 28 in number, and divide the *zodiac* into as many parts, through one of which the moon paſſes every night. As ſome of them ſet in the morning, others riſe oppoſite to them, which happens every thirteenth night ; and from their riſing and ſetting, the *Arabs*, by long expeſience, obſerved what

b GOL. not. ad Alfraganum, p. 3—16. AL JAUHAR. PRI-  
BLEUX's life of Mahomet, p. 2. ed. Lond. 1723. Al-Korân.  
MOHAMMED. pass. MESUD. & NOVÆIR. apud Golium, ubi ſup.  
Philof. Xirafit. Poet. antiquif. apud Golium, ubi ſup. Vide etiam  
Univ. hift. vol. xvii. p. 269—272 (R). 322, 323.

changes happened in the air ; and at length came to ascribe divine power to them, saying, that their rain was from such or such a star. This expression *Mohammed* absolutely forbade them to use in the old sense, unless qualified in such a manner as to make the Supreme Being the director and manager of them. We find *Al-Rayesh*, one of the kings of *Yaman*, surnamed *the Philosopher*, not so much on account of his learning, as of his great prudence, and intellectual endowments. That the *Arabs* understood something of physic before the time of *Mohammed*, appears from hence, that the famous *Arabian* physician *Al Harith Ebn Khalda*, so celebrated amongst his countrymen, was older than that impostor. They seem to have made no farther progress in astronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe the influence of the stars upon the weather, and to give them names ; which it was obvious for them to do, by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the *Arabic*. For though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the *Greeks*, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more antient ; particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations, which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the *Greeks*. Some of the chief of these are *Auwa* in *Virgo*, *Benat Al Nash* in *Ursa major*, *Aiyitk* and *Al Gjedyan* in *Auriga*, *Mu'laph* and *Al Himarein* in *Cancer*, &c. To wave all other arguments in favour of the high antiquity of the names of several stars and asterisms among the *Arabs*, it will be sufficient to observe, that some of these names were prior to the time of *Job*. Nay, they were, in all probability, coeval with the first peopling of *Arabia*, since from the beginning the *Arabs* led a pastoral life, lying altogether in the open air, and continually viewing their flocks, and the stars ; from whence it came to pass, that the first appellations, given to some of the latter, alluded to the former. Neither can we absolutely reject what has been hinted by *Ricciolus*, to wit, that some degree of attention is due to those who believe astronomy to be as antient as *Adam*, and consequently that several names of stars and constellations now in use among the *Arabs* may be supposed to precede even the deluge itself. *Onirocritic*, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the *Egyptians*, *Chaldaean*s, &c. as likewise divination

nation by arrows, and, as is probable, something of genethlial-  
cal astrology <sup>c</sup>.

*They had some know-* THAT some of the *Arabs* had a good degree of knowlege in several mechanical arts, appears from *Strabo*, who informs us, that the people of *Tamna* and the adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houses, built in the *Egyptian arts*, *p*ian taste. The same author likewise relates, that in *Arabia Felix*, besides the husbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongst others, those who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much used by the *Arabs*. As for the exercise of arms and horsemanship, they looked upon this as one of their principal accomplishments, being obliged to practise and encourage it by reason of the independency of their tribes, whose frequent jarring made wars almost continual amongst them, which for the most part ended in field battles. Hence it became an usual saying amongst them, that GOD had bestowed four peculiar things on the *Arabs*, to wit, turbans instead of diadems, tents instead of walls and houses, swords instead of intrenchments, and poems instead of written laws. The principal arms used by the antient *Arabs* were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad swords or cyneters. The bows and arrows were the most antient of these, being used by *Ishmael* himself, according to Scripture. It is probable also, that some of them were acquainted with every branch of the military art cultivated by their neighbours, the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Phænicians* <sup>d</sup>.

*The dispo-*  
*sition of*  
*the antient*  
*Arabs.*

WITH regard to the disposition of the antient *Arabs*, it will be proper to remark, that they had their good and bad qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as other nations. Hospitality was so habitual to them, that in this they seem to have exceeded all their neighbours. *Agatharchides* represents them as the most hospitable people in the world to all nations, but particularly some of the *Greeks*. *Hatem* of the tribe of *Tay*, and *Hafn* of that of *Fezarah*, were principally famous on this account: the latter of these, we are told, fell into as great a transport of joy, when he conferred any signal favour upon a petitioner, as others did when they re-

<sup>c</sup> AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in orat. ubi supra, p. 9. & not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 164. AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. & EBN AL ATHIR, ibid. p. 163, 164. GREG. ABUL-PHARAJ. p. 161. HYDE in not. ad tabulas stellar. fixar. Ulugh Beighi, p. 4, 5. RICCIOLUS apud Hyde, ibid. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 31, 32. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20. <sup>d</sup> STRABO, l. xvi. POCOCK. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 234. SEPHADIUS in comment. ad carmen Tograi, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 161. SALE, ubi supra, p. 29.

ceived such a favour. Nay, the contrary vice was so much in contempt among the *Arabs*, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of *Wasat*, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny. As a mark of their hospitable disposition, the *Arabs* used to light fires on the tops of hills, which in the night conducted travelers to their tents, and assured them of a kind reception. Every one of these fires they called *the fire of hospitality*, and the larger and higher it was, the greater honour and glory it reflected upon the person or persons concerned in lighting it. The highest compliment that could be paid a man was to pass an encomium upon his munificence ; as that most acceptable to a woman was, to celebrate her parsimony, and her beauty. The antients likewise commend the *Arabs* for being exact to their words, and respectful to their kindred ; and they have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension and penetration, as well as the vivacity of their wit ; especially those of the desert <sup>c</sup>.

ON the other hand, that the *Arabs* had a natural inclination to war, bloodshed, cruelty, and rapine, is acknowledged by their own writers. They had always been so much addicted to bear malice, that they scarce ever forgot an old grudge ; which vindictive temper, some physicians say, ought to be attributed to their frequent feeding on camels flesh, that creature being most malicious, and tenacious of anger. And at this day the *Arabs* of the desert, who eat little else, are observed to be most inclined to these vices ; which account, according to Mr. Sale, suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats <sup>d</sup>.

THAT the antient Scenite *Arabs*, *Ishmaelites*, or *Nabatheans*, in conformity to the divine prediction, lived upon plunder, harassing their neighbours by continual robberies and excursions, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*. That author observes, that it was in a manner impossible either to subdue or attack this nation of robbers ; because they had wells digged at proper distances in their dry and barren country, known only to themselves : so that if any body of foreigners ever pursued or invaded them, they for the most part either died of thirst, or were consumed by the fatigues they found them-

<sup>e</sup> GENTIUS in not. ad *Gulistan Sheik Sadi*, p. 486, &c. Poet. Arab. apud Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 48. ABU ISHAC & EBNO'L HOBAR. poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in not. ad carmen 'Tograi, p. 107. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. & p. 111—112. Vide etiam HERODOT. l. iii. c. 8. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Photium, p. 1369, 1370. STRAB. l. xvi. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 121. & SALE, ubi supra, p. 29, 30. <sup>f</sup> Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 87, 88. BOCHART. Hierozoic. l. ii. c. 1. SALE, ubi supp. p. 30. selves

selves obliged to sustain. Neither are their posterity less infamous at present, on account of the robberies they commit on merchants and travelers. This they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves, by alleging the hard usage of their father *Ishmael*, who, being turned out of doors by *Abraham*, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. This therefore they think authorizes them to indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of *Isaac*, but also on every body else ; always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and, instead of, *I robbed a man of such or such a thing*, to say, *I gained it*. We must not, however, imagine, that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends ; on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be stollen. The *Ishmaelites* also employed themselves in pasture, as well as pillaging of passengers, and lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels, as above-mentioned. However, some of them used horses flesh, as well as that of camels, according to the *Arab* poet *Tograi*. They often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water, and of pasture for their cattle, invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of another. They generally wintered in *Irak*, and the confines of *Syria*. Before the *Romans* subdued *Syria*, the *Scenite Arabs* made dreadful incursions into that country, where they committed great depredations, as we learn from *Strabo*<sup>5</sup>.

*The more  
civilized  
Arabs  
dwelt in  
towns, &c.*

BESIDES these free-booters, we find a more civilized kind of *Arabs*, who dwelt in cities and towns. These lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades, particularly merchandizing, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of *Jacob*. The tribe of *Koreish* were much addicted to commerce, and *Mohammed*, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business ; it being customary for the *Arabians* to exercise the same trade that their parents did, according to *Strabo*. Neither ought it to appear surprising, that the *Arabs* should have had such a genius for traffick, if

<sup>5</sup> DIOD. SIC. I. ii. p. 92. GEN. C. XVI. VER. 12. VOYAGE DANS LA PALEST. P. 220, &c. PRIDEAUX'S LIFE OF MAHOMET, P. 6. & ALIB. SAIE, ubi sup. p. 25, 30, 31. TOGRAI, VER. 24. AGATHARCHID. CRID. & STRABO, ubi supra.

their country produced such immense quantities of the most precious commodities, as some authors suggest. Balsam, cinnamon, and *cassia*, the *Happy Arabia* abounded with, as likewise myrrh, frankincense, and all the most noble spices and perfumes. Cattle likewise its inhabitants had sufficient to supply all their neighbours with, and even many of the remoter nations. But, above all, the gold, which was the proper produce of this country, has been represented by *Agatharchides* and *Strabo* to be so copious as to exceed all belief. According to them, the *Alilæi* and *Cassandrini*, in the southern parts of *Arabia*, had gold in that plenty amongst them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver. In digging the earth they found some pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as big as olive-stones, others as big as medlers, and lastly others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to pass, that all the furniture of their houses, even their chairs, beds, cups, and vessels of all kinds, consisted of gold and silver. Nay, according to *Agatharchides*, they alone enriched *Syria* to a great degree under the *Ptolemies*, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the *Phœnicians*. Contiguous to the *Alilæi* and *Cassandrini* were the *Dedebæ* or *Debae*, through whose country passed a river so abounding with small gobbets of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it seemed to consist intirely of that metal. *Diodorus* relates, that this gold was of so bright and glorious a colour, that it added an exceeding lustre and beauty to the most valuable gems set in it. In short, continues the last author, *Arabia Felix*, at least the region of the *Sabæi*, was so immensely rich, that all the treasures of the world seemed to centre there; all the commodities of *Asia* and *Europe* being brought thither, as to an universal mart. But, notwithstanding the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches, *Strabo* intimates, that *Arabia* was aggrandized solely by trade, and that in reality a great part of the riches, which the antients imagined were the produce of *Arabia*, came from the *Indies*, and the coasts of *Africa*. For the *Egyptians*, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the *Red Sea*, to themselves, industriously concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports shut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, unpassable to strangers, on the other, were the reason why *Arabia* was so little known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Among other vessels the *Arabs* used on the *Red Sea*, to carry on their commerce with *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, were some made of leather,

ther, the invention of which the reflux of that sea suggested to them <sup>h</sup>.

AMONG the principal customs of the antient *Arabs*, besides those couched under some of the former general heads, may be ranked the following :

- Customs of the antient Arabs.*
1. THE antient *Arabs* used circumcision, either on the eighth day, according to *Philostorgius*, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age, when *Ishmael* was circumcised, as *Josephus* asserts. *Al Gazalius* intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumcision when all their teeth were completely formed, and *Ebn al Athir* betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which seems to correspond pretty well with what we find advanced by *Josephus*. The *Arab* writers affirm *Mohammed* to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce.
  2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings, which consisted of the intestines of camels filled with their blood, which they called *mofwadd*.
  3. They were extremely addicted to divination and augury. When any one of them set out upon a journey, he observed the first bird he met with ; and, if it flew to the right, he pursued his journey ; but, if to the left, he returned home. Some of them paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a person, distrusting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey, he tied together some of the boughs of a tree called *Al-Ratam* ; and if, upon his return, he found them in the same position, he judged she had been faithful to him, otherwise not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we must beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. *Pocock's specimen historiæ Arabum*. All the species of augury and divination were forbid by *Mohammed* ; as likewise the plays of chess, dice, cards, &c. which in the *Koran* are comprehended under the name *Al Maifer*.
  4. When a she-camel or ew had brought forth twins ten times, she had an ear cut off, and was afterwards sent to graze at liberty ; but women were never permitted to taste of her flesh.
  5. According to some authors, many of the idolatrous *Koreish* buried their daughters alive as soon as they were born, upon a mountain near *Mecca*, called *Abu Daldhab*.
  6. It was not uncommon for the *Arabs* to marry their father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldest son, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren ; but this the most virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and shocking crime, and stiled the person guilty of it *Al Daizan*.
  7. Some of them married two sisters ; which *Shahrestani* looks upon as one of the worst things they

<sup>h</sup> AGATHARCHID. Cnid. DIODOR. Sic. STRAB. ubi supra. Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. LA ROQUE, voyage dans la Palest. p. 109, & alib. Vide etiam SALE, ubi sup. p. 25.

were

were guilty of. 8. Most of them went a pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, observing some particular ceremonies, which our readers will find described by *Abulfeda*. 9. The *Caaba*, their great temple or place of religious worship from the remotest antiquity, was their *Keb'a*, or place towards which they turned themselves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their years consisting of lunar months, as already observed. 11. They frequently washed their mouth and nostrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other usages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right hand. 13. They addressed themselves to their kings in these terms, *May you avert all malediction!* or, according to Dr. *Pocock*, in order to shew their profound respect and reverence for, as well as submission to, his person, *He hath averted all malediction*; i. e. *May God be propitious to you!* or, *May God prolong your life!* This form of salutation was first used to *Yarab* the son of *Kabtan*, whose memory is held in great veneration by the *Arabs* to this day. 14. In *Arabia Petraea* a prince of one family, called the royal family, always governed, and was attended and served by a person styled the king's brother. 15. In *Arabia Felix* the king's brothers preceded his sons, and had greater respect shewn them, as being more advanced in years. 16. The *Troglodytes*, in the neighbourhood of *Arabia*, lived a pastoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by several tyrants, who had wives, whom none of their subjects must lie with, under the penalty of a sheep. The women hung a fish-shell about their necks, which they believed to be a preservative against all kinds of fascination. 17. *Strabo* seems to intimate, that there was but one wife in a family, amongst some tribes of the *Arabs*, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilst one was engaged with her, a staff, which all of them walked with, was erected before the door of the tent, as a signal to prevent another's approach. But the senior of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. Adultery they punished with death; but esteemed him only guilty of it, who had to do with a woman of another tribe. 18. The *Nabathæans* were good economists, and therefore inflicted punishment publicly on such as squandered away their substance; but paid great respect to such as increased it. 19. As they had very few slaves among them, relations either served at meals, and on other occasions, or they assisted one another, or, lastly, served themselves; which usage likewise extended to their phylarchs. 20. At their feasts they generally admitted only thirteen persons; and had always two musicians

musicians to perform during the whole entertainment. 21. Their phylarchs had so little power, that they were almost upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inspected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in person to a public assembly of their respective tribes. 22. Their cities were not walled round, scarce any foreign invader ever attempting to disturb them. 23. It was a common practice amongst the *Saracens* or *Scenite Arabs* to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter much altered since the admission of divorces ; on the contrary, amongst many of them it is in all respects the same. 24. According to some authors, the antient *Arabs* circumcised their daughters, as well as their sons. 25. When the *Sabaeans* found themselves near overcome by the strong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourse to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard, set on fire under the nose of the patient, which recovered them. 26. They reaped twice a year, having two harvests, as well as the *Indians* and *Ethiopians*. 27. In their wars they brought into the field a great number of camels, carrying each of them two archers sitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppose the enemy both in rear and in front at the same time. Several other customs prevailing among the antient *Arabs*, depending upon the authority of the *Koran*, will be touched upon hereafter occasionally, when we come to consider the tenets and doctrines of that book<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> AGATHARCHID. Cnid. ubi sup. DIOD. Sic. I. ii. & I. iii. STRAB. I. xvi. PHILOSTORG. hist. ecclesiast. I. iii. JOSEPH. antiquit. I. i. c. 23. AL-GAZALIUS & EBN AL ATHIR apud POCOCKIUM, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 319. AL-ZAMAKHSHAR. AL-BEIDAWI in c. v. AL-KORAN. MOHAMMED. AL-MOSTATRAF. MOHAMMEDES AL-FIRAUZABADIUS & AL-DAMIRIUS apud POCOCKIUM, ubi sup. p. 321, 322, 323, & seq. AL-KOR. MGHAMED. pass. AL-SHARIZ. AL-JALLALAN. & AL-JAUHAR. apud POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 324—339. ut & ipse POCOCK. ibid. ADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. MOHAMMED. p. 79. 94. 117, 118. AL-MOTAREZZI apud POCOCKIUM, ubi sup. p. 55, 56, 57. ut & AL-JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. EBN AL ATHIR, & ipse POCOCK. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. I. XIV. c. 4. & I. xxiii. LUDOLF. hist. ÆTHIOPIA. I. i. HEIDECK. hist. patriarch. tom. ii. exercit. 7. sect. 29. p. 241. ADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. MOHAMMED. I. i. p. 75. VID. ETIAM AL-KOR. MOHAMMED. ABULFED. ALIOSQUE script. ORIENT. pass.

## C H A P. XXII.

*The History of the Arabs, to the Time of Mohammed.*

**JOKTAN** the son of *Eber*, whom the *Arabs* call *Kabtan*, Joktan had thirteen sons, who, some time after the confusion of *and his languages at Babel*, settled in *Arabia*, extending themselves *family from Meshia to Sephar*, a mountainous district in the south-*settle in eastern part of that peninsula*. To this district, in all probability, part of the provinces of *Hadramaut* and *Sibhr* corresponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of *Dhafar* or *Saphar*, in which some traces of *Moses's Sephar* seem still to *soon after the confusion of languages*, be preserved. The names of these thirteen planters were, *Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab*. As for *Hadramaut*, *Seba*, *Ofir*, and *Kawilah*, the sons of *Kabtan*, mentioned by M. *D'Herbelot*, they were undoubtedly the same with *Hazarmaveth, Sheba, Ophir, and Huwilah*; as appears, not only from the affinity of names, but likewise the order in which the three last are placed. According to *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf*, *Kabtan* had thirty-one sons by the same wife, of whom all but two, leaving *Arabia*, went and settled in *India*. *Yarab*, the elder of those two, succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, giving name, if we will believe the *Arab* writers, both to their country and language, as has been already observed: *Forham*, the younger, founded the kingdom of *Hejaz*, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of *Ishmael*. That *Yarab* and *Forham* are the *Jerah* and *Hadoram* of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from insisting upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the second king of *Yaman* was called *Jerah* or *Yareah*, not *Yarab*; and consequently, that the peninsula of *Arabia* (A), and the *Arabic* tongue, could

(A) It is at least equally improbable, that the peninsula of *Arabia* should have been so denominated from we know not what mixture of different nations inhabiting it. For the *Arabs* agree, that they had only two principal planters, to wit, *Kabtan* and *Ishmael*, whose families by intermarriages became one and the same. And it is generally

allowed, that no people in the world have had a less mixture with foreigners than the *Arabs*, nor have preserved their antient customs and manners more invariably the same than they have done. Nor indeed can we conceive an introduction of foreign customs among them likely to be effected, since neither the *Perians, Greeks, or Romans*, could ever

could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the *Arabs* pretend. But whether *Yarab* or *Jorbam* be the same persons with *Jerah* and *Hadoram*, or not, we cannot infer from the disagreement betwixt their names, as M. *Gagnier* seems to have done, that every thing related by the *Arabs* of the former is a downright fiction. Because, as their language differed gradually more and more from the *Hebrew*, the *Arabs* undoubtedly altered the most antient proper names. Of this *Hazar-maveth* and *Hadramaut*, *Joktan* and *Kabtan*, which confessedly denote the same persons, are a sufficient proof. *Elmacinus* says, that *Kabtan* was the father of the *Arabs*, and that he begat many children, who chose for their princes or leaders *Saba*, *Ophir*, and *Gjawilah*, i. e. *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*; which runs counter to what we find advanced by *Abmed Ebn Yusef*, *Abulfeda*, and others. And this disagreement between the most celebrated eastern writers, with regard to the first kings of *Arabia*, clearly evinces, that none of them, at least in this point, can be intirely depended upon <sup>a</sup>.

*It does Ishmael be son of Ibrahim.* and his mother *Hagar*, having been dismissed by *Abraham* in the manner already related, retired into the wilderness of *Paran*, where they were supported by the divine favour and assistance. GOD had assured *Hagar* in her distress, before the birth of *Ishmael*, that her son should be the father of a most numerous and potent nation; that he and his descendants should be wild, and live in a state of enmity with the rest of mankind; and yet that they should never be thoroughly subjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which most surprising prediction to demonstration appears, from the manner of life, disposition, power, government, &c. of the *Scenite Arabs*, or, as they are frequently now stiled,

<sup>a</sup> *ABULFED.* hist. cap. 4. *AHMED EBN YUSEF* apud *Pocockium*, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 40. *Gen. c. x. ver. 25—31.* *SAFI-ODDIN.* in lex. geographic. *R. SAADIAS* in version. Arab. pentat. *R. ABRAHAM. ZACHUT.* in *Sefer Juchasin*. *GOLII notæ ad Al-fraganum*, p. 82, 83. *Pocock.* ubi sup. p. 40. 45. 78. 151. *D'HERBEL.* bibl. Oriental. art. *Saba & Hegiaz*. *GAGN.* in diatrib. sect. 1, 2. *GEORG. 'EBN'OL-'AMID 'ELMACIN* in cod. MS. apud *'Gagn.* ibid. Vid. etiam *Univ. hist.* vol. i. p. 297.

ever subdue them. And as for the *Egyptians*, though *Sesac* obliged part of *Arabia* to submit to him, his successors could not long keep their footing there.

All the other etymons of *Arabia*, except that we have already given, are so apparently remote from truth, that not the least regard is due to them (1).

(1) *Gagn. distrib. sect. 1. Abulfed. Ahmed Ebn Yusef apud Pocock. &c.*  
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the wild *Arabs*, from the age of *Ishmael* to this very day. For, from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to omit other antient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travelers, who have visited the countries they inhabit, they now live in the same manner their father *Ishmael* did, and have always done so from his time to the present. Their disposition likewise is the same that it was predicted to be, as it always has been; that is, *their hand has been against every man*, and consequently *every man's hand against them*; since they always have, and still do, for the most part, live by pillaging passengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or at least for any time continued in, a state of servitude, as appears from all the principal antient historians mentioning them, and their present almost absolute independence on the *Turk*; which gives us an idea of their power and government, sufficient to convince us of the agreement of both with the divine prediction, relating to *Ishmael*, and his posterity. The vast puissance, conquests, and disposition of the *Saracens*, the descendants of *Ishmael*, likewise confirm the authority of Scripture in this particular. But this point our readers will find set in a just and proper light by two authors, who deserve well both of literature and religion<sup>b</sup>.

*ISHMAEL*, as we learn from the sacred historian, held his *Ishmael* residence in the wilderness of *Paran*, and married an *Egyptian*. forms an In conformity to the divine prediction to *Abraham*, he had alliance twelve sons, the heads of so many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent; whose names we have already given. The *Arab* writers say, that he took to wife the daughter of *Modud* king of *Hejaz*, descended lineally from *Jorham* the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it will, he died at an hundred and thirty-seven years of age, probably not far from the borders of *Egypt*. As the *Arabs* have always considered him, and still do consider him, as the father of the greatest part of their nation, and this notion is strongly countenanced by Scripture, we may look upon him and *Foktan* as the principal planters of *Arabia*. This seems an additional proof to those already offered, that the (B) *Cushites* did not settle in

<sup>b</sup> Gen. c. xxi. ver. 14—22. c. xvi. ver. 12. Univ. hist. vol. iii. p. 257. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ubi sup. LA ROQUE voyage dans la Palestine, p. 213. 220, &c. Dr. JACKSON's works, vol. ii. Lond. 1673. Revelat. examined with cand. disserr. iv. p. 114—152.

(B) The Scripture seems to distinguish the *Arabs* from the *Cushites*, when it makes a branch of the former contiguous to the latter.

in any great numbers here, or at least, that their settlement was not of any long continuance, but that they passed, either through *Egypt*, or on the eastern coast of the *Red Sea*, and over the straits of *Bab al Mandab*, into *Ethiopia*. The silence of the *Orientals*, with regard to such a settlement, seems to confirm what is here advanced. We must not imagine, that the *Scenite Arabs* were the only descendants of *Ishmael*, though probably they might be the bulk of them; since *Moses* gives us to understand, that some *Ishmaelites* had castles and towns. For all other particulars relating to *Ishmael*, our readers may have recourse to the *Jewish history* <sup>c</sup>.

*Some particulars relating to the kings of Hamyar.*

In order to render our history of the antient *Arabs* as complete as possible, we shall here give our readers catalogues of the kings of *Hamyar*, or *Taman*, *Hira*, *Ghaffan*, and *Hedjaz*, extracted from the best *Oriental historians*.

As the kings of *Hamyar* were the most considerable princes in *Arabia*, it will be proper to begin with them. But, before we do this, some particulars relating to them must be premised. The kingdom of *Taman*, or at least the better part of it, particularly the provinces of *Saba* and *Hadramaut*, was governed by princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, the son of *Saba*, the great-grandson of *Kahlan*, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendants of *Cahlan* his brother, who yet retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. The *Hamyarites* were called *Homerites* by the later *Greek* and *Latin* authors, and *Immirenians* by *Theodorus Lector*; their princes had the general title of *Tobba*, which signifies *successor*, as the *Egyptian* kings had that of *Pharaoh*, the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæsar*, and the successors of *Mohammed* that of *khalif*. Several lesser princes reigned in other parts of *Taman*; but they were chiefly, if not intirely, subject to the king of *Hamyar*, who was stiled *the great king*. But, as history has recorded nothing of these *reguli*, that deserves the least attention, we shall drop them, and immediately proceed to the series of the kings of *Taman* or *Hamyar* <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20, 21. c. xvii. ver. 20. AL-JANNABIUS. Vid. etiam POCOCK. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 78, 79. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 17. ABULFED. AL-FIRAUZABAD. aliasq; scriptor. Arabic. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 275—278. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 16. <sup>d</sup> MOHAMMEDES AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, EBN ATHIR, ABULFED.

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latter. The passage here referred to will give great strength to what has been already ad-

vanced, in relation to the first settlements of the *Cushites* (2).

(2) a CIBON. c. xxi. ver. 16. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 27.

I. KAHTAN,

1. KAHTAN, or *Joktan*, the son of *Eber*, is said to have Kahtan, first reigned, and worn a diadem, in *Yaman*; but how long he sat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no-where learn <sup>e</sup>.

2. YARAB, the son of *Kahtan*, was a prince greatly celebrated by the *Arab* historians; but, as the principal things related of him have already been taken notice of, we shall proceed to his successor <sup>f</sup>.

3. YA<sup>H</sup>AB, son to the preceding prince, has had only *Yashab*, his name transmitted down to us <sup>g</sup>.

4. ABD SHEMS, i. e. *the servant of the sun*, surnamed *Abd Saba*, the son of *Yashab*, next ascended the throne; who, *Shems*, the *Arab* historians tell us, was successful in his expeditions against his enemies, carried off great spoils, and took many of them prisoners. Hence, they pretend, he derived his surname, which to us seems by no means probable: it is more likely, that it was used before in his family, since the Scripture mentions *Sheba*, or *Saba*, one of the sons of *Joktan*. He is said to have built the city of *Saba* or *Mareb*, as likewise that stupendous mound or building, which formed the vast reservoir above that city. By means of this reservoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of *Yaman* did not only supply the inhabitants of *Saba*, and their lands, with water, but likewise kept the territories they had subdued in greater awe; since, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly distress them. *Abd Shems* had many sons; but the most noted of them were *Hamyar*, *Amru*, *Cablan*, and *Ashaar* <sup>h</sup>.

5. HAMYAR, the son of *Abd Shems* or *Saba*, according *Hamyar*. to the *Oriental* authors, was so called from the red cloaths he wore. This seems a plain indication, that *Hamyar* was only a surname. He expelled *Thamud* from *Yaman*, who took refuge in *Hejaz*. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of *Hamyar* deduced its name. Some assert, that not *Kahtan*,

<sup>a</sup> AL-JAUHAR. Vide etiam Pocock. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 65, 66. & SALE, ubi supra, p. 9, 10. THEODOR. LECT. I. ii. p. 567. Vide etiam ASSEMAN. not. in Sim. episc. Beth. Arsamens. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. <sup>c</sup> ABULFED. hist. c. 4. Scholiast. in poem. Ebn Abduni. GEORG. EBNO'I AMID ELMAC. ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> AL MOTAREZZI in lib. Mogr. AHMED EBN YUSEF apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 40. POCOCK. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, sub init. & alib. EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam ABULFED. ubi sup. <sup>g</sup> POCOCKIUS, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 57. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 6. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 87. Vide etiam SALE, ubi supra, p. 10.

but *Hamyar*, was the first king of *Yaman* that wore a diadem <sup>1</sup>.

**Wayel.** 6. *WAYEL*, the son of *Hamyar*, according to *Abulfeda*, succeeded him in the kingdom ; but other authors make his brother *Cahlan* his successor <sup>2</sup>.

**Alfaṣafac.** 7. AFTER *Wayel* reigned his son *Alfaṣafac* <sup>3</sup>.

**Yaafar.** 8. *YAAFAR*, the son of *Alfaṣafac*, next mounted the throne <sup>4</sup>.

**Dhu Riyash.** 9. HE was succeeded by *Dhu Riyash* <sup>5</sup>.

**Al Nooman.** 10. AFTER him *Al Nooman*, the son of *Yaafar*, swayed the sceptre of *Yaman* <sup>6</sup>.

**Afmah.** 11. THEN came *Afmah*, the son of *Nooman* <sup>7</sup>.

**Shaddad.** 12. *SHADDAD*, the son of *Ad*, the son of *Al Matata*, the son of *Saba*, a very potent prince, succeeded *Afmah* <sup>8</sup>.

**Lokman.** 13. *LOKMAN*, the brother of *Shaddad*, was the next king, according to the most received opinion, though some authors are of a different sentiment <sup>9</sup>.

**Dhu Sadad.** 14. THE reins of government next fell into the hands of his brother *Dhu Sadad* <sup>10</sup>.

**Al Hareth.** 15. *AL HARETH*, the son of *Dhu Sadad*, next ascended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of *Yaman*, and was the first, according to some, who had the title or surname of *Tobba* above-mentioned given him by his subjects <sup>11</sup>.

**Dhu'l Karnain.** 16. *DHU'L KARNAIN ASSAAB*, the next king, was the son of *Raysh*. This was the two horned prince mentioned in the *Koran*, and not *Alexander the Great*, as we learn from *Ebn Abbas* <sup>12</sup>.

**Dhu'l Manar.** 17. *DHU'L MANAR ABRAHAH*, the son of *Dhu'l Karnain*, succeeded his father ; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign <sup>13</sup>.

**Africus.** 18. *AFRICUS*, the son of *Dhu'l Manar Abrahah*, from whence that part of the world called *Africa* was so denominated, according to some of the eastern writers, next took the reins of government upon him <sup>14</sup>.

**Dhu'l Adhaar Amru.** 19. *DHU'L ADHAAR AMRU*, the son of *Africus*, who reigned after his father, received the name or surname of

<sup>1</sup> AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL-JANNABIUS, GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. ubi sup. POCOCK. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 57. <sup>2</sup> ABUL-FED. apud POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 58. <sup>3</sup> AL-JAUHAR. <sup>4</sup> POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 58. <sup>5</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>6</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>7</sup> POC. ubi sup. <sup>8</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>9</sup> AL JANNABIUS, AL FIRAUZABADIUS, &c. <sup>10</sup> POC. ubi sup. <sup>11</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>12</sup> AL-KOR. MOHAMMED. c. 18. EBN ABBAS. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM, ubi sup. <sup>13</sup> POCOCK. ubi sup. <sup>14</sup> AL JANNABIUS, AHMED EBN YUSEF, Scholiaſt. in poem. Ebn Abnuni, &c.

*Lord of terrors*, from the terror with which his subjects were struck at the sight of certain monstrous men, or satyrs, or apes, as some will have it, whom he had taken prisoners in war, and brought into *Yaman y*.

20. THE *Hamyarites* placed upon the throne *Sharhabil*, Sharhabil, of the posterity of *Alfaṣaf*, in the room of *Dhu'l Adhaar Amru*, whom for some enormity they expelled from thence <sup>a</sup>.

21. AL HODHAD, the son of *Sharhabil*, succeeded his Al Hod-father <sup>a</sup>.

22. BALKIS, the son of *Hodbad*, is said to have reigned *Balkis*. twenty years. According to some authors, *Al Hodhad* was succeeded by a daughter named *Balkis* or *Belkis*, whom they assert to be the famous queen of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon* king of *Isræl* at *Jerusalem* <sup>b</sup>.

23. NASHEROL'NEAM, so called from his surprising magnificence and liberality, was likewise styled simply *Malec*, or *rol'neam*, king. Having had bad success in an expedition, wherein his army was overwhelmed by torrents of sand, he caused a brazen statue to be erected, with this inscription, in the old *Hamyaritic* character, engraven upon it ; *There is no passage behind me ; no moving farther ; the son of Sharhabil* <sup>c</sup>.

24. SHAMER YARAASH, the son of *Nasher*, swayed the Shamer sceptre after *Nasherol'neam*. We are told, that he was so *Yaraash*, denominated from the tremor that always possessed him, and that he gave name to the city of *Samarcand*. That *Samarcand* was built by one of the *Hamyaritic* kings, surnamed *Tobba*, seems to be a point agreed upon by the best of the eastern writers. To confirm this notion, it is pretended, an inscription in the old *Hamyaritic* character was found under one of the gates of *Samarcand* ; though what this inscription imported, we are no-where informed. It is possible the authors that relate this may mistake the old *Cufic* character for the *Hamyaritic*, since in the time of *Arabshah* considerable quantities of *dirhems*, and a small coin called a *falous*, with *Cufic* letters upon them, were frequently dug up at old *Samarcand*. That the *Hamyaritic*, *Cufic*, and modern *Arabic* alphabets were derived from that of the *Hebrews*, as the excellent *Loescher* and *Schultens* with great reason suppose, seems farther to appear from hence, that the *Arabs*, in order to help the memory, distribute their letters into six words, *Abjad*, *Howaz*, *Hotai*, *Colman*, *Saaphas*, and *Karshat* ; wherein the order of the *Hebrew* alphabet is exactly preserved. This, in

<sup>y</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 59.

<sup>b</sup> GOLI nota ad *Alfragan*. p. 296.

<sup>c</sup> Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. par. 6. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Balkis*.

<sup>a</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi sup.

<sup>z</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi sup.

conjunction with others, we take to be no contemptible argument in favour of what *Loescher* and *Schultens* have advanced <sup>d</sup>.

**Abu Malec.**

25. **ABU MALEC**, the son of *Shamer*, after his father's death, took possession of the throne <sup>e</sup>.

**Amran.**

26. **AMRAN**, the son of *Amer*, a descendent of *Cahlan*, the brother of *Hamyar*, to whose family the kingdom of *Hamyar* was now translated, was invested with the regal power upon the decease of *Abu Malec*. The Orientals represent this prince as a wise man, or soothsayer <sup>f</sup>.

**Amru.**

27. **AMRU**, the son of *Amer*, surnamed *Mazikia*, or *Dilacerator*, because every night he tore to pieces two garments he had worn the preceding day, succeeded the former king <sup>g</sup>.

**Al Alkran.**

28. **AL ALKRAH**, the son of *Abimalec*, governed *Yaman* after *Amru* <sup>h</sup>.

**Dhu Habshan.**

29. **DHU HABSHAN**, the son of *Akran*, upon the last prince's demise, took possession of the government. This prince put to death *Tafṣīn* and *Jadis* <sup>i</sup>.

**Tobba.**

30. **TOBBA**, or *Tobbaa*, the son of *Alkran*, succeeded *Dhu Habshan* <sup>l</sup>.

**Colaicarb.**

31. **COLAICARB**, or, according to some, *Molaic Yacrah*, ascended the throne of *Hamyar* after the death of the last prince <sup>m</sup>.

**Abu Carb Afaad.**

32. **ABU CARB ASAAD**, the succeeding king, we find mentioned in the *Koran*. Some say, that he lived seven hundred years before *Mohammed*; but this is not very probable. He adorned the *Caab* with hangings or tapestry, and first introduced *Judaism* amongst the *Hamyarites*. The Oriental writers say, that he was put to death by his subjects, probably on the score of religion <sup>n</sup>.

**Hassan Tobbai.**

33. **HASSAN TOBBAI**, his son, cut off his father's murderers, and was at last slain by his brother <sup>o</sup>.

**Amru Tobbai.**

34. **AMRU TOBBAI**, the son of *Hassan Tobbai*, was surnamed *Dominus lignorum*, or *Lord of wood*, because through the whole course of his reign he was so infirm and indisposed, that he was always carried about in a wooden chair <sup>p</sup>.

**Abd Celā'.**

35. **ABD CELAL**, the son of *Dul'awad*, entered upon the government after *Amru Tobbai* <sup>q</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi sup. p. 60. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Tobba*. ARABSHAH in vit. Timur. POC. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 4. <sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>f</sup> POC. ubi sup. <sup>g</sup> AL JAUHARIUS, AL FIRAUZABADIUS, &c. <sup>h</sup> POC. ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>j</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>m</sup> AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABIUS, &c. <sup>n</sup> Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 50. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABIUS, Scholia. EBN ABDUNI, &c.

<sup>o</sup> POCOCK, ubi sup. p. 61. <sup>p</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid.

36. TOBBA, the son of *Hassan*, the son of *Colaicarb*, *Tobba*,  
furnished *Tobba Minbr*, succeeded <sup>ibid</sup> *Celal* <sup>1</sup>.
37. NEXT came *Al Hareth*, who embraced *Judaism* <sup>2</sup>. *Al Hareth*  
38. THE thirty-eighth king of *Yaman* was *Morthed*, the *Morthed*,  
son of *Celal* <sup>3</sup>.
39. WACIAA, the son of *Morthed*, was declared king *Waciaa*,  
after his father's decease <sup>4</sup>.
40. ABRAHAH, the son of *Al Sabab*, reigned after *Wu-* *Abrahah*,  
*ciaa* <sup>5</sup>.
41. SABBAN mounted the throne upon *Abrahah*'s death, *Sabban*.  
or, according to some of the Oriental writers, *Ebn Dakikan*.  
*Ebn Dakikan* had that famous sword of *Ebn Maad Corb* called  
*Samsana*. This sword came afterwards into the hands of the  
khalif *Rashid*, who with it cut in two several noble swords,  
sent him as a present by the *Greek* emperor, in the presence  
of that prince's embassadors, who brought them, without  
doing it the least damage. How far this story may be depended  
upon, we shall not take upon us to determine <sup>6</sup>.
42. DHU SHANATER, according to *Al Firauzabadius*, *Dhu Sha-*  
*had* six fingers on each hand. He was dethroned by the nater.  
*Hamyarites* for being abandoned to an unnatural species of  
lust, and abusing several youths of some of the noblest families  
amongst them <sup>7</sup>.
43. YUSEF, furred *Dhu Nowas*, from his flowing *Yusef*.  
curls, lived about seventy years before *Mohammed*. He per-  
secuted all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death  
by various tortures, the most common of which was, throw-  
ing them into a glowing pit of fire; whence he had the  
opprobrious appellation of *the Lord of the pit*. This per-  
secution we find mentioned in the *Koran* <sup>8</sup>.
44. DHU JADAN, i. e. the person with a sweet voice, *Dhu*  
succeeded *Dhu Nowas*, and was the last of the *Hamyaritic* *Jadan*.  
monarchs, according to *Abulfeda*; but *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* and  
*Al Jannabius* make *Dhu Nowas* the last prince of the true  
*Hamyaritic* line, reigning in a continual succession. He was  
a bigoted *Jew*, as just observed, and treated his Christian  
subjects with such barbarity, that *Elebaas*, or *Elebaan*, king  
of *Ethiopia*, sent over forces to assist them. *Dhu Nowas*,  
not being able to make head against the *Ethiopians*, was at

<sup>1</sup> ABULFED. apud POCOCKIUM, ubi sup.  
sup. <sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>3</sup> ABULFEDA, AL JANNABIUS. <sup>4</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>5</sup> POCOCK. ubi sup. <sup>6</sup> POCOCK. ubi sup. <sup>7</sup> AL FIRAU-  
ZABADIUS. Vide etiam POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 62. <sup>8</sup> BARO-  
NIUS in annal. ad sec. 6. THEOPHAN. NICERH. CALLIST. SIM.  
METAPHRAST. PAG. &c. Vide etiam ASSEMAN. biblioth. Orient.  
vol. i. p. 359 — 385.

last driven to that extremity, that he forced his horse into the sea, and lost both his crown and life together. According to *Abmed Ebn Yusef* above-mentioned, he reigned sixty-six years, which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by *Al Jannabius*. The *Najashi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, after this, established the Christian religion in *Yaman*, and fixed upon the throne there,

45. ARYAT, an *Ethiopian*<sup>a</sup>.

Aryat.  
Abraha  
al Ash-  
gam.

46. ABRAHA EBN AL SABAH, surnamed *Al Asfram*, i. e. the *Slit-nosed*, from a slash in the face, where he had formerly received a wound, was the second *Ethiopian* king, or rather viceroy to the *Najashi*, in *Yaman*. He was stiled the *Lord of the elephant*; the reason of which appellation appears from the following story, handed down to us by the commentators upon the *Koran*. *Abraha* built a magnificent church for the Christians in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, with a design to draw the *Arabs* to go in pilgrimage thither, instead of visiting *Mecca*, as they before had done; which he imagined would greatly contribute towards their conversion to Christianity. For he doubted not abolishing paganism, could he destroy the veneration of the *Arabs* for the *Caaba*, by bringing them to a place more sumptuous and grand, and which would more strongly attract their curiosity, and gradually excite their devotion. This had soon such an effect, that the devotion and concourse of the pilgrims at the *Caaba* began considerably to diminish; which being observed by the *Koreish*, who were superstitiously fond of that place, they sent one *Nofail*, as he is named by some, of the tribe of *Kenanah*, to offer an indignity to the Christian church at *Sanaa*, in order to lessen that religious regard, which the *Arabs* began to have for it. *Nofail* therefore, getting into it by night, upon a solemn festival, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements; and, making his escape by favour of the night, published every-where what he had done. At this profanation *Abraha*, being highly incensed, vowed the destruction of the *Caaba*, and to that end assembled a considerable body of forces, wherein were several elephants, which he had obtained of the king of *Ethiopia*, their number being, as some say, thirteen; though others mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards *Mecca*. The *Meccans*, unable to defend their temple and city, and terrified at *Abraha's* approach, particularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been seen in *Arabia*, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they intrenched them-

<sup>a</sup> ABULFEDA, AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL JANNABIUS. PRIDEAUX'S life of Mahom. p. 61. selves.

selves. But GOD HIMSELF, at this juncture, interposed in an extraordinary manner. For, when the *Ethiopian* drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, being a large one, and named *Mahmud*, refused to advance any nearer to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise, and march briskly enough, if they turned him towards any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both by reason of his size and whiteness, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him, so that *Abraha* could not so much as reconnoitre the town. The *Meccans*, observing this from their retrenchment, were at a loss to what to attribute so unexpected a motion, believing that the enemy were going to return home. In the meantime, whilst matters were in this situation, a large flock of birds, called *Ababil*, like swallows, came flying on a sudden from the sea-coast, every one of which carried three stones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle size betwixt a small lentil and a vetch, but so ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets and bodies of men, and even, according to some, the elephants likewise, which they threw down upon *Abraha*'s soldiers, certainly killing every one they struck. Then GOD sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies, and some of them, who had not been struck by the stones, into the sea: the rest fled towards *Yaman*, but perished by the way, none of them reaching *Sanaa*, except only *Abraha* himself, who died soon after his arrival there, being struck with a sort of plague, or putrefaction, so that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal! It is said, that one of *Abraha*'s army, named *Abu Yafur*, or, according to others, *Abraha* himself, escaped over the Red Sea into *Ethiopia*, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical story. Upon which, that prince asked him what sort of birds they were, that had occasioned such a destruction; in answer to which question he pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head; which he had no sooner done, than the bird let fall the stone, and laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers say, that the names of all the persons to be destroyed were inscribed on the stones that destroyed them; that this flock of birds consisted of two sorts, one whose feathers were black, and bill white; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and that they threw all their stones at once upon the *Ethiopians*. This memorable event, according to the *Mohammedans*, is said to have happened in the time of *Abd al Motalleb*, the

grandfather of *Mohammed*, and the very year in which that impostor was born<sup>b</sup>.

THAT this piece of history has all the air of one of those fictions, with which the *Arab* writings in general, and the *Koran* in particular, abound, will be readily acknowledg'd by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. *Prideaux*, rather take the fact therein asserted to be a creature of *Mohammed's* brain, than a feat of evil spirits, as is suggested by *Marracci*; and yet, supposing it a real fact, we see no absurdity in this last notion. The very learned Mr. *Sale*, to our no small surprize, is of opinion, that this ridiculous story (for so we cannot help terming it) is not without some foundation, since "it seems to him, that there was something "extraordinary in the matter." The reasons he alleges in support of this opinion, are the two following: 1. The event is said to have happened not above fifty-four years before the pretended revelation mentioning it was made; and therefore, had it been a fiction, several living witnesses could have disproved it; which we find was never done, and consequently may presume, that the reality of this remarkable action could not be denied. 2. *Mohammed* had no occasion to coin a miracle to gain the temple of *Mecca* any greater veneration, the people of *Mecca* being already so religiously attached to it, that he was obliged, contrary to his original plan, to make it the chief place of his new-invented worship. In answer to the first reason, it will be sufficient to observe, that, according to Mr. *Sale* himself, after *Abu Beqr* had vouch'd for *Mohammed's* veracity, in the twelfth year of his mission, which falls within the time mentioned, his disciples were ready to swallow whatever he was pleased to impose upon them; that the story, as told in the *Koran*, is supposed a revelation, and therefore might only describe the supernatural unknown cause of a noted defeat; that Mr. *Sale* himself allows the thing might be worked up into a miracle, at which, it must be owned, none of the preceding *Arabs* had so excellent a knack as *Mohammed*; and, lastly, that the same turn and genius appear in this, as in the most extravagant absurdities of that impostor. To the second reason it

<sup>b</sup> Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 105. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALAN. AL CESHAF, ABULFED. hist. Gen. AL JANNAB. AHMET ERN YUSEF, EBNO'L ATHIR apud Abulfed. AL GJUZIUS, in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. c. 78. KHONDEMIR, HOUSSAIN VAEZ com. in Al-Kor. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. Abraba. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 61. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM, ubi supra, p. 64.

may be replied, that we are under no necessity to allow, tho' Dr. *Prideaux* supposes it, that the gaining a veneration to the *Cuaba* amongst the pagan *Arabs* was the motive to the forging such a story. On the contrary, that could not possibly have been the motive, because, as Mr. *Sale* rightly observes, the *Meccans*, or pagan *Arabs*, held their temple in the highest veneration at the time this pretended revelation happened. But, notwithstanding this, *Mohammed* might coin a miracle, either to draw the Christian *Arabs* to *Mecca*, and make them converts to his religion, or to render them odious to all the other *Arabs*; which, from the whole tenor of the story, appears to have been his design. But, as what Mr. *Sale* has offered on this occasion seems rather to proceed from a desire of shewing some disrespect to Dr. *Prideaux*, on account of his attachment to religion in general, than a full persuasion of the truth of what he seems to advance, we shall offer nothing farther on this head, but immediately resume the thread of our history <sup>c</sup>.

47. *YACSUM*, the son of *Abraba*, succeeded him; but we find *Yacsum*, nothing remarkable related of him by any antient historians <sup>d</sup>.

48. *MASRUK*, another son of *Abraba*, and the last of the *Masruk*. *Ethiopian* princes in *Yaman*, came to the throne after *Yacsum*. The *Ethiopians*, according to some eastern writers, occupied the kingdom of *Hamyar* about seventy-two years <sup>e</sup>.

49. *SEIF EBN DHU YAZAN*, of the old royal family of *Seif Ebn Hamyar*, having obtained succours of *Khosru Anushirwan*, *Dhu Yazan*, King of *Perse*, which had been denied him by the emperor *Heraclius*, recovered the throne, and drove out the *Ethiopians*; but was himself slain by some of them, who were left behind. The *Perseians* appointed the succeeding princes, *Wahzar*, *Marzaban*, *Siban*, *Jorjis* or *Georgius*, and *Bazan*, till *Yaman* fell into the hands of *Mohammed*, to whom *Bazan*, or rather *Badhan*, the last of them, submitted, and embraced his new religion. This induced *Mohammed* to give *Shabr*, the son of *Bazan*, part of his father's dominions <sup>f</sup>.

THUS stands the series of the kings of *Hamyar*, which we will be more perfect. The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of *Hamyar*, were stiled *Al Kail*, and the governors of provinces *Al Makawil*. According to *Abulfeda*, this monarchy continued 2020 years, or above 3000, if we will believe *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf*, and *Al Jannabius*. The length

<sup>c</sup> *SALE*'s translation of the *Koran*, c. cv. p. 501, 502. & not. *PRID.* ubi supra, & seq. *LUDOVICUS MARRACCUS*, in refut. *Alcoran*. p. 823. *Patavii*, 1698. <sup>d</sup> *POCOCK.* ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> *AL JANABIUS*. <sup>f</sup> *POCOCK.* ubi supra, p. 61, 65. *AHMED EBN YUSEF*, ibid.

of the reign of each prince must be allowed to be very uncertain. The history of the kings of Hamyar, surnamed *Tobba* or *Tobbai*, which the *Arabs* pronounce *Tababéah*, and *Tubbaïah*, has been written by *Shahabeddin Ahmed Ebn Abdalwahab*, *Al Bekri*, *Al Teimi*, *Al Kendi*, surnamed *Nouairi*, author of an universal history, which he dedicated to *Nasser Mohammed Ebn Calaoun*, Sultan of the *Mamalukes*. For an account of this work, we must refer our readers to M. *D'Herbelot*. *Nouairi* died in the year of the *Hejra* 732 <sup>s</sup>.

*The inundation of Al Arem.* IT has been already observed, that *Saba* made a vast mound or dam, to serve as a basin or reservoir, to supply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it constantly received from the mountains, as also to keep the country his predecessors had subdued in greater awe, by rendering him master of the water. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by the *Sabæans* esteemed so strong, that they were under no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of them had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length God, being highly displeased at their pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is stiled in the *Koran* the *inundation of AL AREM*, and occasioned so terrible a destruction, that from thence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion, that *they were gone and scattered like Saba*. *Al Bedawi* supposes the aforesaid mound to have been the work of queen *Balkis*, and that the above-mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of JESUS CHRIST. But both these notions run counter to the most received opinion, which attributes the building of AL AREM to *Saba*, and fixes its destruction about the time of *Alexander the Great*. Be that as it will, no less than eight tribes, to wit, those of *Annar*, *Jodham*, *Al Azd*, *Tay*, *Khuzaab*, *Banu Amela*, &c. were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occa-

<sup>s</sup> *AL JAUHARIUS*, *ABULFEDA*, *AL FIRAUZABADIUS*. Vide etiam *AHMED EBN YUSEF*, & *AL JANNABIUM*, apud *Pocockium*, ubi supra, p. 62, 63. *D'HERBEL*. in voc. *Nouairi*, p. 674, 675. & voc. *Tobba*, p. 889.

sion, some of which gave rise to the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghassan*<sup>b</sup> (C).

THE kingdom of *Hira* was founded by *Malec*, a descendant of *Cablan*, in *Chaldea* or *Irak*; but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the *Lakhmians*. These princes, whose general name was *Mondar*, preserved their dominion of *Hira*, notwithstanding some small interruption by the *Persians*, till the khalifat of *Abubecr*, when *Al Mondar Magbrur*, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walid*. The kingdom of the *Mondars*, supposed to be the descendants of *Nadar Ebn Rabia*, continued, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, six hundred twenty-two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of *Perse*, whose lieutenants they were over the *Arabs* of *Irak*, as the kings of *Ghassan* were for the *Roman* emperors over those of *Syria*. The *Lakhmians* were descended from *Lakhm* the son of *Amru*, the son of *Saba*. If the kingdom of the *Lakhmians* or *Mondars* was not of any longer duration than six hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, *Al Beidawi* seems not to be much mistaken, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of Christ, notwithstanding the authority of those who carry it above three centuries higher. This space was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the best *Oriental* historians<sup>i</sup>.

1. *MALEC*, who, say some of the eastern writers, flourished Malec. in the time of the kings of the provinces, that is, of the governors *Alexander the Great* appointed to preside over the provinces of *Perse*<sup>k</sup>.

2. *AMRU*, Malec's brother<sup>l</sup>.

*Amru.*

3. *JODAIMAH*, the son of *Malec*, surnamed *Al Abraß*, Jodaimah, who first used among the *Arabs* that military engine called a *balista*. He defeated *Amru*, an *Arab* prince of the tribe of

<sup>b</sup> *Goli notæ ad Alfraganum*, p. 87. *Geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 6. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. 34. AL BEIDAWI. JALLAL. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42. 45. 66. Poc. ubi supra, p. 66. 74. PROCOP. in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BEIDAWI, &c.* <sup>i</sup> *Poc. ubi supra, p. 66.* <sup>l</sup> *Idem ibid.*

(C) At this time likewise probably happened the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into *Mesopotamia* by three different chiefs, *Ber*, *Mo-* *dar*, and *Rabia*; from whence the three provinces of that country are still named *Diyar Ber*, *Diyar Madar*, and *Diyar Rabia* (3).

*Amalek*, who reigned in *Mesopotamia*, and put him to the sword ; but was afterwards himself assassinated, by the contrivance of *Zoba*, *Amru's* daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured <sup>m</sup>.

**Amru.**

4. **AMRU**, the son of *Ad* and *Rakab* the sister of *Jodaimah*, by the assistance of one *Kofair*, who had been servant to *Jodaimah*, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following stratagem : *Kofair*, at his own desire, had his ears cut off, and was whipped in a most cruel manner, by *Amru's* order ; after which he fled to *Zoba*, making the heaviest complaints of the inhuman treatment he had met with. By this means he soon became a confidant of *Zoba*, who permitted him to convey into her castle some large chests, full, as was given out, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately dispatched her. The memory of *Amru* is still preserved amongst the *Arabs* by several proverbs, which particularly allude to him <sup>n</sup>.

**Amrio'l Kais.**

5. **AMRIO'L KAIS**, the son of *Amru*, surnamed *Albada*, succeeded his father <sup>o</sup>.

**Amru.**

6. **AMRU**, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, flourished in the time of *Sabur*, or *Supr*, *Dil Actaf*, king of *Persia*. This *Persian* monarch, whose surname imports as much, according to *Abulfeda*, cut off the shoulders of all the *Arabs* he took prisoners, in a war he had with that nation. His mother's name was *Mary*, whose ear-rings occasioned a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. If this piece of history may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what *Al Beidawi* has advanced in relation to the time when the inundation of *AL AREM* happened <sup>p</sup>.

**Aus.**

7. **AUS**, the son of *Kalam*, an *Amalekite* <sup>q</sup>.

**An anonymous king.**

8. ANOTHER *Amalekite* prince, whose name is not known, succeeded *Aus* ; after whose decease the crown reverted to the family of the *Lakhmians*, after an interruption of two descents <sup>r</sup>.

**Amrio'l Kais.**

9. **AMRIO'L KAIS**, the son of *Amru*, next ascended the throne. He was surnamed *Alnobrek*, or the *Burner*, because he first tortured criminals with fire <sup>s</sup>.

**Al Nooman.**

10. **AL NOOMAN**, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, surnamed *Alawar*, or the *Blinkard*, who, when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, saying, *Il bat* signifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end ? *Al Nooman* built those castles or towers called *Khaou-*

<sup>m</sup> MOHAMMEDES AL FIRAUZABADIUS, AL JANNABIUS, AHMED EBEN YUSEF.   <sup>n</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 67, 68.   <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.   <sup>p</sup> ABULFEDA. AL BEIDAWI.   <sup>q</sup> POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 68.   <sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.   <sup>s</sup> Idem ibid.

*arnak* and *Al Sadir*, so celebrated by the *Arab* poets and proverbs. *Senemmar*, the builder of *Khaouarnak*, was thrown headlong from thence by *Al Nooman's* order; which gave occasion to the proverb, *The reward of Senemmar*. We are told, that *Al Nooman* became a convert to the Christian religion, and, in consequence thereof, thought fit to resign the reins of government to his son *Hendu*, as just hinted. *Jezdegerd*, king of *Persia*, committed the care of his son's education, and the establishment of his constitution, to *Al Nooman*, who was afterwards very instrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his ancestors. The cause of *Senemmar's* tragical end, and all the other remarkable particulars relating to the reign of the prince we are now upon, our readers will find an ample account of in the history of the *Perians* <sup>t</sup>.

11. *AL MONDAR EBN NOOMAH*, the *Hendu* of the *Al Mondar* Persian historians, attended *Baharam*, the son of *Jezdegerd*, *dar Ebn* into *Persia*, with an army of 40000 men, to enable him *Noomah*, to dethrone one *Kersa*, an usurper whom the *Magi* had elected king. The success and particulars of this expedition have been already related at large in that part of this work to which they most properly belong <sup>u</sup>.

12. *AL ASWAD*, son to *Al Mondar*, overthrew the king *Al Aswad* of *Ghaffan*, and took many of his relations prisoners, according to some of the Oriental historians; but *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* relates, that the king of *Ghaffan* prevailed against him, and slew him, after a short reign <sup>v</sup>.

13. He was succeeded by his brother *Al Mondar*, whose *An anonymous* true name has not reached us. It is probable, nothing of *mosus* king. moment happened whilst this prince sat on the throne, since the eastern writers say little of him <sup>x</sup>.

14. *AL KAMAH*, successor to the last king, was styled *Al Kamah*, *Al Damyali*, from the family of *Damyal*, of which he was *mah*, a member. All the transactions that happened during his reign, are likewise buried in oblivion <sup>y</sup>.

15. *AMRIO'L KAIS*, the son of *Nooman*, the son of *Am- Amrio'l ryo'l Kais al Mohrek*, next swayed the sceptre of *Hira*. *Ab- Kais, the med.* *Ebn Yusef* asserts, that it was he who threw *Senemmar* son of headlong from the top of the castle of *Khaouarnak*, with *Nooman*, whom agree herein *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannabius* <sup>z</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> *AL FIRAUZABADIUS, SAFIODIN, AL MEIDAN, LEBTARIKH, MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, &c.* Vide etiam Univ. hist. vol. xi. p. 162, 163. <sup>u</sup> *LEBTARIKH, MIRKH, KHONDEM, ubi supra. Univ. hist. ubi supra.* <sup>v</sup> *AHMED EBN YUSEF.* <sup>x</sup> *POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 69.* <sup>y</sup> *Idem ibid.* <sup>z</sup> *AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABULFEDA, & AL JANNABIUS.*

Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

16. AL MONDAR, the son of the last king, and *Mariyah* the daughter of *A.s.*, a lady of such transcendent beauty, that she was called *Maiffamai*, i. e. water of heaven, governed after his father in *Hira*. From his mother he and his posterity were likewise surnamed *Al Mondar Ebn Maiffamai*; which appellation they had in common with the kings of *Ghaffan*, according to *Al Jauharius*. For these last princes were so denominated from *Abu Amer*, of the tribe of *Azd*, the father of *Amru Mazikia*, who, by his surprising liberality and beneficence, supplied the want of rain, furnishing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it so dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was deposed by *Khosru Kobad*, king of *Persia* <sup>a</sup>.

Al Hareth.

17. AL HARETH EBN AMRU, of the tribe of *Kenda*, was placed on the throne of *Hira* by *Khosru Kobad*, in the room of *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais*, whom he had deposed. However, *Kobad's* son and successor *Anushirwan*, surnamed the *Just*, in whose reign *Mohammed* was born, restored the lawful king to his dominions, and drove away the usurper *Al Hareth Ebn Anru*. *Kobad* embraced the tenets of an impostor called *Mazdak*, who pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were descended from the same common parents; and in most points agreed with *Manes*. By rendering wealth and women common, he proposed taking away the lust of both; from whence, he intimated, generally arose the feuds, quarrels, and animosities, that disturbed the repose and tranquillity of mankind. Such a doctrine well suiting the disposition of *Kobad*, he not only professed himself a convert to *Mazdak's* religion, but likewise obliged all his dependents to do the same; and therefore, when *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais* refused this, he stripped him of his dominions, and appointed *Al Hareth*, who had declared himself a zealous follower of *Mazdak*, to preside over them in his stead. But *Anushirwan*, called *Nouschirwan* by the *Persian* historians, in consequence of a vow he had made before his accession, restored the *Mondar* family to the throne of *Hira*, put *Mazdak* to death, and abolished the profession of his impious opinions. It is said, when *Mazdak* knew his fate, he told *Anushirwan*, that God had raised him to the throne of *Persia* to protect his subjects, and not to destroy them. To which that monarch answered, True, abandoned villain; but dost thou not remember, that with the utmost difficulty, even by kissing thy loathsome feet, I prevailed upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at thy impudent request, had given thee a permission to

<sup>a</sup> AL JAUNARIUS.

*to do?* Yes, replied *Mazdak*. Upon which, the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and established once more amongst his subjects the ancient *Magian* religion <sup>b</sup>.

18. AL MONDAR EBN AMRIO'L KAIS was succeeded Al Mondar by his son *Al Mondar*, styled, according to *Al Jauharius*, *dar*, *Ebn Modret ol' Hajarab*, from his surprising strength, and unparalleled bravery. Other authors, from his mother *Henda*, *Kais*, *Ebn* give him the surname of *Ebn Henda*. In the eighth year of Nooman, his reign the false prophet *Mohammed* was born <sup>c</sup>.

19. KABUS, the brother of *Amru*, comes next, of whom *Kabus* we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eastern writers <sup>d</sup>.

20. AL MONDAR, brother to the former prince, succeeded *His brother*, *Al Mondar*, *Al Nooman Abu Kabes*.

21. AL NOOMAN, surnamed *Abu Kabus*, was the twenty-first king of *Hira*, and became a convert to Christianity on the following occasion : In a drunken fit he had ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done ; and, to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the *day of sorrow or mourning*, and the other the *day of mirth or gladness*. Then he made it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day, should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument ; but that he, who met him on the other day, should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Tay*, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the *Arabs* religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loss they were to sustain, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the *Arab* was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the *Arab*, the king, not at

<sup>b</sup> ABULFED. in vit. *Anushirwan*. SHARESTAN. apud POCOCKIUM, ubi supra, p. 70. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ibid. p. 71. MIRKH. KHOND. & Univ. hist. vol. xi. p. 176, 177. <sup>c</sup> AL JAUHARIUS. <sup>d</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 72. <sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to be brought out to execution. Those who were by, represented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening : but in the middle of their discourse the *Arab* appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for so doing. To which he answered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed ; and, *Al Nooman* demanding what religion that was, he replied, The Christian. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized, together with all his subjects ; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom. This prince, however, was not the first king of *Hira* who professed himself a convert to the Christian religion : *Al Mondar*, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, his grandfather, declared himself a Christian, and built large churches in his capital. As *Al Nooman* took a particular delight in tulips, and would not permit them to grow in all gardens, the *Arabs*, from him, call them the *variegated flowers of Al Nooman*. After a reign of twenty-two years, *Al Nooman* was slain by *Khosru Parwiz*, by whom the kingdom of *Hira* was translated from the family of the *Lakhmians* to *Ayas* the *Tayitic*<sup>1</sup>.

*Ayas.* 22. MOHAMMED's mission commenced in the sixth month of *Ayas's* reign <sup>2</sup>.

*Zadawaih* 23. ZADAWAIH, the son of *Mahan* of *Hamadan*, succeeded *Ayas*<sup>3</sup>.

*Al Mon-* 24. AL MONDAR, EBN NOOMAN, EBN MONDAR, EBN MON-  
*dar.* EBN MAIFFAMAI, surnamed AL MAGHRUR, governed *Hira*,  
EBN NOO- from the death of *Zadawaih* to the conquest of the kingdom  
man. of *Hira* by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walid*. The four  
EBN MON- royal families of *Persia*, governing that kingdom before this  
dar. period, were the *Pisidian*, the *Caianian*, the *Afghanian*,  
EBN MON- and that of *Khosru* ; which, as *Hira* was a state dependent  
dar. on the *Perians*, we thought not improper to be observed<sup>4</sup>.

EBN MAIF- THE kingdom of *Ghaffan*, as well as that of *Hira*, owed  
SAMAI. its origin to the inundation of *Al Arem*. The founders of  
AL MAGH- this kingdom were of the tribe of *Azd*, who, according to  
RUR. some, settling in *Syria Damascena*, near a water called *Ghaffan*,

<sup>f</sup> AL MEIDANI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABULFED. &c. Vide etiam SALE, ubi supra, p. 23, 24. <sup>g</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 73, 74.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>i</sup> PROCOPIUS de bell. Perf. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNAB. ABULFED. AL-FIRAUZABA-DIUS, & POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 74, 75.

hence took their name ; though others make them to have *The king-*  
gone under this appellation before they left *Yaman*. Having *dom* of  
driven out the *Dajaamian Arabs*, of the tribe of *Sulib*, who *Ghaffan*,  
before possessed the country, they made themselves masters  
of a very considerable territory. Here they maintained their  
kingdom four hundred years ; as others say, six hundred ; or,  
as *Abulfeda* more exactly computes, six hundred and sixteen.  
If *Ghaffan* was their name prior to this migration, they prob-  
ably were the *Cassanitæ* of *Ptolemy*. Be that as it will, five  
of the kings of *Ghaffan* were named *Hareth*, which the  
*Greeks* and *Latinis* wrote *Aretas* ; and one of them it was,  
whose governor ordered the gates of *Damascus* to be watched  
to take St. *Paul*. Dr. *Pocock* gives us the following list of the  
kings of *Ghaffan*, extracted from the *Oriental* historians <sup>k</sup>.

1. JAFNAH EBN AMRU, *Ebn Thaalibah*, *Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Jafnah*.

*Mazikia*, to whom, after the excision of the royal family of  
*Salib*, the *Kodaenfian Arabs*, and the *Greeks* in *Syria Dama-*  
*scena*, submitted themselves.

2. AMRU, the son of *Jafnah*, who is said to have built *Amru*,  
many monasteries in *Syria*.

3. AMRU, the son of <i>Thaalibah</i> .	Amru.
4. AL HARETH, or <i>Aretas</i> , the son of <i>Thaalibah</i> .	Al Hareth
5. JABALAH, the son of <i>Al Hareth</i> .	Jabalah.
6. AL HARETH, the son of <i>Jabalah</i> .	Al Hareth
7. AL MONDAR AL ACBAR, that is, <i>the Great</i> , the son of <i>Al Hareth</i> .	Al Mondar.
8. AL NOOMAN, the brother of <i>Al Mondar</i> .	Al Nooman.
9. JABALAH, the brother of <i>Al Nooman</i> .	Jabalah.
10. AL AYHAM, brother to the last two princes.	Al Ayham
11. AMRU, who was brother to his three last predecessors.	Amru.
12. JAFNAH, surnamed <i>Al Asgar</i> , the son of <i>Mondar Al Acbar</i> , who set the city of <i>Hira</i> on fire ; whence his posterity were said to be of the family of <i>the Incendiary</i> .	Jafnah Al Asgar.
13. AL NOOMAN AL ASGAR, brother to <i>Jafnah</i> .	Al Nooman.
14. AL NOOMAN, <i>Ebn Amru</i> , <i>Ebn Mondar</i> .	Al Nooman.
15. JABALAH, <i>Ebn Nooman</i> , who waged war with <i>Al Mondar Ebn Maissamai</i> .	Jabalah.
16. AL NOOMAN, the son of <i>Al Ayham</i> .	Al Nooman.
17. AL HARETH, brother to <i>Al Nooman Ebn al Ayham</i> .	Al Hareth.
18. AL NOOMAN, the son of <i>Al Hareth</i> .	Al Nooman.
19. AL MONDAR, the son of <i>Al Nooman</i> .	Al Mondar.
20. AMRU, <i>Al Mondar's</i> brother.	Amru.
21. HAJAR, brother to <i>Al Mondar</i> and <i>Amru</i> .	Hajar.
22. AL HARETH, the son of <i>Hajar</i> .	Al Hareth

<sup>k</sup> *Al. BEIDAWI*. *Pock*, not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42. 45. 66. 75.

- Jabalah. 23. JABALAH, the son of *Al Hareth*.  
 AlHareth 24. AL HARETH, the son of *Jabalab*.  
 Al Noo- 25. AL NOOMAN, the son of *Al Hareth*, who is called  
 man. by some eastern writers *Abu Carb*, and *Kotam*.  
 AlAyham 26. AL AYHAM, the son of *Jabalab*, who was likewise  
 lord of *Tadmor*.  
 Al Mondar. 27. AL MONDAR, brother to *Al Ayham*.  
 Sharahil. 28. SHARAHIL, brother to the two last princes.  
 Amru. 29. AMRU, another of their brothers.  
 Jabalah. 30. JABALAH, *Ebn a' Hareth*, *Ebn Jabalah*.  
 Jabalah. 31. JABALAH, the son of *Al Ayham*, and the last of the  
 kings of *Ghaffan*, who, on the great successes of the *Arabs* in  
*Syria*, under the khalif *Omar*, professed *Mohammedism*; but,  
 recieving afterwards a disgust from him, returned to his  
 former faith, and retired to *Constantinople*. As in the regal  
 line of *Hamyar*, *Hijaz*, and *Kenda*, we find the name of  
*Hareth*, or *Al Hareth*, we think Scaliger had some colour of  
 reason, when he asserted this to be a general name amongst  
 the *Arab* emirs or phylarchs, though Dr. Pocock is of another  
 opinion. The scholiast on the poem of *Ebn Abduni* differs  
 something from *Abulfeda* in his account of the kings of *Hira*.  
 For he tells us, that *Al Hareth Ebn Anru*, *Ebn Amer*, *Ebn*  
*Hareth*, *Ebn Amrio'l Kais*, *Ebn Mazen*, *Ebn Al Azd*, sur-  
 named *Ebn Abi Shamer*, w<sup>s</sup> the first king; and that the  
 whole series of these princes contained thirty-seven kings, the  
 last of which was *Jabalab*, who embraced Christianity in the  
 khalifat of *Omar*. If we admit this, and that St. Paul was  
 at *Damascus A. C. 34.* as *Calvisius* will have it, the *Aretas*  
 mentioned by that apostle was in all likelihood one of the  
 most antient kings of *Ghaffan* (D), and probably the first of  
 them. From whence it will follow, that *Al Beidawi* has  
 proba-

(D) In opposition to this it may be urged, that we find several princes called *Aretas*, kings of the *Arab*, seated in *Syria*, or, at least, near the frontiers of that country, mentioned in the *Macabees*, as likewise in *Josephus*, before the period here hinted at. But to this it may be replied, that these princes might preside over the *Dajaman Arabi*, expelled by those of the tribe of *Azd* above-mentioned, or reign in *Arabia Petrae* and *Deserta*, especially if we admit *Hareth* to have been a general name amongst the *Arab* emirs or phylarchs. And, in support of the last notion, it may be observed, that *Petra* was the metropolis of the *Aretan* princes mentioned by *Josephus*. But we leave our readers to determine for themselves, in relation to the commencement of the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghaffan*. The transactions specified in the passages here referred to, in which the *Arabs*

probability on his side, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of Christ; since the kingdom of *Ghaffan* commenced immediately after that inundation. And some sort of sanction is given to this notion even by *Abulfeda* himself, when he intimates, that *Amru* the son of *Jafnah*, the second king of *Hira*, founded many monasteries in Syria. Be that as it will, had the Arab historians not been so defective in point of chronology, their works would have been much more valuable, and deserved a much greater degree of credit, than at present the learned are willing to allow them<sup>1</sup>.

IT has been already observed, that *Jorham*, the son of *Kahtan*, founded the kingdom of *Hejaz*, where princes of *The king-his line* reigned till the time of *Ishmael*, who married the *daughter of Modad*, one of those princes. Some authors relate, that *Kidar*, one of *Ishmael's* sons, had the crown resigned to him by his uncles the *Jorhamites*; but, according to others, the descendants of *Ishmael* expelled that tribe, who, retiring to *Johainah*, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of *Hejaz*, taken from Dr. *Pocock*, is the best that has been hitherto exhibited to the public<sup>m</sup>.

1. JORHAM,	the brother of <i>Yuarab</i> .	Jorham.
2. ABD YALIL,	the son of <i>Jorham</i> .	Abd Yalil.
3. JORSHAM,	the son of <i>Abd Yalil</i> .	Jorsham.
4. ABDO'L MADAN,	the son of <i>Jorsham</i> .	Abdo'l Ma- dan.
5. NOGAILAH,	the son of <i>Abdo'l Madan</i> .	Nogailah.
6. ABDO'L MASIH,	the son of <i>Nogailah</i> .	Abdo'l Masih
7. MODAD,	the son of <i>Abdo'l Masih</i> .	Modad.
8. AMRU,	the son of <i>Modad</i> .	Amru.
9. AL HARETH,	brother to <i>Amru</i> .	Al Hareth
10. AMRU,	the son of <i>Al Hareth</i> .	Amru.
11. BASHER,	brother to <i>Amru</i> .	Basher.
12. MODAD,	the son of <i>Amru</i> , the son of <i>Modad</i> .	Modad.
13. ——	<i>Anonym.</i>	Anonym.

<sup>1</sup> SCALIG. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 77. ut & ipse POCOCK. ibid. & p. 78. ABULFED. scholiast. in poem. Ebn Abduni. <sup>2</sup> Cor. c. xi. ver. 32. SETH. CALVIS. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 78. AL BEIDAWI. See also S. LE's notes on the *Koran*, p. 354. & OCKLEY's hist. of the *Saracens*, vol. i. p. 174. <sup>m</sup> AL-JANNABIUS. Poc. ubi supra, p. 38. 78, 79. Vide etiam SALE's prelim. disc. p. 11, 12.

Arabs were concerned, our readers will find an account of in the history of the *Jesus*, to which they properly belong (4).

(4) 1 Macab. c. v. ver. 39. c. xi. ver. 16, 37. c. xii. ver. 31. 2 Macab. c. v. ver. 8. c. xii. ver. 10, &c. Joseph. antiqu. Jud. l. xiv. c. 2. l. xvi. c. 9, 10. l. xvii. c. 3. de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 7. & alib. Univers. hist. vol. x. p. 354. 365. 367. 536 (O), & alib.

Kidar.

*Form of  
govern-  
ment in  
Hejaz.*

14. KIDAR, the son of *Ishmael*, whose mother, according to the Oriental historians, was of the house of *Jorham*.

AFTER the expulsion of the *Jorhamites*, the government of *Hejaz* seems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes ; almost in the same manner as the *Arabs* of the desert are governed at this day. The tribe of *Khozaah*, descended from *Cablan*, the son of *Saba*, after the inundation of *All Arem*, fled into the kingdom of *Hejaz*, and settled themselves in a valley called *Marri*, near *Mecca* ; in which territory they founded an aristocracy, assuming to themselves both the government of the city of *Mecca*, and the custody of the *Caaba* or temple there. Their name they derived from their being *cut off*, or *separated from*, the other tribes of *Yaman* by the accident above-mentioned. They continued masters of the city and territory of *Mecca*, as well as presidents of the *Caaba*, for several ages ; till at length one *Kosa* (E), of the tribe of *Koreish*, circumvented *Abu Gabshan*, a weak and silly man, of whom, while in a drunken humour, he bought the keys and custody of the *Caaba*, for a bottle of wine. But when *Abu Gabshan* grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he sufficiently repented of his imprudence ; whence the proverbs of the *Arabs* : *More vexed with late repentance than Abu Gabshan* ; *More foolish than Abu Gabshan* : which are applied to those persons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards sorry for what they have done. The tribe of *Khozaah* endeavoured afterwards to give some disturbance to the *Koreish* in the possession of what *Kosa* had purchased ; which

(E) *Kosa* was the son of *Kelab*, who first gave the months of the year those names by which the *Arabs* ever since have called them, even to this day. The antient names were *Mutemer*, *Nagir*, *Chavan*, *Savan*, *Ritma*, *Ida*, *Asam*, *Adil*, *Natil*, *Vail*, *Varna*, and *Burec*. The present names *Kelab* derived from some contingencies that happened in the months to which they are applied ; which names, receiving a sanction from *Mohammed's* authority, who made them one of the distinguishing marks of his

followers, have been continued ever since they were first imposed. The *Arabs* had antiently four sacred months, in which they could not carry on any war, especially among themselves. Something of this kind was observed among the *Greeks* ; since, according to *Pausanias*, they had always a respite from war, during the time of the celebration of the *Olympic* games. Some authors intimate, that the antient *Arabs* abstained from war only in that month which is at present called *Muharrem* or *Mobarrem* (5).

(5) *Goli rotæ ad Afraganum*, p. 3, 4, 5. *Cazzinii in lib. de admirandis creatar. rer. Albedensis apud Pocockium*, ubi sup. p. 272, 273, 274. *Taubar. in ciblaur. iug. Arab. Ps. 25. p. 293.* *Vid. etiam Melchiorum & Novairium, apud Gol. ubi sup.*

furnished the latter with an opportunity of divesting the former of the civil government of *Mecca*. Notwithstanding what has been said, it is not certain, whether the tribe of *Khozaah* were the descendants of *Ishmael* or *Joktan*. We find *Amru*, one of their kings, a descendant of *Cahlan*, frequently mentioned by the *Arab* historians; but, as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his son *Caab*, we shall take no further notice of them. After the *Koreisb* had professed themselves of *Mecca*, they kept up there the same form of government that before had prevailed <sup>a</sup>.

BESIDES the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were some other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note. The tribe of *Kenda* in particular had several kings, of which the three following were the principal <sup>b</sup>:

1. *Hojr*, surnamed *Acelo'l Morar*, i. e. *the eater of Mo Hojr*, rar, a fruit of a bitter taste, on which camels feed. That surname was given him by his wife, who had an aversion to him, because his lips were so contracted, that they did not cover his teeth; which made him resemble a camel, when brouzing upon the aforesaid shrub. *Kenda*, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was also called *Thaur*. *Abulfeda* asserts, that before the time of *Hojr* the people of *Kenda* were without any kind of government, from whence many inconveniences ensued; which induced them to choose him for their king <sup>c</sup>.

2. *AMRU*, the son of *Hojr*, surnamed *Al Maksur*, i. e. *Amru contracted or confined*, because he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father <sup>d</sup>.

3. *AL HARETH*, the son of *Amru*, was by *Khosru Kobad Al Ha-* elevated to the throne of *Hira*, and deposed by *Anushirwan, reth*, for the reasons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to *Diyar Calb*, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. *Al Hareth* placed his son *Hojr* over the *Bani Asad*, and his other sons over other tribes. *Hojr* was the father of *Amrio'l Kais*, a celebrated poet. The *Bani Asad* endeavouring to take off *Hojr* by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and severity; which occasioned his meeting with a violent death. *Amrio'l Kais*, being apprised of this, assembled a body of forces out of the tribes of *Beqr* and *Taglab*, with which he defeated the *Bani Asad*. But afterwards, his troops being dispersed through the fear of *Al Mondar*, he found himself obliged to fly to the *Romans*,

<sup>a</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 42. 50. 342. ECHELENS. hist. Arab. p. i. c. 3. FORTAL. FIDEI, lib. iv. confid. 1. ABULFEDA. Vide etiam PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3, 4. <sup>b</sup> POCOCK. ubi sup. p. 79. 80. <sup>c</sup> ABULFEDA. AL-JAUHARIUS. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. <sup>d</sup> POCOCKIUS, ubi supra, p. 79.

in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home near *Ancyra*. Some authors say, that *Cæsar* gave him a poisoned garment, which was the cause of his death; but *Abulfeda* looks upon this as a downright fable, meriting no regard. To the kings of *Kenda* here mentioned we find one *Eln Omnil Kotam* added by *Al Firauzabadius*.

THE following princes also deserve a place here:

**Zohair.** 1. *ZOHAIR, EBNO'L HABAB*, who presided over the tribe of *Kelab*, and, by reason of his wonderful sagacity, was surnamed the *Wise*. He attained to a very old age, and died at last covered with glory. He invaded the *Bani Gafan* with a powerful army, because they pretended to build a temple in opposition to the *Caaba*, and entered into an alliance with *Abrahah al Abram*, styled *Master of the elephant*. Notwithstanding what has been said of him here, some authors intimate, that he came to his end by excessive drinking<sup>s</sup>.

**Colaib.** 2. *COLAIB EBN RABIAH* governed the *Bani Maad*, the *Saraceni Maudeni* of *Procopius*; and was so proud, that he would not suffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood, nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himself used. He was at last slain by one *Jaffas*, for shooting a camel named *Sarab*, that he found grazing on a prohibited spot of ground. This camel belonged to an *Arab*, who had been entertained by *Basus*, a near relation of *Jaffas*. The murder of *Ebn Rabiah* occasioned a forty years war; whence came the *Arab* proverbs: *A worse enemy than Sarab*; *More ominous than Basus*. It may not be improper here to observe, that the kings and chiefs of the *Arabs* generally forbade others to bring their flocks upon those places and pastures which they chose for themselves. In order to ascertain the limits of these pastures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they caused a dog to bark, and the sole extent of ground over which he could be heard, they appropriated to themselves<sup>t</sup> (F).

<sup>r</sup> *ABUFEZA* in vit. *Anushirwân*, & alib. *AL-FIRAUZABDIUS* apud *Pocockium*, ubi supra, p. 80. ut & ipse *Pocock*. *ibid.*  
<sup>s</sup> *Poc* ubi supra, p. 81. <sup>t</sup> *PROCOPIUS* de bell. Pers. c. 19, 20.  
*AL-JAUHAR*. *AL-FIRAUZABDI*. *EBNO'L ATHIR*. *POCOCKIUS* in *not. ad carmen Tograi*, p. 80. & ubi sup. p. 82.

(F) Though the flocks and herds of inferior people were absolutely prohibited coming into that spot of ground which was looked upon as the property of the prince, yet his flocks and herds might go into any of their pastures. *Mohammed* abolished this custom, and did not permit a spot of ground to be confined to the use of any particular animals, except horses that had served in wars carried on for the propagation of his religion, or camels consecrated to, and set apart for, sacred uses (6).

(6) *Poc. not. in carmen Tograi*, p. 81. & *not. ad spec. bijt. Arab.* p. 333.

3. MOHALHEL EBN RABIAH, brother to *Colaib*, formed *Mohalhel*, an army out of the families of *Taglab*, with which he carried on a long and bloody war, as hinted above, with those of *Betr*, in order to revenge his brother's death <sup>u</sup>.

4. ZOHAIR EBN JODAIMAH, who received a certain toll *Zohair*. or tribute from the *Arabs* that frequented the celebrated fair of *Ocadb* above-mentioned, was assassinated by one *Khaled*, who afterwards fled to *Al Nooman* king of *Hira*. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately murdered by one *Al Hareth*, who had pursued him, which occasioned long and bloody broils <sup>w</sup>.

5. KAIS, the son of *Zohair Ebn Jobaimah*, had two famous horses called *Dabes* and *Gabra*, which ran with two others, upon a challenge, belonging to one *Hadisa*, for a prize of an hundred camels. This event gave rise to that bloody war called by the *Arab* historians the war of *Dabes* and *Gabra*, which continued, without intermission, forty years. King *Kais*, in order to atone for so great an effusion of blood, is said to have embraced the *Christian* religion, and even entered upon the monastic state <sup>x</sup>.

THUS have we gone through the history of the antient *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, as far as it can be collected from the most noted of the *Arab* historians. But, in order to render that branch of this work we are now upon the more complete, we shall give a brief account of the principal transactions the antient *Arabs* were concerned in with the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, extracted from the most approved writers of the two last nations.

ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Sesostris*, that is, as *The Arabs* *Josephus* and Sir *Isaac Newton* will have it, *Sesac*, in his father's life-time, subdued Arabia. However, that the *Arabs* least for were never thoroughly subjugated, nor even long paid any *any long* sort of homage to the kings of *Egypt*, appears from hence, <sup>time, sub-</sup> that, according to the same author, *Sesac* himself was obliged <sup>jeet to the</sup> to draw a line from *Heliopolis* to *Pelusium*, in order to secure *Egyptians*. *Egypt* from the excursions of the *Arabs* and *Syrians*. The Scenite *Arabs* contiguous to *Palestine* and *Syria*, therefore, at least, must have been independent on that prince. Nor indeed can it be inferred from *Diodorus*, that he ever traversed *Arabia Felix*, though he had a fleet of four hundred sail upon the *Red Sea*; but only coasted it, or at farthest seized upon some of its maritim provinces in his voyage to *India*. As the word *Arabia* sometimes denotes only *Arabia Deserta*, at other times *Arabia Petrea*, and sometimes *Arabia Felix*, or a part of that country, in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninsula of the *Arabs* ever was, at least for any considerable

<sup>u</sup> *Poc. ubi sup. p. 82.*

<sup>w</sup> *Idem ibid.*

<sup>x</sup> *Idem ibid. p. 83.*

derable time, in a state of servitude to the *Egyptians*. But the contrary seems to appear, even from *Diodorus Siculus* himself, who gives us the most pompous account of the conquests of *Sesostris* and *Sesac* <sup>7</sup>.

*Neither the Medes, rians, Medes, nor Persians, could ever get any considerable footing among them.* We learn from the same author, that neither the *Affyrians*, *Medes*, *Rians*, *Medes*, nor *Persians*, could ever get any considerable footing among them. The *Persian* monarchs indeed, were their friends, and so far respected by them, as to have an annual present of frankincense: yet they could never make them tributary, and were so far from being their masters, that *Cambyses*, on his expedition against *Egypt*, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories. This we learn from *Herodotus*; nor does any other antient author, that we know of, contradict him herein <sup>2</sup>.

*They were not afraid of Alexander.* WHEN *Alexander the Great* had subdued the *Perisan* empire, notwithstanding his exorbitant power, the *Arabians* had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him, either first or last; which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a design against them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might possibly have convinced him, that he was not invincible. The happiness of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him to attempt the conquest of *Arabia*, in order to fix there his royal seat, after his return from his *Indian* expedition. But, according to *Strabo*, he had another motive likewise to this hazardous undertaking:

for, being informed, that the *Arabs* had only two divinities, *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, whom they worshiped, because they supplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewise desirous, that they should esteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deserve this, he proposed first to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full possession of their antient liberty and independency; which he believed would merit divine honours as much as the greatest benefaction. Full, therefore, of this scheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, composed of ships built in *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Babylonia*, to favour the operations of the land-forces. But death put an end to this, as well as all the other towering projects of that ambitious prince <sup>2</sup>.

*The Arabs cut in pieces a body of* ANTIGONUS, after the reduction of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, advanced into that part of *Arabia* bordering upon those countries, having entertained a notion, that the *Arabs* were not favourably disposed towards him. However, he did not for-

<sup>7</sup> DION. SIC. l. i. JOSEPH. in antiquit. NEWT. in chronol. aliquo script. plurim. pass. <sup>2</sup> DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. p. 131. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. 91. 97. <sup>3</sup> STRAB. l. xvi. ARRIAN. 161.

mally invade them, but detached *Athenaeus*, one of his cap-<sup>tains</sup> ~~troops sent~~<sup>us under-</sup>, with a body of four thousand foot, and six hundred *horse*, to ravage and lay waste the territories of the *Naba-thæans*. That general marched to *Petra* without opposition, *Antigonus*, which finding in no posture of defence, the *Nabathæans*, then <sup>nus</sup>, under no apprehension of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, sick, and aged, in *Petra*, with an inconsiderable garrison, he seized upon it, put to the sword, or took prisoners, all the soldiers found therein, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of silver, together with a vast quantity of frankincense and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and surprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traversed two thousand two hundred stadia in thrice twenty-four hours, and they not being apprised of his design ; so that no dispositions could possibly be made by them for giving him a proper reception. But the *Arabs*, receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and, having assembled a considerable body of troops, pursued the *Greeks* with great celerity. They found them asleep about two hundred stadia from *Petra*, without any guards posted to apprise them of any impending danger, not imagining it possible for the *Arabs* to come up with them so soon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and destroyed the whole detachment, except fifty horse, that made their escape to *Antigonus*, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received <sup>b</sup>.

HOWEVER, the *Nabathæans*, dreading the resentment of *Demetrius*, sent a letter to him written in the *Syriac* character, to complain of *Athenaeus*, and to excuse what had happened. That prince, finding it impossible to deal with men inhabiting a desert by pure force, dissembled his resentment, and disowned the orders he had given *Athenaeus*, telling their embassadors, that he was well served for his unjust invasion of their country. This gave great satisfaction to the *Arabs*, though, in order to secure themselves against any unforeseen event, they erected watch-towers to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any sudden incursion. *Antigonus*, finding them upon their guard, for some time continued in a state of friendship with them ; but at last imagining, that a fair opportunity of revenging the late disgrace offered, he sent his son *Demetrius*, with a choice detachment of four thousand foot, and as many horse, to chastize them for it. But the watch-towers above-

<sup>b</sup> *Diod. Sic.* l. xix.

at *Leucosome*, a strange distemper, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havock in his army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remaining part of the summer, and the following winter. This distemper, according to *Dio*, first seized the head, where, if it settled, it proved mortal; but if the humour occasioning it retired into the thighs, the patient recovered. Early in the spring, *Gallus*, moving out of his winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of *Hira*, where he met with a most kind reception from *Al Hareib*, or, as *Strabo* names him, *Aretas*, a near relation of *Abd Wadd*, or *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathœans*, his ally. After a short stay there, he put himself again in motion; and, on his march, defeated a numerous body of *Arabs*, who met him upon the banks of a river, with an intention to dispute his passage. He then made himself master of several considerable places without opposition, and penetrated as far as *Marfyabæ*, a city of the *Rhamnites*, governed by a petty prince named *Ilesarus*, or *Al Asar*, which he besieged ineffectually; being obliged to drop that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time, finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by various distempers proceeding from the heat of the climate, the insalubrity of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it adviseable to march back into the country of the *Nabathœans*, and from thence pursue his route into *Egypt*. Accordingly he set out on his march homeward; and, by the assistance of more faithful guides, reached the city of *Negra*, one of *Obodas*'s maritim towns, by the road of *Anagrana*, *Chaalla*, *Malotha*, &c. in sixty days. Here he embarked his troops, and, crossing the *Arabian* gulph, landed at *Mys Hormus*, on the *Egyptian* side; from whence he led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*. The bad success *Gallus* met with on this occasion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of *Syllæus*, whose view, in the total destruction of the *Roman* army, seems to have been the acquisition of some of the *Roman* territories for his master *Obodas*. This is the more probable, as that prince concurred with his chief minister, by not supporting *Gallius*. Be that as it will, the *Roman* general discovered the perfidy of *Syllæus* before his return out of *Arabia*; but, for some political reasons, he thought proper then to dissemble his resentment. However, after his arrival in *Egypt*, he sent the traitor to *Rome*, where, for this and other enormous crimes, he had his head struck off by the emperor's order. We must not omit observing, that *Gallus* spent two years in this unfortunate expedition<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. ubi supra. PLIN. I. vi. c. 28. DIO, I. liii. p. 516, & seq. ad ann. U. C. 730. See also vol. xiii. p. 496, 497, 498.

FROM this time to the reign of *Trajan*, we hear little of *The Roman Arabia*; but the eighth year of that reign was famous for the man *bischof*-intire reduction of *Arabia Petrea* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma, rians* governor of *Syria*, according to *Dio*. *Eusebius* relates, that *fully af-* the inhabitants of *Petra* and *Bostra* computed their time from <sup>first</sup> *Trajan*, this year, in which their country was first annexed to the *Roman* <sup>conquered</sup> *Arabia*. intimate, that *Trajan* conquered *Arabia Felix*, which seems to be confirmed by some medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conquest of *India*. But all this was gross flattery, meriting not the least regard, as will appear from the reception the *Hagarenes* gave him, when he marched against them about six years after the period above-mentioned. This, which happened in the last year of *Trajan*, is a convincing proof, that he never was master of *Arabia Petrea*, much less *Arabia Felix*, notwithstanding the mean adulmentation of his coins, orators, and historians <sup>s</sup>.

*TRAJAN*, receiving intelligence, that the *Hagarenes* had *that em-* declared war against him, marched from *Ctesiphon* into their *peror is* territories with a powerful army, and laid siege to their capi- *forced to* tal city. As it was situated on the top of an high and steep *retire our* mountain, surrounded with strong walls, seated in a barren of *Arabia*. country, and defended by a numerous garrison, *Trajan* could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aside the ensigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in person: but the enemy discovering him, notwithstanding that disguise, by his grey hairs, and majestic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horse, and killed an horseman by his side. Besides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent storms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flashes of lightning. The apparitions of rainbows likewise dizzled and frightened them in an extraordinary measure. And at the same time they were in a strange manner infested in their camp by swarms of flies; so that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raise the siege, and retire. The *Romans*, therefore, were never absolute masters of even *Arabia Petrea*, whatever homage they might have received from the *Arabs* of that country. Neither are their coins, an evidence of good authority in some points, to be relied on in the present case, as

<sup>s</sup> *Dio*, l. lxviii. p. 777. *EUSEB.* in chron. p. 206. *ARRIAN.* in *peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 6, 8, 46. *FRANCISC. MEDIOBARB.* *BIRAG.* p. 116. *OCCO.* p. 215. *FEST.* in breviar. p. 551. *EUTROP.* in *Trajan.* *LUCIAN.* philop. See also vol. xv. p. 140.

will more fully appear from an observation already made towards the close of the history of the *Ethiopians*<sup>b</sup>.

*As is Severus, after he had ineffectually laid siege to Atrae.*

ABOUT eighty years after, the emperor *Severus*, being greatly incensed against the *Arabs* bordering on *Syria*, for assisting *Niger*, laid siege to *Atrae* their capital, with a formidable army, and a vast train of military engines invented by *Priscus*, the most celebrated mechanic of his age. He pushed on the siege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear, that of all nations the *Hagarenes* only should stand out still against the *Romans*. Being repulsed in the first attack with great slaughter, he ordered a second to be made. Then he might have carried the place, but chose rather to sound a retreat, hoping, by this means, to induce the *Arabs* to sue for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except they would discover their hidden treasures, supposed to be consecrated to the *Sun*. But for a whole day they made not the least overture. In the mean time the ardour of his troops cooled to such a degree, that the *Europeans* refused to begin another assault, and the *Syrians* were repulsed in one that they made. This so chagrined the emperor, that, when one of his officers represented to him, that he would engage to storm the place with five hundred and fifty *European* soldiers, he replied, *But where shall I find so many?* God, says the historian, *preserved the town by the backwardness of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next*. He was, therefore, obliged to raise the siege, and retire, with great precipitation, into his own dominions<sup>i</sup>.

*Short account of the Arabs to the time of Mohammed.*

FROM this time to the birth of *Mohammed*, we find not many particulars of moment related of the *Arabs* in general, or of the *Saracens*, the most noted people of them, in particular, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. The *Saracens*, however, we are told, ravaged *Mesopotamia* in the time of the emperor *Constantius*, and joined the *Persians* against *Julian*. That prince, it seems, and some of his predecessors, had paid the *Saracens* a pension, that they might have a body of troops always on foot for the service of the *Romans*. But this he took into his head afterwards to discontinue; and, when they sent deputies to complain of this treatment, *Julian* told them, that *a warlike prince had steel, but no gold*: which they resenting, went over to the *Persian*, and ever after continued faithful to him. *Mavia*, queen of the *Saracens*, sent a body of her troops to the assistance of the *Romans* against the *Goths*, who, after the defeat and death of *Valens*, by their vigorous sallies, forced those barbarians to retire from before *Constantinople*,

<sup>b</sup> IDAT. & CASSIODOR. in Fast. Dio, ubi supra, p. 785. & lib. lxxv. p. 854. HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528. See also vol. xv. p. 142.  
<sup>i</sup> Dio, p. 948. HERODIAN. l. iii. EUSEB. chron. SPARTIAN. in Sever. GOLTZ. p. 84. See vol. xv. p. 303.

which metropolis they had besieged. About the year of the Christian era 411. they committed great disorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Palestine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; but soon retired of their own accord. In the reign of *Theodosius*, *Alamundarus*, or *Al Mondar*, with a numerous army, assisted the *Persians* against that prince; but the greatest part of his men, being seized with an unaccountable panic, threw themselves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where, to the number of an hundred thousand, they are said to have perished. A.D. 452. the *Saracens*, *Nubians*, and *Blemmyes*, broke into the *Roman* empire; but were overthrown by the troops of the emperor *Marcian*, and forced to sue for peace; which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire. In the beginning of the sixth century, a prince of the *Mondar* family, who was a renowned warrior, did incredible damage to the *Romans*, as we learn from *Procopius*. He so harassed them for a great number of years, by ravaging all their territories from the borders of *Egypt* to the confines of *Mesopotamia*, killing vast numbers of their subjects, and exacting immense sums for the redemption of others taken prisoners, that, to use *Procopius's* expression, he brought them quite down upon their knees. He flew from *Egypt* to *Mesopotamia* like lightning, being so quick in his incursions, that the *Roman* troops scarce ever began their march to put a stop to his depredations, before he had brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the *Romans*, when he found himself obliged to come to an engagement with them. In one action he made a whole *Roman* corps prisoners, with their general *Demostratus*, the brother of *Rufinus*, and *John* the son of *Lucas*; for whose ransom he had an immense sum of money paid him. Being at the head of all the *Saracens* bordering upon the *Perſian* dominions, and capable of making an irruption into which of the neighbouring *Roman* provinces he pleased, he was one of the most formidable enemies the *Romans* had. None of their generals, nor any of the *Arab* phylarchs in their interest, could ever make head against him. *Justinian*, in order to annoy him, vested an *Arab* prince with the regal dignity, thinking this would enable him to push on the war with greater vigour against *Alamundarus*; for so *Procopius* calls him. However, *Al Mondar* was victorious in every engagement with *Aretas*, either vanquishing him by downright force, or prevailing upon him to betray the *Romans*. In fine, this prince, with *Azarethes* the *Perſian* general, defeated the renowned *Belisarius*, and scattered terror where-ever he came. The dispute he had with *Aretas*, who pleaded the cause of the *Romans*, about a territory called *Strata*, our readers will find related in *Procopius*. But as the rapid conquests of the *Saracens*, and the principal transactions they were concerned in, happened after

the death of *Mohammed*, we shall reserve what we have to say of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern history of *Arabia*<sup>k</sup>.

**Arabia famous for heresies after the introduction of Christianity.**

THAT *Arabia*, after the introduction of Christianity, was famous for heresies, has been already observed. The *Hamyarites* were infected with the *Arian* heresy, in the reign of the emperor *Constantius*, as we learn from *Theophilus Indus* in *Philostorgius*. Some Christians of this nation believed, that the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day. These *Origen* is said to have convinced. The heresies of *Ebion*, *Beryllus*, the *Nazaraens*, and *Collyridians*, were also broached, or at least propagated, among the *Arabs*. The *Collyridians* were so denominated from a sort of twisted cake called *collyris*, which they offered to the virgin *Mary*, whom they worshiped as *God*. Other sects likewise there were within the borders of *Arabia*, who took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts; several of whose notions *Mohammed* incorporated with his religion, as will hereafter be shewn<sup>l</sup>.

**Many Jews converted by a miracle to Christianity.**

THE *Jews*, though an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in *Arabia*, whither they fled from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as well as the great havock made amongst them by the emperor *Hadrian*, and brought over several tribes to their religion. The *Jews* of *Hamyar*, we are told, not far from the time of *Dhu Novás* above-mentioned, challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held *sab dio* three days, before the king and his nobility, and the people. The disputants were *Gregentius*, bishop of *Tepbra*, or *Dhafar*, for the Christians, and *Herbanus* for the *Jews*. On the third day, *Herbanus*, to end the dispute, demanded, that *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshipers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe on him; the *Jews* crying out, with one voice, *Show us your Christ, else! and we will become Christians*. Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, *Jesus Christ* appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an inestimable diadem

<sup>k</sup> AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xiv, xxv, & xxix. SOCRAT. p. 357—360. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. PROCOP. de bell. Perf. lib. i. p. 49, 50, 51—54, 55—88. See vol. xvi. p. 178, 257, 355, 519, 530, 570.

<sup>l</sup> SULPIT. SEVER. in hist. sacr. p. 112, &c. SOZOM. hist. ecclesiast. lib. i. c. 16, 17. EUSEB. hist. ecclesiast. lib. vi. c. 33, & 37. EPIPHAN. de haeret. lib. i. haeret. 40. ut & lib. iii. haeret. 75, 79. THEOPH. INDUS apud Philostorgium, lib. iii. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 34, 35.

on his head; and spake these words over the heads of the assembly: *Behold, I appear to you in your sight, I, who was crucified by your fathers.* After which the ch. ch. received him from their sight. The Christians hereupon cried out, *Lord, have mercy upon us!* but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized <sup>m</sup>.

DHU NOWAS, as has been observed, was a Jew, and persecuted all, the Christians particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty Christians in the city of *Najrân* only. Not content with this, he sent an embassy to *Al Mondar*, king of *Hira*, offering him large sums of money, if he would persecute the Christians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of *Alexandria* pressing *Elefbaas* (E) the *Najashi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge such inhuman cruelty, that prince crossed the straits of *Bab-al-Mandab*, with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three sail, and an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he made a descent in *Yaman*. With these forces he overthrew Dhu Nowâs, seized upon his kingdom, and made St. *Arta's* son governor of *Najrân*. The *Abassines* kept possession of this kingdom, till they were driven out by *Seif* the son of *Dhu Yazan*, of the tribe of *Hamyar*, who was, however, himself

<sup>m</sup> GREGENTIUS in disput. cum Herban. Judæ. & SALE ubi sup. p. 22, 23.

(E) According to some of the Syriac writers, *Elefbaas*, or *Elefbaan*, whom they call *Aidzg*, king of *Ethiopia*, undertook an expedition against one *Dimisn*, king of the *Hamyarites*, for massacring some Christian merchants, that were *Romans*, in their passage through *Yaman* into *Ethiopia*. The king of *Hamyar*, we are told, massacred those merchants, in revenge of the cruelties exercised on the *Jews*, of whose communion, it seems, he was a member, in the dominions of the *Roman* emperor. The aforesaid writers add, that *Elefbaas* did not undertake this expedition out of a religious motive, but to revenge the injury his subjects might sustain in point of trade on this occasion. Before the *Arab* and

*Ethiopian* armies engaged, *Elefbaas*, according to the same authors, vowed solemnly to embrace the Christian religion, in case he was victorious. The armies then joining battle, *Dimisn* was vanquished and slain, and *Elefbaas*, or *Aidzg*, professed himself a Christian, and placed a Christian prince on the throne of *Hamyar*. Upon the death of this king, the *Jews*, who were still very numerous there, found means to sit *Dhu Nowâs* upon that throne, who, at their instigation, proved a bitter enemy to the Christians. The particulars of his cruel behaviour towards them are set forth at large by *Metaphrastes*, *Simeon Beth-Arsamensis*, and other authors of good repute already mentioned (5).

(5) *Simeon Beth-Arsamensis*, episcop. & *Joan. Asias* episc. opud *Ayeman*, in *bibli. Oriental.* vol. i. p. 359—385, ut & ipse *Ayeman*, ibid.

slain by some of them that had been left behind. The war of *the elephant* we have already given our readers an account of; and therefore shall conclude our history of the antient *Arabs*, or *the time of ignorance*, as it is called by the *Mohammedans*, with the following observations: *Abd al Motalleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, was prince or chief of the *Koreish* at the time the foregoing war happened: *Mohammed* himself was born the very year the *Abassines* were overthrown in their expedition to *Mecca*: on this year, A. D. 578. commenced the æra of *the elephant*, from which the *Arabs* computed their time for twenty years; and another, called the æra of *the unjust war* (F), followed this, which was finally succeeded by that of the *Hejra* <sup>a</sup> (G).

<sup>a</sup> ABULFED. hist. gen. AL-GUZIUS in lib. de ritib peregrinat. cap. 78. AL-ZAMAKHSHAR. AL-BIDAWI, JALLAL. D'HERBELOT. bibl. Orient. art. Abrahah. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 61, &c. AL-KODAIUS apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 172, 173. SIM. METAPHRastes in vit. S. Arct. & Socior. apud Surium, tom. v. p. 943. AL-JAUHAR. AL-FIRAUZABAD. AL-SHARESTAN. JOS. LUDOL. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 61, 62, 255, 256. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. aliiq; auctor. supra laudat.

(F) This was called the *unjust* and *impious war*, because the principal actions of it happened betwixt the *Kais Ailan* and the *Kneish*, two powerful Arabian tribes, in the sacred months above-mentioned. These sacred months were *Moharram*, *Rajeb*, *Dulkaadu*, and *Dulhaga*. In them all acts of hostility amonst the jarring tribes, how violent soever their resentment might be, entirely ceased. They then laid aside all weapons of war, and conversed together in the most friendly manner. Nay, if an *Arab* met with the person that had killed his father or brother, he could not offer any violence to him. The *Hejra* did not take place, till it was agreed upon in

the khalifate of *Omar*, that the *Arabs* should suppote their time from thence (6).

(G) Several remarkable events supplied the *Arabs* with epochs before the *Hejra*, to wit, the invasion and reduction of *Yaman* by the *Abissines*; the expulsion of the *Amalchites*, by the family of *Jorham*, from the territory of *Mecca*; the battle of *Ebn Wayel*; the wars called *Al Basus* and *Dahes*; the inundation of *Al Arem*; the fire *Derar*, which appeared in a stony district of the kingdom of *Yaman*, &c. The people of *Yaman*, however, for the most part, suppoted their time according to the reigns of their kings (7).

(6) Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. AL-JAUHAR. AL-FIRAUZABAD. AL-SHARESTAN. AL-KODAIUS, & POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 173, 174. (7) AL-KODAIUS apud POCOCK. ubi supra, p. 172, 173, 174. AL-SHARESTAN. ibid. VIDE & LUDOL. ubi sup.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*The History of the Empires of Nice and Trapezond, from their Foundation, the former by Theodore Lascaris, and the latter by the Comneni, to their final Abolition, the one by Michael Palæologus, the other by Mohammed the Great.*

THESE are the two last empires we have left to mention on the other side the *Mediterranean*, and before we repass into *Europe*. We have given them the last place, and have joined them in the same chapter, as they were of the modernest date, smallest extent, and shortest duration, of any of those we have had occasion to speak of, either in *Asia* or *Africa*, that are now extinct; and as they were both dismembered from the *Greek* empire about the same time, that is, soon after the taking of its great metropolis by the *Latins*, mentioned in a former volume<sup>a</sup>. That of *Nice* was founded by *Theodore Lascaris*, and that of *Trapezond* by *David* and *Alexius Comnenus*, whilst *Baldwin* reigned at *Constantinople*. As for the *Vandals*, and their kingdom in *Africa*, it made so small and short a figure, and we know so little of its extent, and other particulars, that it is not worth while making a separate article of it, and will be best referred to a subsequent volume and chapter. See hereafter, book iv. chap. 28. sect. 3.

A. C.  
1204.

*The Empire and Emperors of Nice.*

1. *THEODORE LASCARIS*, son-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, having happily escaped out of *Constantinople*, and fled into *Bithynia*, was there received with such demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he soon made himself master of *Phrygia*, *Mygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, from the *Mæander* to the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*. These he erected into an empire, and fixed his imperial residence in the famous city of *Nice*, from which this new empire took its name<sup>b</sup>. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law, and *Satibatinus* sultan of *Iconium*, his old friend and ally, whom he called to his assistance against the new emperor. They marched accordingly against him, with an army of twenty thousand men, and laid siege to the city of *Antioch*, on the *Mæander*, the then boundary of this new empire on that side. *Lascaris*, though he could then muster but two thousand men, was yet

<sup>a</sup> See vol. xvii. p. 172, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Nicet. in Bald. c. 1, & seq.  
forced

*Defeats  
Angelus,  
and the  
Turks.*

forced to march to the relief of that place, lest its falling into their hands should open them a way to the heart of his dominions. They were surprised to find him come so suddenly, and with such an handful of men, against them; but such was his valour, and that of his troops, especially of eight hundred of his *Italians*, that he gave the enemy a signal overthrow. But his *Greeks* being somewhat intimidated at the sight of the superior enemy, the sultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the onset, fell suddenly upon them; and, having singled *Lascaris* out, threw him off his horse at the first blow. *Lascaris* soon recovered himself, unhorsed his competitor, struck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into such a panic, that they betook themselves to flight. *Alexius*, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to *Nice*, where he ended his days in a monastery, where *Lascaris* had confined him. The *Turks* were soon after glad to accept of such a peace as he was pleased to grant to them; and another being concluded between him and *Henry* the brother and successor of *Baldwin*, he was then at full leisure to secure his new-founded empire to himself and successors, which he did with vast success and bravery, both against the *Turks* and *Latins*, during the space of eighteen years <sup>c.</sup>.

*His death  
and suc-  
cessor.*

AT his death he left only a son, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldest of whom, named *Irene*, he had married to the brave *John Ducas*, surnamed *Vatates*, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy, tho' he had two brothers; to wit, *Alexius* and *Angelus*, whom it might be expected he would have entrusted with the care of his son and empire: but he seems to have been more intent on strengthening and enlarging the latter, than to secure it to his nearest kindred; and accordingly named his son-in-law his successor, as the most capable of answering his design: and such he really proved.

*John  
Ducas  
crowned  
emperor.*A. C.  
1222.

2. *JOHN DUCAS* was accordingly crowned at *Nice* by *Manuel* the great patriarch, and proved no less brave and successful than his predecessor. We have formerly had occasion to mention his great success against the *Turks*, and especially the *Latins*, whom he defeated in several battles, and from whom he took a considerable number of places, which we shall forbear repeating here <sup>d</sup>. He died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, in the sixty-second of his age, after having extended his conquests, not only in *Asia*, but in *Europe*, and even almost to the gates of *Constantinople*; and was succeeded by his son,

*Nicer.* in *Bald.* c. 11. ad fin. See vol. xvii. p. 173, & seq.  
*Ibid.* p. 175, & seq. Vide & *Geor. Acrop.* lib. i. c. 2.

3. THEODORE LASCARIS, who, during his short reign, was likewise very successful against the *Bulgarians*, and the *Lascaris* despot of *Epirus*, as we have formerly seen<sup>e</sup>. One great oversight this prince was guilty of, was, the recalling the traitor *Michael Palæologus*, who was gone from him over to the *Turks*, and restoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his son of the empire, as we shall soon see. *Theodore* died in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son,

4. JOHN LASCARIS, then about nine years of age; for John Lascaris, which reason his father committed him, and the care of the *empire*, to *Arsenius* the then patriarch of *Nice*, and to the famed *Muzalo*, a person indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deservedly raised to the highest posts in the empire. For this, *Muzalo* incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithstanding the solemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, rushed with their swords drawn upon that brave minister, on the very day and place where the funeral obsequies of the deceased monarch were performed; and, in the midst of the divine service, dispatched him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for sanctuary. It is not improbable, that the treacherous *Palæologus* had the greatest hand in the contriving and conducting of this assassination, as it was the most likely means to open him the way to the seizing on the imperial dignity, which he never must have so much as aimed at, whilst the young prince was under the care of so brave and worthy a guardian. However *Palæologus* that be, *Muzalo* was no sooner dispatched out of his way, but *gus chosen* the traitor caused himself to be chosen to succeed him in the *protector*, guardianship of the young emperor, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the least notice or regard to the patriarch, who, tho' no consummate statesman, was yet a person of singular learning and merit.

His new dignity was soon after signalized with a complete overthrow, which his brother *John* gave to the despot of *Epirus*, who had then invaded the provinces of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The news of this action no sooner reached *Magnesia*, His the place where the new protector then resided, but he was saluted emperor by a number of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace. For this the worthy patriarch threatened *treachery* to excommunicate him, and all his adherents; and *Palæologus* found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himself under a solemn oath to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he came to be of age. This having for the present satisfied the too credulous prelate, he was easily persuaded to crown him emperor. As we are no further con-

<sup>e</sup> NICET. in Bald. c. 12, & seq. See before, ibid. p. 178, & seq.  
cerned

Theodore  
crowned.  
A. C.  
1225.

A. C.  
1258.

A. C.  
1259.

A. C.  
1261.

cerned with any particulars of that usurper's reign, than as they relate to the *Nicean* empire, to which he now put an end, we shall refer our readers to what has been said of them in a former volume<sup>f</sup>; and only add here, that, having soon after, that is, in the second year of his reign, taken *Constantinople* from the *Latins*, he removed the seat of the empire from *Nice* to that ancient metropolis, where he caused himself to be crowned afresh emperor of the East. The unfortunate young prince fell a sacrifice to that tyrant's ambition, who caused, not long after, his eyes to be put out, and himself to be proclaimed the sole lawful and rightful possessor of the empire<sup>g</sup>. *Arsenius*, now convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunication against him, and all his adherents. But neither this, nor the great opposition which he met with from abroad, could wrest the empire from him, tho' it proved a very troublesome and thorny one, as we have elsewhere shewn<sup>h</sup>. This was the end of the *Nicean* empire, about fifty-seven years after its foundation. As for *Nice*, the metropolis of it, though it was in a great measure divested of its grandeur by the removal of the court to *Constantinople*, yet it continued to be so considerable a city, that it passed more than once from the *Greeks* to the *Turks*, and back again, till it was at length taken by *Orchanes* in the manner as has been heretofore related.

*The Empire of Trapezond.*The foun-  
dation of  
the empire  
of Trape-  
zond.A. C.  
1264.

**T**HIS monarchy, which was founded, as we lately hinted, much about the same time with that of *Nice*, lasted much longer, and made a much more considerable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of *Trapezond* or *Trapezus*, which was now made the imperial seat of the *Comneni*, and metropolis of this their new empire (A). *David* and *Alexius*

<sup>f</sup> See before, *ibid.* p. 179—181.      <sup>g</sup> *Ibid.* p. 183, & seq. ex *PACHYM.* lib. i. & ii. pass.      <sup>h</sup> *Ubi supra.*

(A) *Trapezus*, or *Trapezond*, called also *Trebizond*, and by the *Turks* *Tarabozan*, was a *Greek* city in *Pontus*, founded by the ancient *Sinopians*, and tributary to them, as we learn from *Xenophon*, who marched by it in his famous retreat, spoken of in a former volume<sup>(1)</sup>. It is situate on the foot of an hill, which makes a

kind of peninsula, on the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*, where it begins to turn towards the east. Its port was once large and convenient, and the city itself well peopled, and surrounded with steep mountains<sup>(2)</sup>. It was encompassed with a double wall of an oblong square form, from which it had the name of *Trapezus*, which fig-

(1) See vol. vii. p. 486.      (2) *Stephan. de urb. Baudran.* & al. in *voc.*

*Alexius Comneni* (B), grandsons to the tyrant *Andronicus*, who had been lately put to such a cruel, yet deserved death, by *Iсаac*

nifies a table. But it suffered greatly in the wars between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*, as likewise from the *Scyrian Tartars*, who surprised and took it at a time when the wealthiest persons had refuged themselves in it with their most considerable effects. The *Comneni*, having made it afterwards the metropolis of their new empire, raised it to its pristine glory and strength, which the *Romans* had formerly given it; but the *Turks*, being become masters of it, have suffered it to go to decay.

The city is spacious, and of an oblong square form; the walls of it are high and stout, and adorned with battlements and towers, which, as they do not appear to be very antient, are rightly supposed to have been reared by the *Comneni*, on the foundation, and with the ruins, of the old ones. As to the inside of the city, it is but ill built, and worse peopled, whatever it may have been before it fell into the hands of the *Turks*; and the copses and gardens that are now in it, take up a much larger room than the houses; and these are mostly low and mean, except where they are built or faced with some of the noble fragments of the old buildings (3).

The citadel lies no less neglected, tho' large, and strongly situated on an high mountain, flat on the top, and surrounded with large ditches cut into the solid rock. There is, moreover, a beautiful inscription, in Greek capitals, over the gate of that

fortress, which is cut on a stone, cased into the wall, importing, that *Justinian* caused this city to be rebuilt and fortified; though this last particular be not taken notice of among the other works which *Procopius* hath carefully recorded of that emperor; but he mentions a noble aqueduct, which he caused to be made to supply the city with water, and gave it the name of *St. Eugene the Martyr*. But this, as well as most of that emperor's works, were either destroyed by the *Turks*, or suffered to go to ruin; and this once noble citadel is in a likely way to follow them.

It was formerly of such consideration, that the emperors of *Constantinople* always kept a deputy there; and, since its being brought under the *Turks*, it is become the residence of a begler-beigh. After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had taken it, the *Romans* restored it, as they did most of the Greek cities in *Asia*, to its former privileges and liberty, as hath been formerly shewn.

(B) The family of the *Comneni* was very antient and considerable. The reader may see a long account of it in the author quoted below (4); but it became much more so after its having been honoured with the imperial diadem, in the person of *Iсаac Comnenus*, who was raised to that dignity against *Michael Stratonicus*, by the officers of the army, as we have formerly seen (5). *Andronicus*, the grandfather of these *Comneni*, was of that fa-

(3) *Briwaran, Tournefort, La Martinique, &c al. de familiis Comnensar. p 170, &c seq.*

(4) *Du Fresne hist. Byzantium 28. 620, e. 622, e, f.*

(5) See

mily,

A. C.  
1239.

*Isaac Angelus*, as we have formerly seen <sup>i</sup>, were the first founders of it. These, having the good fortune to escape out of *Constantinople* together, came and seized on the more eastern parts of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and erected them into an empire; and *Trapezond* being then the strongest and most considerable city in their dominions, they made it the seat of their residence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear, that they immediately took upon them the imperial title; much less, that they were soon acknowledged as such <sup>k</sup>. On the contrary, *Vincent de Beauvais* styles them only lords of *Trapezond*; but it is plain, that they soon arrived at a considerable height of power and interest, since the emperor *Baldwin*, about thirty-four years after their settling at *Trapezond*, fought their alliance and friendship, and was by them assisted in some considerable enterprizes against *Kataces* emperor of *Nice*, who had invaded some of his dominions, as we hinted under the last article, and elsewhere<sup>l</sup>. However, it is not improbable, that neither these of *Trapezond*, nor those of *Nice*, took upon them the title of emperors till some time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as some conjecture<sup>m</sup>, not till the usurper *Michael Palaeologus* had seized on that of *Nice*, and got himself crowned emperor at *Constantinople*; at which time the *Comneni*, either in contempt to him, or because they could not brook an inferior title to his, did likewise assume the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain, that, after they had once assumed it, their successors maintained it with great success and bravery; and caused themselves to be acknowledged as such by foreign powers, as long as their empire lasted, that is, till it was subdued, and put an end to, by *Mohammed the Great*, who, like an irresistible inundation, drove all before him, as we shall see at the conclusion of this chapter.

IT is not easy to guess from the *Byzantine* historians, how far they enlarged the limits of this new empire; nor what

<sup>i</sup> Vol. xvii. p. 161, & seq.      <sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 172, & seq.      <sup>l</sup> Ibid.  
 & ACROP. in Vatac. c. 12, & seq.      <sup>m</sup> CRUSIUS annotat.  
 in lib. i. Turco-Græc. p. 60, & seq. BAUDRAND. sub voce *Trapez.*  
 DU FRESNE hist. Byzant. p. 166, & seq.

mily, and uncle to *Alexius Comnenus* then upon the throne, but no more than twelve years of age: against him he raised a revolt, in which he caused himself and young *Alexius* to be saluted as copartners, and took him as

his colleague to the empire; but soon after caused him to be murdered; for which, and his other tyrannies and cruelties, he was put to a most shameful and dreadful death (6).

(6) See vol. xvii. p. 161, & seq.

number of cities they possessed in the three provinces above-mentioned. It is more likely they were in a kind of fluctuation during their wars with the emperors of *Constantinople*; so that we shall have no farther need to dwell on the topography of it; those provinces, and their chief cities, having been already described in the course of this history; and its capital, in the foregoing note; to which we shall only add an account of its port. It is called *Platanā*, and lies east of the city. *Arian* informs us, that the emperor *Adriun* caused it to be re-<sup>The port of</sup> Trapepaired; and it appears from some antient medals of this city, <sup>Trapezond de-</sup> particularly two mentioned by *Goltzius*, that its port was very <sup>scribed.</sup> frequented, and carried on a considerable traffick; for till that emperor repaired and altered the entrance of it, the ships could not come into it, but at some certain seasons of the year; but it then became fit to receive and shelter a great number of them, and of the largest size. The *Genoese*, who had it once in their possession, are said to have improved it with a large mole; but which the *Turks* have since suffered to *Run to de-* go to ruin, they being naturally negligent of such works, and *cay*. seldom minding to keep them in repair; so that, at present, the port is only fit to receive saics, and such other inferior vessels; and what is still left of it, seems to be the old remains of what *Adrian* had formerly done.

THE country about *Trapezond* is fertile in variety of plants and fruit-trees, corn, and other products common to all those provinces along the *Euxine*; but is most remarkable for the *Wonderful* intoxicating and purgative quality of its honey, of which we <sup>effects of</sup> have had occasion to speak upon another occasion<sup>n</sup>. *Aristotle* its honey. makes mention of it, and says, it is chiefly gathered off the box-trees that grow on that plain; and that it is almost an infallible remedy against epilepsies; but adds, that if a person in health ventures to eat of it, it bereaves him of his senses<sup>o</sup>, as we find it did *Xenophon*'s army for some short time. And as this is justly esteemed a singular rarity in nature, which the judicious Mr. *Tournefort* attributes to the quality of the flowers peculiar to this territory; so this country affords a no less remarkable one in art, if we may call by that name a structure which is reared, in some measure, without any. We mean the famed convent of St. *John*, situate in the heart of a large wood, about 25 miles south of *Trapezond*, and surrounded with the greatest variety of trees, most of them of a monstrous size and height.

THIS wonderful edifice, which is all of wood, is built on a *A strange* very steep and craggy rock, and inhabited by monks, who are *rule mor-* wholly taken up with their temporal as well as spiritual con- *affir. de-* scrib'd.

<sup>n</sup> Vol. vii. p. 485, & (G).

<sup>o</sup> De mirab. orb. See STEPH. de urb. sub voce *Trapezus*, & alibi. PAUSAN. in Arcad. & alibi.

cerns, and have neither books, learning, politeness, nor even so much as a kitchen. The ascent up to it is by a flight of steps, if a couple of monstrous fir-trees (reared up opposite to each other against the steep rock, like the two sides of a ladder, and so coarsely notched with an hatchet, that the expertest rope-dancer could not go up and down it without danger of breaking his neck) can deserve that name. However, to prevent accidents of that nature, the cunning architect hath wisely reared some posts on each side for the climbers to take hold by, without which it would be impossible to reach half-way up to the top, much more to come down it, without being giddy; the two trees being as high as the mast of a large ship. It is hardly possible for the first men, had they been even the *mutum & turpe pecus* that Horace makes them, to have contrived a more rude and simple stair-case. The rest of the building is all after the same primitive stile, and all the avenues to it give the most lively idea of the infancy of nature, tho' variegated with the most delightful prospects of small landscapes, rivulets flowing from a great number of clear springs, and stored with delicious fish, and at a distance with stately woods, which shelter it from bad weather, and worse neighbours, and capable of raising and delighting the most contemplative minds; but the good monks here, who are about forty in number, are of too coarse a stamp to improve it to such advantages, and only use their apartments, as so many cells or dens, where they retreat and secure themselves from the insults of the Turks, that they may attend their devotions with greater ease and safety.

*Its income.* THEY are nevertheless wealthy, being masters of all the territory round them for above six miles, and having some considerable farms on the adjacent mountains, and even some houses in Trapezond. The misfortune is, that the tyranny of the Turkish government suffers them to reap but little comfort or advantage from either, insomuch that they dare not build themselves a church, or a better monastery, lest the Turks should demand or seize on the money that was designed for that use, as soon as either work was begun. On which account they choose to live a kind of eremetic life, little short of a wild or savage one, in that rude and almost inaccessible retreat.

*Other curiosities.* THERE are several antient ruins in the neighbourhood of Trapezond, which still preserve so much of their pristine grandeur, as to make one regret the dreadful havock which the Turks have made among them, particularly some once stately churches; part of which are now turned into mosques, and the rest gone to ruin. As to the city of Trapezond, it still retains the title of archbishoprick, though a very poor one, and is the residence of a beglerbeigh. It stands on the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, eighteen miles north-east of Tocat, and about forty south-west

west of Rizza, in latitude forty-one deg. five min. and east longitude thirty-nine deg. twenty-two min.

THE *Trapezuntines* were of the Greek church; and after the *Their re-founding* of this new empire, had a patriarch of their own, *gion, pa-*  
but whether chosen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only *triarchs,*  
be darkly guessed at. After their becoming subject to the &c.  
*Turks*, the latter still chose their patriarchs, who were after-  
wards confirmed by the sultan. This was done every-where,  
it seems, throughout the *Turkish* conquests, in the same man-  
ner as it was practised under the Christian emperors; that is,  
without paying any fine to the treasury. The clergy of *Tra-  
pezond* were the first who caused this dignity to be saddled with  
one of a thousand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to  
extend to those of their other conquests. The occasion of it  
being somewhat remarkable, we shall give it our reader in the  
note (C). As for other particulars of their religion, laws,

(C) The *Trapezuntines* were at that time under a patriarch named *Mark*, who was so ill beloved by his clergy, and by the nobles and people, that they agreed upon depriving him of his dignity, and to nominate to it one *Simeon*, a countryman of theirs, then a monk or canon at the great church of *Constanti-  
nople*, a person of merit on several accounts, but especially for his extraordinary hospitality. To compass their design, they fell upon the following strange expedient: they accused *Mark* of having introduced a new kind of simony, till then unheard of among them; that is, to have agreed to pay one thousand ducats into the sultan's treasury, as soon as he was confirmed in his dignity. The innocent patriarch in vain endeavoured to wipe off the foul accusation by the most solemn oaths; his enemies had bribed so many considerable persons, some of them ecclesiastics, to swear it against him, that he was adjudged guilty, and not only *ipso facto* deprived of his dig-

nity, but also punished with ex-  
communication and banishment.  
This being done, they took one thousand ducats, and went with them to the sultan, and told him, that since *Mark*, a person odious to the clergy and laity, had promised him that sum upon his elevation to the patriarchate, they would now pay it to his highness, provided they might be permitted to raise their favourite monk to it.

The sultan, who knew nothing of such a promise, could not at first forbear smiling at the proposal, and hesitated some time whether he should accept of it: at length considering, that this would serve for a good precedent to oblige the future candidates to that dignity, to the payment of the like sum, owned to them, that *Mark* had indeed promised it to him: But, continued he, taking the money at the same time, since he is so obnoxious to you, e'en turn him out, and appoint whom you will in his place. Which was done accordingly (7).

(7) *Du Fresne hist. Byzant. tom. ii. p. 169.*

Trade.

customs, &c. there is the less necessity to dwell longer on them, considering that these two empires were only dismembered from the grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change of government, or rather governors. As for their trade, considering the excellent situation of their metropolis, and of some other of their cities, of which we have formerly given an account in the *Pontic history*<sup>o</sup>, we need not doubt but the emperors encouraged it all they could; and the medals produced by *Tournefort*<sup>p</sup>, as well as the coins mentioned by *Du Fresne*<sup>q</sup>, leave us no room to doubt of the trade and opulence, both of their empire, and its metropolis, tho' since their falling into the hands of the *Turks*, they have fared like all the rest of their conquests, and greatly failed of their antient commerce and splendor. It only remains, that we give an account of the *Trapezuntine* monarchs, from *Alexius* their founder to *David* their last emperor, and of their different wars, by which they maintained themselves in their high dignity against so many powerful enemies, such as were sometime the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, especially those of the new *Nicean* empire, and at other times the *Turks*, *Saracens*, *Perians*, &c. These would doubtless make a considerable figure in this history, had they been transmitted to us in an uninterrupted series; but the misfortune is, that the *Byzantine* historians, from whom we have all our chief intelligence, have only mentioned them occasionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs of the *Constantinopolitan* empire; so that we must be content with the series of those eleven emperors, and with such few particulars as we find recorded of them. We shall only add, that the duration of the *Trapezuntine* empire was about two hundred and fifty-seven, or two hundred and fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Christ 1204. and subdued *an. 1461. or 1462.*

### *Emperors of Trapezond.*

Alexius I. *ALEXIUS COMNE NUS*, surnamed *the Great*, and the Great. *A* his brother *David*, were the sons of *Manuel*, and grandsons of the tyrant *Andronicus Comnenus*. We have already spoken of the usurpation and tyranny, as well as the dismal end, of the latter. As for *Manuel*, he was the eldest son of *Andronicus*; but was so unlike his father in his vices, that he was disinherited and imprisoned by him (D), and his next brother

<sup>o</sup> Vol. ix. p. 533, 534. <sup>p</sup> Voyages au Levant. <sup>q</sup> Hist. Byzant. stemm. 28. p. 168.

(D) Among other things, by which *Manuel* disengaged his family, one was, that he constantly refused to marry *Agnes*, the daughter

ther *John* was appointed his successor ; but, when he found the whole populace exasperated at it, he then tried in vain to appease them, by pretending, that he always designed the empire for *Manuel*, and promising to name him to it. Upon the death of *Andronicus*, and the restoration of *Isaac Angelus*, or rather, soon after the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, *Manuel's* two sons, *Alexius*, and his brother *David*, fled into *Pontus*, seized on *Heraclea*, and soon after made themselves masters of that whole province, together with *Paphlagonia*, *Colchis*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, with some others of less note ; and *Alexius* fixed his imperial seat at *Trapezond*<sup>1</sup>. He soon *found the empire* after made an alliance with *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*, and assisted him against *Theodore Lascaris*, as we have already *hinted*. It doth not, however, appear, that he then took the *imperial title*, most authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandson, or great grandson, that first assumed it<sup>2</sup> ; and that he contented himself with that of duke or lord of *Trapezond*, as he is called by an antient author, who mentions him on account of his having obliged himself to furnish the sultan of *Iconium* with two hundred lances<sup>3</sup>. He was succeeded by, *His successors.*

2. — *COMnenus* ; and he by,
3. — *COMnenus (E)* ; of whose name and father we know nothing, but what was hinted in the last note.

<sup>1</sup> *NICETAS* in *Baldwin. ACROP. c. 7. AITHON. c. 13.* <sup>2</sup> *Vid. CRUS. ubi supra. DU FRESNE sub Alex. Mag.* <sup>3</sup> *VINCENT. BELLOVAC. sub ann. 1240.*

daughter of *Philip* king of the *Franks*, and wife of *Alexius* the deposed emperor of *Constantinople*, though his father earnestly pressed him to it, and promised him, upon his complying, to make him partner in the empire. His refusal, which, our author says (8), he excused on account of such a marriage being contrary to the ecclesiastical laws, so incensed the tyrant, that at last he cast him into a prison, and appointed his next son to succeed him (9).

(E) We have nothing recorded concerning these two, not even

their names ; only we are told, that *John*, the next in order, was the grandson, according to some, or the great grandson (1), according to others, of the great *Alexius*. Among these the famed *Ogerius*, protonotary of *Michael Palaeologus*, who wrote about the year 1279. calls the then reigning emperor, that is, the *John* we are now speaking of, the great-grandson of *Alexius the Great* ; so that, according to his account (2), there must have been two princes between these two last-named (3).

(8) *Crusius Turco-Grec. p. 124, &c seq.* (9) *Nicer. in Andronic. lib. ii. n. 8. & seq. in Alex. Magn. n. 4. & in Isaac. I. i. g. 1.* (1) *Gregoras, lib. v. (2) Oger. apud du Fresne.* (3) *Fide Du Fresne sub Alex. Comn. p. 192.*

John, the  
first who  
is styled  
emperor.

4. JOHN COMNENUS; the first, as is generally supposed that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted, a little higher, the probable reason of his assuming it; to wit, out of emulation against *Michael Palæologus*. To this we may add what a cotemporary author, who was protonotary to the said *Palæologus*, says<sup>u</sup>; to wit, that *John* rather suffered himself to be complimented with it by the Greeks, out of spite and contempt to that usurper; who, by his submission to the pope, and uniting the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, had rendered himself odious to them. Another, who lived near the same time<sup>v</sup>, hints much the same thing, when he says, that the province of *Trapezond* was antiently under the government of dukes, who were sent thither in that quality by the *Constantinopolitan* emperors; that one of those governors, having made himself absolute master there, took upon him the title of king; and that he, who was then on the throne, had assumed that title; neither do we find, that *Michael* made any opposition to it. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, of which we took notice under the last article, rather obliged him to confirm it to him; at least he thought fit to court his friendship and alliance, by offering him his daughter *Eudocia Palæologina* in marriage; which *John* readily accepted of, and went to *Constantinople* to espouse her: and it is probable enough, that his new title was then acknowledged and confirmed to him by his father-in-law. All that we know further of him is, that he was earnestly courted by pope *Nicolas IV.* to engage in the holy war about the year 1291. and that he died about four years after, and left two sons behind by his wife *Eudocia*; to wit, *Alexius II.* who succeeded him, and *John* his younger brother, whom that princess took with her, being then very young, to *Constantinople*, soon after the emperor's death<sup>x</sup>.

A. C.  
1281.  
*Alliance  
with Mi-  
chael.*

A. C.  
1295.  
*Death.*

*Alexius  
II.*

A. C.  
1303.  
“

*Basilius I.*

A. C.  
1320.

5. ALEXIUS II. was born in 1282<sup>y</sup>, and left, by his father's last will, under the guardianship of *Andronicus Palæologus* the elder<sup>z</sup>. He married the daughter of an *Iberian* prince, though he had the offer of a much richer wife, which *Andronicus Augustus* had designed for him. He defeated the *Genoëse*, and soon after entered into an alliance with them<sup>a</sup>. He was succeeded by his son

6. BASILIUS I. who was forced to fight his way through to gain his paternal inheritance<sup>b</sup>. He was highly courted by

<sup>u</sup> OGERIUS apud Wadd. Vide DU FRESNE sub Joh. Comnen.

<sup>w</sup> AITHON. c. 13. <sup>x</sup> PACHYM. lib. vi c. 32, & seq. GREGORAS, lib. v. & vi. Bzov. sub ann. 1184. n. 12. WADD. apud Du Fresne sub Joh. Comn. p. 192. <sup>y</sup> PACHYM. lib. ix. c. 27.

<sup>z</sup> GREGOR. lib. v. <sup>z</sup> Idem ibid. Bzov. ubi supra. <sup>d</sup> GREGOR. lib. xi.

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pope John XXII. to go over to the church of *Rome*<sup>c</sup>. His first wife, or, as some think, his second, was *Eudocia*, the natural daughter of *Andronius Palaeologus* the younger<sup>d</sup>. He was succeeded by,

7. **BASILIUS II.** called also the younger<sup>e</sup>, to distinguish *Basilus II.* him, as is supposed, from his father. He married *Irene Palaeologina*, the daughter of *Andronicus* the younger; which shews, that he must be different from the former, who had married *Eudocia*, another of that monarch's daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the Greek church to marry two sisters. *Irene*, however, was afterwards set aside, to make way for another woman of the same name, with whom the emperor was fallen deeply in love; which so exasperated his queen, that she soon after hatched both their ruins: him she caused to be killed by some private means; and her she sent, *his wife*, with her children, under a guard, to *Constantinople*. She governed the empire for some time, during which she dispatched an embassy to her father, to desire him to send some proper person, to whom she might be lawfully married, and have children by, to succeed to the empire. The matter was no sooner known at *Trapezond*, than an insurrection was made against her; which ended in a civil war, in which *Tzanychita*, revolted. a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed<sup>f</sup>. What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that *Basil* the emperor died in the year of Christ 1339<sup>g</sup>. He left children both by his wife, and by his concubine; the latter of which were, as we hinted, sent with their mother to *Constantinople*. He was succeeded by a son of the former,

8. — **COMNENUS**, whose Christian name has not been — *Comnenus*. transmitted to us; and this last by his son *Alexius*.

9. **ALEXIUS III.** (F), and the famed princess *Eudocia Alexius Comnena*, seem, by all circumstances of time, place, &c. to III. and have been brother and sister, though their father's name is not *Eudocia*.

<sup>c</sup> On. REINALD. sub ann. 1329. n. 95. Vide Du FRESNE in *Basil. I.*

<sup>d</sup> GREG. lib. xi. <sup>e</sup> GREGOR. ibid. <sup>f</sup> Excerpt. ex GREG. apud Du Fresne in *Basil. II.* p. 193. <sup>g</sup> GREGOR. ibid. VIGNER. in bibl. histor.

(F) Some have imagined this last to have been the son of *Basilus II.* and have struck out the anonymous one, who stands the eighth in the list; but it is scarce credible, that he could be the

son of that *Basil*, who died anno 1339. whereas *Alexius* was still alive A. C. 1428. when he gave *Mary* his daughter to *John* then emperor of *Constantinople* (4).

(4) Du Fresne sub *Alex. Comn.* p. 153.

*Married  
to the old  
emperor.*

*Alexius  
murdered  
by his son.*

John II.  
<sup>1449.</sup>

recorded by any historian ; neither is it easy to guess at what time the former began to reign. As to his sister, she was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and, after having been married some time to a *Turkisb* nobleman of great distinction, and having several children by him, as soon as she was a widow, she was courted and betrothed to *Manuel* the son of *John*, emperor of *Constantinople*, who brought her accordingly thither to consummate his marriage. But here that old monarch, though decrepit with age, gout, and other infirmities, fell so enamoured with her, that he married her himself about the year 1380<sup>b</sup>, that is, towards the latter-end of his life and reign ; at which time this *Alexius* was upon the throne of *Trapezond*. This last married, if we may believe *Laonicus*<sup>1</sup>, some great lady of the *Cantacuzenian* family ; who, being already in love with a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, said to have been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, was reported to carry on a shameful intrigue with him. His eldest son was no sooner apprised of it, than he took an opportunity to dispatch her paramour, and then shut her up, with the emperor, in a room, with a design to have sent them both out of the world by the same way. He was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double parricide, and forced to flee into *Spain*. *Alexius* was so exasperated at his son, that he disinherited him, and named *Alexander* his younger son to succeed him ; but *John* found means, by the help of some *Spaniards* and *Genoese*, to return to *Trapezond*, where he caused his father to be privately murdered, and afterwards to be magnificently interred in the cathedral of that metropolis, to avoid being suspected of having had an hand in his death<sup>c</sup>.

10. JOHN II. called also *Calo-Johannes*, having thus dispatched his father, mounted the throne ; but found it very difficult to keep himself upon it : for the *Turks*, by this time grown very powerful, fell upon him on all sides ; so that he was forced to pay an annual tribute of three thousand ducats to *Amurat*, and afterwards to his son *Mohammed II.* to enjoy the quiet possession of it<sup>d</sup>. At his death, he left only one son, named *Alexius*, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive, with the rest of the family, at the taking of *Trapezond* by *Mohammed* above-mentioned, and a daughter, named *Catharina Commena*, who was, by her uncle *David*, given to *Ajan Beig*, vulgarly called *Usum Cazanes*, in order to prevail upon that monarch to assist him against the

<sup>b</sup> LAONIC. lib. ii. PHRANZ. lib. iii. c. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ix.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. Vide & PHRANZ. lib. ii. c. 1. DUCAS, c. 22, & 45. DU FRESNE sub *Alexandr.* p. 194. <sup>d</sup> PHRANZ, lib. ii. c. 1, & seq. LAONIC. lib. ix.

continual irruptions which the *Turks* made against him <sup>m</sup>. This was, however, done with this condition, that she should not be obliged to change her religion. *John* had these two by the daughter of one of the kings of *Spain*, whom he married during his abode there <sup>n</sup>. Some will have her to have been *David's* own daughter <sup>o</sup>, the last emperor of *Trapezond*; but without any foundation: for *Laonicus* expressly calls her the daughter of *John*; and *David* himself, in his letter to *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, says plainly enough, that she was the daughter of *Calo-Johannes P.*

II. DAVID COMNENUS, the third brother of *John*, and *David*, last emperor of *Trapezond*, seized on the crown, in wrong of <sup>the last</sup> his nephew, the young son of *Alexius*. He was a man of a <sup>emperor.</sup> savage and cowardly disposition <sup>q</sup>. He had married the princess *Irene* of the *Cantacuzene* family, a lady highly celebrated for her greatness of soul, and constancy under adversities <sup>r</sup>. Against *David*, *Mohammed II.* surnamed the *Great*, who by that time had made himself master of *Græcia*, *Rascia*, and *Servia*, and of the city of *Constantinople*, declared war, under pretence, that he had assisted *Usum Cazanes* king of *Persia*, and was become tributary to him. *David* had neither courage nor strength sufficient to oppose him; so that he marched directly to his capital, and laid close siege to it by sea and land. The siege had lasted little above a month, when *David*, having in vain implored the assistance of Christian princes, particularly of *Charles VII.* king of *France*, agreed to deliver up *keny* Mo- his metropolis, and with it the whole empire, on condition hammed. that his and his family's lives should be spared, and he permitted to carry with him all his children and treasures into *Eu- rope*; and that, when there, he should have a sufficient revenue assigned to maintain him and them. *Mohammed* at first refused these offers with great indignation, not doubting to be soon master of that metropolis; but, a second parley being desired, he in appearance accepted of them; but, having once got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherously caused him to be loaded with chains, and to be kept close prisoner. Being now master of the city, he seized on the emperor's wife (*G*), daughters, and upon the rest of his family, with

<sup>m</sup> LEUNCL. in pand. TURC. n. 188. & VIGNER. bibl. histor. in an. 1456. Vid. & CRUIS. not. in Turco-græc. p. 61. <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>o</sup> SPANDUGIN. pius in Asia, c. 53, & al. <sup>p</sup> LAONIC. ubi supra.

<sup>q</sup> ENNEAE SYLV. epist. 391. <sup>r</sup> DOROTH. MONEMB. apud Leon. Allat. de consens. utr. eccles. <sup>s</sup> PHRANZ. lib. iii. SPANDUG. LAONIC.

(G) So some authors affirm, utmost constancy, her husband, and add, that she saw, with the and seven of her sons, cruelly butchered

with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and caused them to be sent in triumph to *Constantinople*. Of the rest of the *Trapezuntines* he chose as many as he thought fit for his service, and ordered eight hundred promising youths to be brought up janisaries. The handsome females he distributed among his captains and favourites, and some of the finest amongst his own sons. He left in the city none but the meanest of the people; put a strong garrison of janisaries into the castle, another of common soldiers into the town; and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire submitted to the conqueror in a little while after; so that the whole was reduced to his obedience in few months, and he returned triumphant into *Constantinople*.

*The royal  
family  
butchered  
by him.*

A. C.  
1462.

SOON after his arrival thither, he sent the emperor *David*, and his children, prisoners to *Adrianople*; and, not long after, upon some motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour by the wife of *Usum Cazanes*, he caused them to be put to death. He strove to root out, as much as lay in his power, the whole *Comnenian* family; and none of them were spared, but *George* the youngest son of *David*, who turned *Mohammedan*; and one of his sisters, who became afterwards *Mohammed*'s concubine<sup>1</sup>. Thus ended the *Trapezantine* empire, in the year of Christ 1462. and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> PHRANZ. lib. iii. SPANDUG. LAONIC. DOROTH. MONEMB. & alii. Vide & CRUIS. DU FRESNE, & auct. ab eis citat. <sup>2</sup> LAONIC. lib. ix. & x. hist. politic. p. 21. RICAUT. Ottoman empire, &c. <sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

butchered by the tyrant, because they would not turn *Mohammedans*; and that she herself died soon after (4). But *Laonicus* affirms, that she found means, before the *Turkish* fleet appeared on their coasts, to make her escape to *Mamia*. (5); but what that

author means by that word, whether some place of safety, or some relation or friend, is not possible to guess. Another author affirms *David* to have been killed by a blow which *Mohammed* gave him with his doubled fist (6).

(4) Doroth. Menemb. Spandugin. Phranz. & al.  
(5) Lib. ix.

(6) Phranz. lib. iii. c. 2.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*The antient State and History of Spain, to the Expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Romans, and briefly continued to the Descent of the Northern Nations, and the uniting of its several kingdoms under Ferdinand and Isabella.*

## S E C T. I.

*Description of Spain.*

**A**S the only land contiguous to *Spain* was *Gaul*, from *Limits* whence it was separated on the north by the *Pyrenees*, and extent we may consider it as a peninsula. On the other sides, of *Spain*. we find it surrounded by the *Mediterranean*, the *Sinus Gadiitanus*, or bay of *Gadez*; the *Fretum Herculeum*, or straits of *Gibraltar*; the western ocean; and sea of *Cantabria*. It must have extended, from east to west, near thirteen degrees; since *Lisbon* is  $9^{\circ} 30'$  west of *London*, and cape *de Bauger* in *Catalonia*  $3^{\circ} 15'$  east of that city: and from north to south about nine degrees forty minutes; since cape *de Ortegal*, the northern extremity of modern *Spain*, is in  $44^{\circ} 10'$  north latitude, and the southermost point of *Tariffa* in  $35^{\circ} 50'$  north latitude. According to this determination, antient *Spain*, including *Lusitania* or *Portugal*, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of antient and modern *Spain* are the same, they may be looked upon as intirely the same region. Some modern geographers have assigned this kingdom too large an extent, as our readers will find by consulting them<sup>a</sup>.

THE generality of the Greek writers call *Spain* 'Ιβηρία *Iberia*, Names of either from a colony of *Iberians*, a people bordering upon *Spain*. mount *Caucasus*, planted there; or from the *Iberus*, the *Ebro* of the moderns, one of the most noted rivers of this country. However, the antients, who lived before *Polybius*, by *Iberia* understood only that part of *Spain* extending from the *Pyrenees* to *Calpe*, or the straits of *Gibraltar*, and terminated by the *Mediterranean*; the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst, the *Greeks* and *Romans*. As the *Iberus* was by far the most considerable river of

<sup>a</sup> STRAB. lib. iii. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. iii. c. 1. PTOL. geogr. lib. ii. c. 4. VID. & CHRISTOPHOR. CELLAR. in geogr. ant. lib. ii. c. 1. sub init. JOAN. LUYTS philosoph. profess. introd. ad geogr. nov. & vet. c. 6. p. 50, 51. Traject. ad Rhen. 1692. MORDEN, MOLL, CLUVER. &c.

this tract, it might have received the denomination of *Iberia* from thence, as *Egypt*, according to some, did its name from the *Nile*, which *Homer* intimates to have been called *Egyptus*. But, notwithstanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper *Iberia* was originally only that part of *Spain* called *Celtiberia*, from a body of *Celts* settling in it, bounded by the *Iberus*, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Mediterranean*; which if we admit, it is no wonder, that the *Phœnicians* gave it the name of *Iberia*: for the Hebrew עֵבֶר *Eber*, as well as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, or *Phœnician* אֶבְרִי *Ebra* or *Ibra*, in the singular number, signifies *a passage*, and, in the plural, *bounds* or *limits*. The *Phœnicians*, therefore, might either have called the most considerable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, *Eber*, *Iber*, *Ebra*, &c. and from thence styled the inhabitants of it *Iberians*; or have denominated the tract itself *Iberia*, from its situation; it having been generally considered by them as one of the remotest regions, or western limit, of the earth. Be that as it will, we can by no means think it probable, that any part of *Spain* was called *Iberia*, from a colony of *Iberians* settled there; since history does not in the least countenance such a notion. *Festus Avienus* places the *Iberi* upon the coast of the *Atlantic ocean*, to the west of the *Iberus*, a little river between the *Betis* and the *Anas*, the *Rio Tinto*, or *Rio de Azeche*, of the moderns. But his authority, with regard to the situation of the most antient *Iberi*, must give way to that of *Polybius*<sup>b</sup>.

Whence  
called  
*Spania*,  
or *Hispania*.

THE generality of *Spanish* writers derive its name from *Hilspan*, the son of *Hercules*, or *Hispal*, one of their fabulou kings; and father *Briet* from *Pan*, the lieutenant of *Bau*, to which the syllable *his*, which, in the *Teutonic* tongue, signifies *west*, was added, to denote its situation with respect to the rest of *Europe*. But it appears from *Bochart* and others, that the *Phœnicians* called *Spain*, at least that part of it known to them, שָׁפָנִיָּה *Sphanija*, or *Spanija*, from שָׁפָן *span*, a *rabbit*, because it abounded with those animals. In support of this notion, it may be observed, that, in many manuscripts of *Curtius*, *Justin*, *Capella*, *Apuleius*, *Julius Capitoinus*, *Athenaeus*, &c. for *Hispania* is found *Spania*, as we learn from *Casaubon* and *Selmanius*. From the *Phœnician*

<sup>b</sup> CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. ubi supra. POLYB. lib. iii. HOMER apud Bochart. in Chan. lib. i. c. 35. ut & ipse BOCHART. ibid. VAL. SCHINDLER. lex. pentaglot. in voc. בְּרַע. CLAUDIAN. in Stilich. STRAB. lib. iii. p. 169. & POSIDON. apud Strabon. ibid. PHILOSTRAT. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib. ii. c. 14. PIND. Olymp. iii. sub fin. & scholiast. Pind. in loc. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. iii. c. 7. FESTUS AVIEN. in or. maritim.

*Spanija*, the *Romans* deduced their *Spania* or *Hispmania*; which appellation, as well as *Iberia*, in common with the *Greeks*, they applied to the whole continent of *Spain*. That this country, or at least a considerable part of it, produced rabbits in vast abundance, may be evinced from the concurrent testimony of *Varro*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Aelian*, and many other writers of good authority, who tell us of an immense damage those creatures had done this country, by spreading their burrows so far, as to undermine and overturn whole cities: but that the *saphan* of the *Phœnicians* answered to the *rabbit*, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near resemblance to the latter, the *Phœnicians*, at their first arrival in *Spain*, might take them to be the same animal, and from thence impose upon this country a name, which has ever since prevailed. The antients sometimes, from its western situation, called *Spain* likewise by the name of *Hesperia*, and *Hesperia Ultima*. But these, and other poetical appellations, being also given to *Italy*, as well as to other western countries, we shall take no further notice of them, except that there were two principal *Hesperias*, to wit, the *Great*, which was *Italy*, and the *Less*, which was *Spain*, which were likewise distinguished into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*, or the *Nearer* and the *Farther* <sup>c</sup>.

As *Spain*, before the *Carthaginians* made any conquests *Various* there, was inhabited by many cantons, governed by their own *divisions* *reguli*, and independent on each other, it must have been ori- *of Spain*. *inally* divided into various petty kingdoms, the precise number of which it is impossible for us at this day to determine. *W<sup>t</sup>* : number of provinces the *Carthaginians* divided that part of *Spain* subject to them into, for want of sufficient light from ancient history, we must likewise own ourselves incapable of ascertaining. As for the *Romans*, the first division they made of *Spain*, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into *Hispania Citerior*, and *Hispania Ulterior*; and this, according to *Livy*, took place immediately after the conclu-

<sup>c</sup> VIRGIL. *Aeneid* lib. i. ver. 573. HORAT. lib. i. od. 36. VID. DACIER & LARUE in *Aeneid*. ubi supra. THEOPH. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. EUSEB. in chron. p. 13. EPIPHAN. in haeres. lxvi. sect. 83. PÆAN. de Hadrian. Scholiast. vet. JUVENAL. in sat. xiv. ATHEN. deipnosoph. lib. viii. sub init. SALMAS. & CASAUB. ap. Bochart. in Chan. lib. i. c. 35. ut & ipse BOCHART. ibid. VARR. de re rustic. lib. iii. c. 12. STRAB. lib. iii. p. 144—168. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. iii. c. 5. & lib. viii. c. 29, 58. AELIAN. de animal. lib. xiii. c. 15. GALLEN. de aliment. lib. iii. SHAW's physical observations, &c. in Syr. Phœnic. &c. p. 376. PROSP. ALFIN. hist. nat. Ægypt. par. i. c. 20. p. 80. & lib. iv. c. 9. & CELLAR. ubi supra.

sion of the second Punic war. However, for some political reasons, they thought proper to unite these two provinces, in the beginning of the Macedonian war; and again disjoined them in the consulate of *Q. Aelius Paetus* and *M. Junius Pennus*. This last disposition of Spain remained till the reign of *Augustus*, who altered it, by dividing *Hispania Ulterior* into two provinces; to wit, *Provincia Baetica*, and *Lusitania*, and affixing the name of *Provincia Tarraconensis* to *Hispania Citerior*. In some of the succeeding reigns, we find *Hispania Ulterior* and *Hispania Citerior* again mentioned; notwithstanding which, that the division, introduced by *Augustus*, continued as long as the Romans had any footing in Spain, appears extremely probable, both from the antient geographers, and many antique inscriptions exhibited by *Gruter* and *Reinesius*. Upon this plan, therefore, we shall here beg leave to give our readers a geographical description of antient Spain <sup>a</sup>.

*Limits and extent of Lusitania.* THE limits (A) of *Lusitania*, not having been always the same, we cannot take upon us to define. That it extended from the *Tagus* to the *Cantabrian ocean*, or at least the *Promontorium Celticum*, is intimated by *Strabo*. That part of it, situated betwixt the *Anas* and the *Tagus*, went by the name of *Celtica*, or the country of the *Celts*, as has been observed by *Isaac Vossius*. After *Augustus* had made the disposition of Spain above-mentioned, the *Anas* bounded *Lusitania* on the south, and the *Durius*, or *Douro* of the moderns, on the north; so that the whole tract, lying betwixt the *Durius* and the *Can-*

<sup>a</sup> POLYB. & LIV. pass. CIC. pro Fonteio, c. 3. & pro lege Mamil. c. 12. STRAB. in extrem. par. geogr. Dio, lib. liii. p. 503. POMPON. MEL. lib. i. c. 6. SOLIN. c. 23. TACIT. ann. iv. c. 13. PLIN. lib. iii. c. 2. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. & LUC. HOLSTEIN in loc. GRUT. inscript. xiii. p. 31. & alibi. REINES. inscript. claf. ii. n. 13. & alibi. Vid. & CELLAR. ubi supra.

(A) *Bocbart* says, that the country called *Lusitania*, derived its name from <sup>וְלָז</sup> *Luz* an almond, because it produced vast quantities of that fruit, as he proves from various authors. But we think, unless our readers should take it to be of *Celtic* original, it ought to be deduced from <sup>וְלָז</sup> *Luz* and <sup>תָּנָה</sup> נָתָן or <sup>תָּנָה</sup> תָּנָה, *Tana* or *Tani*, an almond and fig; for that *Lusitania* produced

both those kinds of fruit, *Bocbart* clearly evinces in the place referred to. It is plain, therefore, from hence, that the word *Lusitania* is not of *Roman* extraction (1). However, most of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniard* writers, who are fond of a fabulous antiquity, will have it, that this country was so named from *Lusus*, or *Lysus*, *Bacchus*'s prefect of it.

(1) *Bocbart*. Chan. lib. i. c. 35. Vol. Scbind. lex. pentaglot. in vocib.

tabrian ocean, was annexed to the *Provincia Tarraconensis*. The interior limits of *Lusitania*, upon the frontiers of the *Vettones* and *Carpetani*, are fixed differently by different authors; which, as *Cellarius* intimates, may have been owing to a mistake adopted by some of those authors; to wit, that the province of *Lusitania* corresponded exactly with the country of the *Lusitani*; whereas, according to *Pliny*, not only the *Lusitani*, but the *Celtici*, *Turduli*, *Vettones*, &c. were seated in that province. The *Lusitani* possessed the district bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, and stretching itself from the mouth of the *Anas* to the *Promontorium Sacrum*, now known by the name of cape *St. Vincent*. As for the *Celtici*, whose true name was *Mirobrigenses*, according to *Pliny*, their situation may be collected from what has been already observed. Some of the antient geographers make the *Turduli* and the *Turdetani* one nation, particularly *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*; though they seem to have been considered in a different light by *Polybius*. Be that as it will, the *Turdetani* were undoubtedly a powerful people, since they occupied a considerable part both of *Lusitania* and *Bætica*, as appears from *Strabo*. The same may be said of the *Vettones*, who spread themselves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the *Durius*, and on the south by the *Tagus*. However, as the antients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of those nations or cantons possessed, it is probable, that their frontiers were not always the same. Some authors assert *Vettonia*, or the country of the *Vettones*, to have been a province distinct from *Lusitania*, and limited on the south by the *Anas*; and this notion seems to be countenanced by an inscription in *Gruter*<sup>c</sup>. The principal cities of this province are the following:

On the sea-coast, 1. *Barbarium Promontorium*. 2. *Olipso*.  
3. *Tagi Fluvii Ostia*. 4. *Fontes Fluv.* 5. *Lunc Montis Promontorium*. 6. *Mondæ Fluv.* *Ostia*. 7. *Vaci Fluv.* *Ostia*.  
8. *Doria Fluv.* *Ostia*. 9. *Hannibal*.

THE inlands were, 1. *Lavara*. 2. *Aritium*. 3. *Selium*.  
4. *Elbocoris*. 5. *Araducta*. 6. *Verarium*. 7. *Velladis*. 8. *Amium*.  
9. *Chretina*. 10. *Arabriga*. 11. *Scalabisca*. 12. *Tacubis*. 13. *Concordia*. 14. *Talabriga*. 15. *Langobriga*. 16. *Mendeculia*. 17. *Caurium*. 18. *Turmcum*. 19. *Burduba*.  
20. *Colarnum*. 21. *Ifallæcus*. 22. *Amnea*. 23. *Ebura* or *Ebora*. 24. *Norba Cæsarea*. 25. *Liciniana*. 26. *Augusta Emerita*. 27. *Evandria*. 28. *Gerae*. 29. *Cæcilia Gemit*.

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. lib. iii. p. 96, 105, & alibi. ISAAC VOSSIUS in Pompon. Mel. PLIN. ubi supra. POLYB. ubi supra. PRUDENT. passion. Eulal. ver. 186. PETR. DE MARCA, Mares Hispanic. lib. ii. c. 2. GRUT. inscript. p. 383. n. 7. & CELLAR. ubi supra.

tina. 30. Capasa. 31. Conimbrica. 32. Collipo. 33. Ble-tifa. 34. Salmantica. 35. Salatia. 36. Pax Julia, and some others of less note.

It will not be expected that we should give a particular description of those places, a great part of which we know little of but the names. Those of most note are as follows :

**Olisipo.**

OLISIPO, *Olisippo*, or *Oliſipon*, since called *Lisboa* by the Portuguese, and by us *Lisbon*, stands at the mouth of the Tagus, and was corruptly named by several of the antients *Ulysippo*; from whence some have imagined, that it was built by *Ulysses*, in his return home from the *Trojan war*. But this notion ought to be looked upon as a mere fiction, destitute of the least shadow of historical proof to support it. We cannot therefore but believe, that *Olisipo*, or *Oliſipon*, which, from *Pliny*, the *Itinerary*, and *Gruter*, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two Phœnician words פָּנִים עַבְוָה *alis ubbo*, or *olis ippo*, *the pleasant bay*; for, that the antient *Olisipo* was seated on a bay, we learn from *Mela*; and that the bay, on which *Lisbon* stands, is extremely pleasant, all the moderns allow. *Oliſipon*, or *Lisbon*, the capital of the present kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarve*, is in 39° 10' north latitude, and 9° 30' west of *London*.

**Talabrica** TALABRICA, or *Talabriga*, a city seated upon the *Vacus*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Antoninus*, and *Appian*. The citizens of *Talabriga*, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the *Romans*, seem to have had an uncommon aversion to that people; which is the principal thing we find related of them <sup>f</sup>.

**Lango-briga.** LANGOBRIGA (B), a town situated between the *Vacus* and the *Durius*, not far from the sea-coast. As both *Pliny* and *Antoninus* take particular notice of it, it must have been a place of some repute <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> SOLIN. c. 23. GRUT. inscript. p. 252. n. 5. PLIN. l. iv. c. 22. CELLAR. ubi supra, p. 56. POMPON. MELA & MERCATOR apud BOCHART. ubi supra, ut & ipse BOCHART. ibid. <sup>g</sup> ANTONIN. itinerar. PLIN. lib. iii. APPIAN. in bell. Hispan. <sup>h</sup> PLIN. & ANTONIN. ubi supra.

(B) The word *Brica* or *Briga*, in the old Spanish language, signified a city, as we learn from *Resendius*. Therefore *Cetobriga*, *Arabriga*, *Langobriga*, *Meidobriga*, &c. are equivalent to the city of *Ceto*, the city of *Ara*, the city of *Lango*, the city of *Meido*, &c. Hence, probably, came the words *Brigantius*, *Brigantii*, *Brigantium*, *Brigobanna*, &c. all which are evidently of Celtic extraction (2).

(2) Laur. Andr. Resend. in antiquitat. Lusitan. lib. iv. in *Cetobriga*.

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**A**RADUCTA, or, according to *Reinesius*, *Ara Traducta*, Araducta. a Roman town, standing to the west of *Langobriga*. Our readers will find it in *Ptolemy's* list of the towns appertaining to *Lusitania* <sup>i.</sup>

**ÆMINIUM**, a city of this province, mentioned by *Pliny* and *Æminius Ptolemy*, near the northern bank of the *Munda*, a little to the um. S. of *Talabriga* <sup>k.</sup>

**CONIMBRICA**, a city seated on the opposite bank of the *Mon-* Conimbra. *bra*. Out of the ruins of this place has arisen the modern *Coimbra*, one of the finest towns in *Portugal*, and celebrated all over the learned world, for the famous university which has so long flourished there <sup>l.</sup>

**ARABRIGA**, *Sellium*, and *Concordia*, betwixt *Conimbrica* *Arabriga*. and the *Tagus*, seem to have been places of some note, though *Sellium*, we have scarce any particulars relating to them handed down to *and Concordia* by the antient geographers <sup>m.</sup>

**COLLIPO**, a *Roman* municipium, between the *Munda* and *Collippo*. the *Tagus*, upon the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean. We find this town named, by an inscription in *Gruter*, *COLLIPRO*; but that the R there was originally a P, appears from the best manuscripts of *Pliny*, as well as another inscription. Not far from this city, in a south-western direction, stood *Eburobritium*, or as, in our opinion, it ought to have been written, *Eburobriga*. As the stones that preserved the above-mentioned inscriptions were in the neighbourhood of *Liria*, some believe, that the ruins of the antient *Collippo* are to be sought for there <sup>n.</sup>

**SCALABIS**, or *Scalabis*, as some think it called by *Ptole-* Scalabis. *my*, has been considered by *Cellarius* as the fifth *Roman* colony of *Lusitania*, farnamed *Præsidium Julium*. The *Spaniæ* writers almost unanimously agree, that the spot on which this town stood, is at present occupied by *Santerien*, a *Portuguese* town, about forty miles N. E. of *Lisbon*; though the *Scalabis* of *Ptolemy* had a situation assigned it to the N. of the *Mun-* da <sup>o.</sup>

**ARITIUM PRÆTORIUM**, and *Hierabriga*, in the neigh- Aritium brhood of *Scalabis*, are mentioned by the *Itinerary*. The *Prætori-* former-place stood thirty-eight *Roman* miles from *Olisipo*, and um, and the latter thirty P. Hierabriga.

**NORBA CÆSAREA**, a town of repute during the govern- Norba briga. ment of the *Romans* in *Spain*, on the southern bank of the Cæsarca.

<sup>i</sup> *Ptol.* *geograph.* lib. ii. c. 5. *Tho. Reines.* apud *Cellar.* ubi supra. <sup>k</sup> *Plin.* & *Ptol.* ubi supra. <sup>l</sup> *Plin.* ubi supra.

*Laur. Andr. Resend.* in antiquit. *Lusitan.* lib. iv. <sup>m</sup> *Ptol.* & *Antonin.* ubi supra. <sup>n</sup> *Plin.* *Ptol.* & *Resend.* ubi sup.

*Grut. Inscript.* p. 323, & p. 1155. <sup>o</sup> *Plin.* *Ptol.* *Resend.* & *Cellar.* ubi supra. <sup>p</sup> *Antonin.* *itinerar.* ubi supra.

*Tagus*, near the famous stone bridge built over that river, and dedicated to *Trajan*. *Pliny* calls the inhabitants of this city *Colonia Norbensis*. Some Spanish authors believe *Norba Caesararea* to have been contiguous to *Trajan's* bridge. But other writers of that nation, well versed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. The latter, in support of their opinion, affirm the city of *Alcantara*, seated on the spot adjoining to the noble structure above-mentioned, to have been built by the *Saracens*; but the former think it may have arisen out of the ruins of the antient *Norba*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* seem to favour the sentiment of those who place *Norba* at some distance from the bridge, since they make that town, or, which is the same thing, the *Colonia Norbensis*, to have been situated in a territory on the south of the *Tagus*. Be that as it will, we are informed by an antient Roman inscription in *Gruter*, that the Roman municipia of *Lusitania*, by sums raised amongst themselves, finished the aforesaid bridge, in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*. The names of these municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preserved by a stone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or the town of *Norba*; to wit, *Icadita*, *Lancia Oppidana*, *Arabriga*, *Mirobriga*, *Lancia Transcudana*, *Colarnum*, *Meidobriga*, *Interamnia*, &c. Some, if not all, of these municipia, undoubtedly made a considerable figure, though we are supplied with very few particulars relating to them by the antient geographers and historians <sup>a</sup>.

*Bletifa.*

*BLETISA* was situated near some of the above-mentioned municipia, on the southern bank of the *Durius*, as may be inferred from an inscription in *Gruter*. The modern name of *Bletifa* is *Leedesma*, according to *Mariana*, who supposes the antient and modern cities, going by those names, to have been the same. As to any farther particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark <sup>b</sup>.

*Salmantica.*

*SALMANTICA*, called at this day *Salamanca*, was in the neighbourhood of *Bletifa*, as appears from the above-mentioned inscription. It is at present famous all over the world, on account of the flourishing university founded there, which, for several ages, has been deemed the principal seat of literature in *Spain* <sup>c</sup>.

*Augusta Emerita.*

*AUGUSTA EMERITA*, the capital of this province in the Roman times, upon the *Anas*, was built by a body of superannuated soldiers, to whom *Augustus* assigned a district in *Lusitania*; from whence this city deduced its name. This colony

<sup>a</sup> *PLIN. PTOL. RESEND.* ubi supra. *NONIUS* & *VASEUS* apud *Cellar.* ubi supra, p. 58. *GRUT.* inscript. p. 162. <sup>b</sup> *GRUT.* inscript. p. 199. n. 2. *MARIAN.* lib. vii. c. 4. *CELLAR.* ubi supra.

<sup>c</sup> *PTOL. & GRUTER.* ubi supra.

we find frequently mentioned by antient *Roman* coins and inscriptions. *Emerita* at first appertained to the *Turduli*, according to *Strabo*; though afterwards it was ranked among the towns of the *Vettones*, as we learn from *Prudentius*. This may be easily accounted for, if we consider, that the *Vettones*, in process of time becoming more powerful than the *Turduli*, at length made themselves masters of their country. Our readers will find a more minute account of this city and colony in the authors here referred to<sup>c</sup>.

**EBORA**, called by the *Romans*, *Liberalitas Julia*, was *Ebora*. seated between the *Tagus* and the *Anas*, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The same spot is at present occupied by *Evora*, where there has long flourished a famous university. This town was a *Latin municipium*, as appears from several antient coins and inscriptions<sup>d</sup>.

**SALACIA**, the *Alacer do Sol* of the moderns, stood some *Salacia* miles to the W. of *Ebora*. From some antient inscriptions in *Gruter* it may be inferred, that this place was a *Roman municipium*<sup>w</sup>.

**PAX JULIA**, the *Beja* of the moderns, a city in the southern *Pax Julia*, part of the province, stood near the frontiers of the *Turdetani*, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Antoninus*. Near this place a vast number of *Roman* coins and inscriptions have been found within these few years. All the remaining tract to the south of this city, limited on the east, west, and south, by the *Anas*, the *Atlantic ocean*, and bay of *Gades*, from its figure, was called *Cuneus* by *Pomponius Mela* and *Strabo*. *Myrtulis*, *Balsa*, *Ossonaba*, and other places of this tract, deserve not any great regard. However, it may not be improper to observe, that, according to *Resendius*, *Mertola*, or *Mertolo*, a modern town upon the *Anas*, and *Tanilla*, or *Tavira*, a considerable city of *Algarve*, answer to the antient *Myrtulis* and *Balsa*. As for *Ossonaba*, if we will believe the same author, it has for a long time lain in ruins, though some footsteps of it are still remaining, particularly in the walls of *Faro*, another town of *Algarve*, upon the sea coast. The *Lacobriga* of *Mela* stood under the *Promontorium Sacrum*, known in these times by the name of *Cape St. Vincent*, upon a spot occupied at present by a village called *Lagoa* by the *Portuguese*, near the city of *La-*

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. ubi supra. DIO, lib. liii. p. 114. NUM. AUGUST. & NUM. TIBER. apud CELLAR. ubi supra, p. 60. PRUDENT. ubi supra.

LUDOVIC. NON. c. 31. <sup>d</sup> PLIN. ubi supra. GRUTER. INSCRIPT.

p. 489. n. 9. NUM. VAR. AUGUST. apud CELLAR. ubi supra, p. 62.

<sup>w</sup> PLIN. ubi supra, & alibi. GRUT. INSCRIPT. p. 13. n. 16.

gos, where some remains of it are still to be seen \*. The names of the rest of the towns may be found in the authors quoted below †.

As to the *Lusitanians*, if we may believe *Strabo*, they preferred living upon the plunder of their neighbours, rather than the improving their lands, tho' naturally fertile and rich. In other cases their manner of living was rude and simple. They used to warm themselves by means of some fire-stones made red hot. They bathed in cold water, eat but of one dish at a meal, and that very sparingly. Their dress was commonly black. They made no use of coin, but either bartered one commodity for another, or for some plates of silver, flattened with the hammer, and cut into pieces. They used, like the *Egyptians*, *Gauls*, and other antient nations, to expose their sick on the highways, that travelers might direct them to proper medicines for their cure. They were robust and stout, and so warlike, that the *Romans* did not conquer them without great difficulty and length of time, and more by dint of artifice than valour. Thus far our author ‡.

*Promontories of Lusitania.* THE chief promontories of *Lusitania* were the *Promontorium Sacrum*, *Promontorium Barbarium*, and the *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Olisponense*; to which some add a fourth, called by *Pliny Cuneus*. The *Promontorium Sacrum*, or *Cape St. Vincent*, formed an angle, projecting into the bay of *Gades* and the *Atlantic ocean*, which was termed the western extremity of the world by *Strabo*. The *Promontorium Barbarium*, at present *Cape Spichel*, lay to the south of *Olivipo*, tho' not very distant from the mouth of the *Tagus*. The *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Olisponense*, styled by some of the moderns, *Cape de Rocca Sintra*, projected into the *Atlantic ocean* near *Olivipo*, and was made by *Pliny* the common boundary of *Earth, Sea, and Heaven*. As for *Pliny's Cuneus*, it is supposed to be the promontory at this day known by the name of *Cape St. Mary*, by *Cellarius* §.

*Ports and islands.* THE principal ports of this province were those of *Olivipo*, at present *Lisbon*, and *Hannibal*. The situation of the former is so well known, as not to admit of a dispute; but that of the latter cannot be so easily ascertained. *Mela*, upon whose authority it intirely depends, places it near the *Promontorium Sacrum*; which is all that we can say of it. The only island

\* *PLIN. PTOL. ANTONIN.* ubi supra. *POMPON. MEL. & STRAB.* ubi supra. *LAUR. ANDR. RESEND.* in antiquit. *Lusitan.* & *GRUT.* inscript. pass. † *PLIN. PTOL. STRABO, MELA, CELLAR.* &c. ‡ *STRABO*, lib. iii. § *Idem ibid. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22. & alibi. & HARDUIN.* in loc. *PTOL.* lib. ii. c. 5. *CELLAR.* ubi supra.

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taken notice of by the antients, on the coast of *Lusitania*, is the *Londobris* of *Ptolemy*, the *Barlenga* or *Barlinges* of the moderns b.

THE *Mons Herminius* of *Hirtius*, the modern *Arminno*, Moun-  
seems to have been the only mountain of note in this country. tains.  
It is rather a long ridge of mountains, since known by the  
name of *Sierra de Estretta*, and running from north to south,  
between the provinces of *Beira & tra los Montes*. On the top  
are two lakes of vast extent, and very deep, one of them espe-  
cially, which they have never yet been able to fathom. What  
is still more surprising is, that they are calm when the sea is  
so, and rough when that is stormy. Hence, as well as from  
the loud and dreadful noise they make, which is echoed by the  
adjacent hills, and heard at many leagues distance, they are  
judged to have some subterranean communication with the  
ocean ; which is still further confirmed by some wrecks of  
ships which are now-and-then thrown up by their waves, tho'  
at near four miles distance from the sea. *Herminius Minor*,  
now *Sierra de Marvao*, from the city of that name, to which  
it stretches itself, is part of the *Greater Herminius*, and runs  
into the province of *Alentejo* ; but is nothing so considerable.  
The warlike inhabitants of the former were called *Plumbarii*,  
from their lead-mines and works ; and, according to *Cellarius*,  
the city of *Medobriga* or *Meidobriga*, stood at the foot of it c.

THE most celebrated rivers of *Lusitania* were the *Anas*, the Rivers.  
*Tagus* (now *Tajo*), and the *Durius*. The *Anas* is called at  
present the *Guadiana*, the *Tagus*, the *Tajo*, and the *Durius* the *Douro*. To these may be added the *Munda*, which now goes  
under the name of the *Mondego* ; and the *Vacus*, now called  
the *Voga*. They all flow from E. to W. and empty them-  
selves into the *Atlantic ocean* d.

We shall here only mention some few natural curiosities of Curiosities.  
*Lusitania* : 1. The lead-mine near *Meidobriga*, from whence  
*Pliny* denominates the inhabitants of that place *Plumbarii* ;  
which still exists. 2. The golden sand, or small particles of  
gold, mixed with the sand, of the *Tagus*. This we find at-  
tested by *Pomponius Mela*, *Ovid*, *Pliny*, *Silius Italicus*, &c.  
and the truth of it seems confirmed by *Resendius* ; for that fa-  
mous antiquary assures us, that some of these golden particles  
were found, intermixed with the sand of the *Tagus*, in his  
time ; but that the laws of *Portugal* would not permit people  
throw up the interior sand on the banks of the *Tagus*, with  
which these particles are supposed to be incorporated, lest the  
neighbouring fruitful fields should be thereby damaged. He

<sup>b</sup> *MEL.* lib. iii. c. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *HIRT.* c. 48. *CELLAR.* ubi supra,  
p. 60, 61.

<sup>d</sup> *PTOL.* ubi supra. *CELLAR.* ubi supra, p. 54, 55.

adds, that the kings of *Portugal* have a sceptre of the *Tagan* gold, than which no purer is to be found in the world<sup>c</sup>. 3. Besides the two lakes above-mentioned, we may add the famed pool near *Roya*, remarkable for its hideous noise, like that of thunder at a distance, which is commonly heard before a storm, above eighteen or twenty miles off. 4. Another pool, near the river *Moudego*, mentioned by *Pliny*, and by many modern authors, which is observed to swallow down every thing that is thrown into it, tho' ever so light. We might add the vast variety of hot and medicinal, and other surprising springs with which this kingdom abounds; which may be seen in *Vaseus*'s description of it, who adds, that the single province, formerly called *Interamnis*, and now *Entre Duero e Minho*, hath no less than 25000 constantly flowing with clear and excellent water.

*Bætica  
described.*

*Its inhab-  
itants.*

THE second province of *Hispania Ulterior*, or *Farther Spain*, was *Bætica*, so called from the famed river *Bætis*, since *Tartessus*, and now *Guadalquivir*, or the *Great River*. We have already mentioned its limits on the west or *Lusitanic* side; it was bounded on the south by the *Mediterranean*, and the *Sinus Gaditanus*, or gulph of *Gades*; and on the north by the *Cantabric* sea, now the sea of *Biscay*. As to its limits towards the north-east, or province of *Tarraco*, they cannot be so well fixed, because they are rightly supposed to have been in a constant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to incroach upon his neighbour. Hence antient authors place those on the sea-coast differently; to wit, *Ptolemy* at *Barræa*<sup>e</sup>, *Pliny* somewhat higher, at *Murgis*<sup>f</sup>, tho' both situated on the *Sinus Virgitanus*, a little below *New Carthage*. The same may be said of the inland ones, which are likewise differently placed, either higher or lower, from the province of *Tarragona*, as may be seen by the authors above-quoted. The *Bætis* before-mentioned divided this province into two parts; on the one side of which, towards the *Anas*, were situate the *Turdetani* (A), from whence the country was called *Turdetania*,

<sup>c</sup> POMPON. MEL. lib. iii. c. 1. OVID. met. lib. ii. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22. & lib. xxxiii. c. 4. SIL. ITAL. lib. i. ver. 234. PROL. & CELLAR. ubi supra. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Lusitan. lib. ii. <sup>f</sup> Geogr. ubi supra. <sup>g</sup> Hist. lib. iii. c. 1. VID. CELLAR. lib. ii. c. 1. seqq. i. GERUND.

(A) Some add, after *Polybius*, on the same side of the *Bætis*, the *Turduli*, as different from them. We have already spoken of both. They were (1) situate but higher up: but as that author rather distinguishes them only with regard to their situa-

(1) *Gerundens. paralip. lib. i.*

tion;

*nia*, but better known by the name of *Bæturia*. On the other side were situated the, *Bæstuli*, *Bæstiani*, and *Contestani*, along the *Mediterranean* coasts. The reader will find, under the next note, all that can be found concerning those people (B). We forbear mentioning a great number of others, of which we know little more than the names. The reader may see them in *Cellarius* above-mentioned; and, if he cares to depend upon the *Spanish* authors for either their situation, cities, or other particulars, he may consult those we have lately quoted both in the text and notes.

WE come now to speak of the *Roman* colonies in this province; which *Pliny* tells us was the most fertile, best cultivated, and pleasantest of all the rest. The *Romans* had four tribunals, or, as they styled them, *Conventus juridici*; to wit, 1. *Gades*, now *Cadiz*. 2. *Cordova*. 3. *Afrixi*, now *Eciña*. 4. *Hispal*, now *Sevil*. They had, besides, about one hundred and thirty cities, among which nine were styled colonies; eighteen municipal; twenty-nine which enjoyed the franchise of *Latium*; six free cities; three allied ones; and one hundred and twenty tributary <sup>b</sup>.

THE whole province of *Bætica*, according to the last-quoted author's division, contained what we now call *Andalusia*, part of the kingdom of *Granada*, and the outward boundaries of *Estramadura*.

WITH

<sup>a</sup> Vid. *BRIET*. parallel. part. 2. lib. iv. c. 3.

tion; and *Ptolemy* seems to intimate, that they were but one people (2); we see no reason for making two of them, any farther than the distinction of higher and lower will go; especially as *Strabo* makes the two names to be indifferently given to them (3); and these are by some authors (4) affirmed to have been the antientest people in all *Spain*.

(B) Of the first of these we have already spoken. The *Bæstuli*, supposed to be of *Phænician* or *Libyan* extract, extended from the streights of *Gibraltar*, along the *Mediterranean* coast, till, driven from thence by the *Moors*,

they fled into the mountainous part of *Galicia*, which they then called by their name *Bæstulia*. The *Bæstiani*, or *Bæstitan*, were seated higher up on the same coasts. The territories of both these made what since became the kingdom of *Granada*, in which there is a ridge of very high mountains, called, from the latter, the *Bæstetanian* mountains. Mention is made also of their capital *Bæstiana*, a place of such strength, that king *Ferdinand* was six months in besieging it, before he could take it from the *Moors* (5).

(2) *Lib. ii.* (3) *Lib. iii.*  
*Gerund. Gavibai. Antigued. &c. sl.*  
*de gell. I. Ximen.*

(4) *Vaff. chron. Turapb de reg. Hisp.*  
(5) *Bulgar. commentar. Serdin. Comac.*

WITH respect to the cities and colonies above-mentioned, we shall, for brevity's sake, single out only some of the most celebrated ones; to wit, that of the *Accitani*, situate between the *Bastuli* and *Bastitani*, along the same shore. We find it mentioned by *Pliny*<sup>1</sup>, and by some antient inscriptions, under the name of *COLONIA JULIA GEMELLA ACCITANA*<sup>k</sup>, whose citizens were called *Gemellenses*, because that colony was made up of two legions, to wit, the third and sixth, as appears by those inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. It is supposed to be the present city of *Guadiz* in *Granada*, an antient episcopal see, formerly called the *Accitanus*, from *Acci*, the name of that city (C). Those of *Gades*, *Corduba*, *Afzigi*, and *Hispal*, were famed for their courts of judicature. The other four, whose situation is less known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than in any of the other two provinces, the reader may see in *Briet's* parallel above-mentioned<sup>m</sup>; all which confirms what *Pliny* says of this<sup>n</sup>, that it excelled them by far; for so it did in richness, extent, number of cities and harbours, fertility of its soil, commodious situation for traffick, and many other particulars: and this may be one great reason, why the *Romans* cultivated and encouraged it more than they did the rest.

*Their cities.*

How few of those antient cities this province had before the coming in of the *Romans*, is not difficult to guess, if we only consult the best antient authors with any tolerable attention; though, if we were to trust to the *Spanish* writers, it must have not only abounded with them, but they must likewise have been vastly large, populous, and opulent, even before the coming of the *Tyrians*, *Phoenicians*, and other nations, of whom we shall give an account in the sequel. And yet these, espe-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. lib. iii. c. 1.      <sup>k</sup> GRUT. p. 271. n. 6.      <sup>l</sup> CELLAR. lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3.      <sup>m</sup> Ubi supra, sect. 2, & seq.      <sup>n</sup> Lib. iii. c. 1. De his vid. GERUND. TARAPH. GARIB. VASEUM, &c al.

The *Contestani* are, by some, placed in this province of *Bætica*, and by others in that of *Tarracon*. They were most likely seated between, and extended themselves a good way into both. They are said, by *Ptolemy* (6), to have been settled there by *Tisla*, one of their kings, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and called from him *Con-*

*testani*, as well as their chief city *Contestinum* (7); but that king, though mentioned also by *Magnabo*, is generally ranked among the dubious, if not fabulous.

(C) The *Spaniards* pretend, that *Torquatus*, a disciple of James the apostle, was by him appointed the first bishop of it (8).

(6) Ubi supra. Vide & Taraph. sub ann. 1424.      (7) Idem ibid.      (8) Vaf. cbren. c. 20.      eially

cially the *Tyrians*, are affirmed by the same authors to have built some fresh considerable ones, every one in the places where they settled themselves ; for all which we have no better grounds, than for that of *Ulisipo*, and its pretended founder, of which we spoke under the first article of this chapter. But, when we come to examine things more closely, we find no such traces of this boasted number of cities. On the contrary it is plain, that, when the *Turdetani* had, at the instigation of *Hannibal*, assisted the brave *Saguntines* their neighbours against the *Romans*, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not so much as recorded (D) ; and which these caused to be razed, and the inhabitants to be sold for slaves <sup>o</sup>, as a deterrent to others from lending their assistance to any whom they thought proper to war against. *Ptolemy* mentions but one sea-port town on the coast of the *Baetitani* ; to wit, that of *Ogœni Urce*, since *Vergi*, in the bay of that name, tho' we find some considerable ones on those coasts, such as *Menobia*, *Abdera*, *Portus Magnus*, *Beria*, *Murgis*, and some others. In the inland were likewise a considerable number, which *Pliny*, in his *Natural History*, tells us, in his time amounted to an hundred and seventy-two. The greatest part of these being, in all appearance, and from the *Roman* names given them, either founded or enlarged by that nation, such as those of *Asta Nebris*, *Ugia*, and *Orrippa* <sup>p</sup>, on the banks of the *Bætis*, below *Hispal* ; we have not time to dwell upon them, but shall content ourselves with a short mention of those of the greatest note. Among these is the famed city of *Hispal*, now *Hispal*. *Seville* (E), situate on the river *Bætis* above-mentioned, and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought a vast number of merchandizes up to this city, and thence quite up to

• LIV. lib. xxi. c. 6. lib. xxiv. c. 42.

<sup>p</sup> De his vide CEL-

LAR. ubi supra.

(D) This the *Spaniards* think to have been called *Turvel*, situated near the spring-head of the river *Thurias* or *Durius*, and to which they have given the antient name of *Turdeta*.

(E) Some pretend, that it was founded and named by *Hispal*, one of their fabulous kings, and the son of *Hercules* (9) ; others, that it was so called from the *pa-*

*lus*, or marsh, on which it was founded ; or rather from the *pa- lli*, or stakes, upon which the foundation of it was laid (1). That of *Seville*, or, as it was antiently written, *Civilia*, is thought to be only a corruption of *Civitas Julia*, as it is called in some antient inscriptions (2). But when, or by whom, it was founded, is not to be guessed at.

(9) *Vaf. Garib.* & al. sup. citat.  
ibid. c. 9.

(1) *Paralip.* c. 1.

(2) *Idem*

*Corduba.* This city is styled by *Pliny Colonia Romulensis*, and by some antient inscriptions *Colonia Romulea*. We took notice above, that it was one of the four courts of judicature. *Corduba.* The next city in rank to *Hispal* is *Corduba*, now *Cordoua*, no less famed for its rich mines, and fertile soil, or, as the poet calls it <sup>4</sup>, *aurifera terra*, than the other was for its trade. It is situate on the banks of the same river, was called a patrician colony, and is said by *Strabo* to have been the work of *Marcellus* (F). *Tartessus* was once a famed antient city, pleasantly situate between the two mouths of the *Bætis* (G), which made a

<sup>4</sup> *SIL. ITAL. lib. iii. ver. 401.*

(F) Our author leaves us in the dark which of the *Roman* generals of that name he meant; so that the *Spanish* writers are much divided about it. *Vasæus*, often quoted, thinks, that it was he who was cotemporary with *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; because he finds no mention made of this city before him (3). But *Nomius* thinks it to be of much older date (4); since the same *Strabo* calls it *Coloniam primam*, or first colony, which the *Romans* sent into this part of *Spain*. And it is mentioned by *Silius Italicus* in the second *Puric* war (5). As for the title of *Colonia Patricia*, given to it, it is not only mentioned by *Pliny*, but by some antient inscriptions in *Gruter*, to which we refer (6); and this is further explained by what *Strabo* adds, that it was from the beginning inhabited by noblemen of the *Romans*, and other nations (7).

(G) *Strabo* says, that the *Bætis* formerly emptied itself into the sea at two different places (8). One of them has been since stopped up. *Mela* mentions the

city of *Carteia* in the same bay (9), which, he says, some fancy to have been the antient *Tartessus*. Hence authors are divided in their opinions, whether these were two distinct cities, or the same with different names. We find nothing that can satisfy our readers on that head, antient authors often confounding these two names and that of *Gades* together, as the learned *Bochart* and others have justly observed.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from *Tartessus* to that of *Gades*, on account of *Hercules's* setting up his two columns there (1), it is rightly rejected. We have given a truer account of the foundation of *Gades* in our *Carthaginian* history, to which we refer, to avoid repetition (2). As for *Carteia*, a late author endeavoured to prove it to be the present town of *Rocadillo*, distant about four miles from *Gibraltar* (3); but the point is far from being cleared by him, and too dark and prolix for us to dwell longer upon, in a work of this nature.

(3) *Ibid. c. 20. p. 550.*

(4) *Ibid. c. 19. p. 550.*

(5) *Lib. iii. ver. 401.*

(6) *Grut. i. c. 6. (7) Lib. iii. (8) Ibid. (9) *De situ orb. lib. 1. (1) Dionysius Alexandr. Vide anct. Hisp. sup. citat. & Gerund. parviph. lib. i. (2) See vol. xvii. p. 517. (3) Creduit. discourse of the situation of Carteia.**

kind of island, called after the name of that city<sup>r</sup>, *Tartessida*. This antient city is celebrated by some of the Latin poets, as situate on the farthest verge of the western shore<sup>s</sup>; but, for the other particulars of it, we refer our readers to the last note, as we must do, for the remainder of the cities of this province, to the authors so often cited already, and especially to the late and accurate *Cellarius*, in the chapter above-quoted; and for *Gades* or *Gadir*, now *Cadiz*, to what we copiously said of it in the former volume<sup>t</sup>.

WE come now to say something of the famous bays and *Bays and ports* of this province; the first of which, next to *Gades* above-mentioned, is that called *Portus Menestæus*, mentioned by *Mene-*  
*Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, who doth likewise place here the oracle *stæus Por-* of that name. The next is that of *Besippo*, the country of the tus.  
famed *Pomponius Mela*, and some others, without the streights mouth. *Calpe*, *Carteia*, *Barbesul*, *Cilniana*, *Salduba*, *Suel*, and *Malaca*, within the streight, and on the coasts of the *Bastuli*. *Menoba*, *Selumbina*, *Abdera*, and *Portus Magnus*, and likewise the famed promontory of *Charidemus*; all which are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, and placed by them on the *Bastitanian* coasts. Beyond the promontory lately mentioned are the cities of *Baria* or *Barea*, and *Murgis*, *Baria*. in the *Virgitanian* bay; the former of which is reckoned by *Murgis*. *Ptolemy*, and the latter by *Pliny*, the last sea-port of the *Basti-*  
*tani*, as we hinted a little higher. Those antient authors are, however, neither well agreed, nor easily reconciled, about the situation, names, and some other particulars relating to those cities. Thus, for instance, *Calpe*, which is by *Strabo* styled a *Calpe*. famed antient Spanish sea-port, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned *Bochart* and *Casaubon* have thought, that *Calpe*, in the former, was inserted, by the mistake of the transcriber, for *Carteia*, espe-  
cially as no mention is made in the others of any city besides it in that bay. But this has been in a great measure answered, by some learned men, from the inscription on a medal, with these letters, C. I. CALPE; that is, as they read it<sup>u</sup>, *Colo-*  
*nia Julia Calpe*. And this they back with a passage out of *N. Damascen*<sup>w</sup>; who says, that *Octavius* overtook *Cæsar* near the city of *Calpia*, which is the same with *Calpe*: so that *Stras-*  
*bo's* text wants no amendment, and one of these two opini-  
ons must be right; to wit, either that there were several

<sup>r</sup> STRAB. ubi supra.      <sup>s</sup> SIL. ITAL. ubi supra. ver. 399, &  
alibi. OVID. metamorph. lib. xiv. ver. 416.      <sup>t</sup> Vol. xvii. p. 344,  
& (E).      <sup>u</sup> SPANH. de præst. numism. p. 766. NORIS cenotaph.  
Pisan. p. 217.      <sup>w</sup> Excerpt. VALES. apud Cellar. l.b. ii. c. 1.  
lect. 2. art. 34.

cities situate on the mouth of the streight, on account of its advantageous situation, one of which was called *Calpe* or *Calpa*, or else, that the *Cartea*, which was situate near the promontory of *Calpe*, had likewise taken that name from it; and accordingly the *Itinerary* mentions a city, in the road from *Malaga* to *Cadiz*, which he calls *Calpe Carteia*, joining thereby those two names, probably to shew, that they signified the same thing. *Barbesul*, *Asta*, and some others of the sea-ports above-named, appear likewise to have been considerable colonies, as well as a number of inland towns, in particular that of *Munda*, where *Caesar* overcame the sons of *Pompey*. But, as we are obliged to study brevity, we shall refer the rest to the author last-quoted.

*The river Baetis, &c.* RIVERS of any note there are not in this province, except the *Bætis*, often mentioned already, or, as it is sometimes written, *Bætes* and *Betis*. It hath, according to *Pliny* <sup>x</sup>, its spring-head in the *Tugiensian* forest, so named from *Tugia*, a town mentioned in the *Itinerarium* of *Antoninus* (H), in the province of *Tarragon*, at the foot of the *Oreopodan* mountains. Others of lesser note are the *Barbesola*, near the city or mount *Calpe* above-mentioned, the *Saduca*, which seems to have divided the *Bastuli* from the *Accitani*, and some few others not worth dwelling upon. Mountains, of a considerable length and height, this providence certainly abounds with. We find, however, but few mentioned by antient authors. *Ptolemy* takes notice only of two; to wit, the *Mariani* and *Hipylæ*, the latter of which were scarcely known to any other antient writer <sup>y</sup>. These, as they run along the territories of *Hispal* or *Seville*, were, we are told, called *Illipæ*; and, as they came nearer to *Corduba*, *Themarini*, and *Orthosdadeæ* <sup>z</sup>: the former, which are by *Pliny* called *Ariani* (I), run along the famed desert of the same name, now known by that of *Sierra Morena*, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Castulo*. The

<sup>x</sup> Lib. iii. c. 1. <sup>y</sup> Lib. ii. c. 4. <sup>z</sup> Vide MARIN. SICUL. reb. Hisp. lib. i. sect. de montibus.

(H) That author places it in the road between *Castulo* and *Malaca*, at about thirty-five miles distance from the latter.

(I) As these mountains are called, by the generality of authors, and by one antient inscription, by the first name; and, by the second, only by *Pliny* and the

*Itinerarium*; it is supposed, that the M, in these, was, by some of the copyists, dropped; but whether they were the same, or different, is not of any great consequence to inquire, with so little help, and under so great an uncertainty (4).

(4) *De his vnde Celler. lib. iii. c. 1. in fin. sect. 2.*

region of the *Bastitani* was likewise full of them, as we hinted in a former note ; and all that needs be added, with relation to them all, is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of several kinds, particularly gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead ; the greatest quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of those called *Mariani*, which the *Romans* improved to no small advantage, having every-where their *procuratores rei metallicæ*, or overseers of the mines. That of *Calpe*, mentioned a little higher, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its situation ; and so no more need be said of it.

THE goodness of the soil and air of *Spain* in general is too *Soil*, *climate*, well known to need any mention here. This province was *mate*, and particularly remarkable for it ; and we shall have occasion, in *produce*, the sequel, to give further proofs of it, from the healthiness *Healthy* and longevity of its inhabitants. And so little did they know *inhabitants* of physic, that, if we may believe *Posidonius*, they used, like *ants*. The *Lusitani* lately mentioned, to lay their sick relations along the public streets and roads, to have the advice of such passengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very *women* were so robust and healthy, that they knew not what it *men*. was to keep their bed after they were delivered ; but used to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themselves and the child. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of *Rich* corn for men, and barley for their horses and cattle, the former *mountains*, of which they bred from the beginning in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and especially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it seems, so very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on those healthy mountains, that it could not be used either for food or drink, or even, as we are told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheese with, without some mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greatest perfection : but these are topics so well known to every reader, that we need not dwell longer upon them ; and as for mineral waters, they flow, in the greatest *Natural* quantity, both hot and cold ; and the kingdom of *Granada* is *rarities*, famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues : which need not to be wondered at, considering the vast ridges of mountains that are in it, and the variety of metals and minerals they abound with. Some of them rise so hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The most famous of the warm kind are those of *Hispal*, *Cordoua*, and *Granada* ; to *Medicinal* which they attribute the virtue of curing the most inveterate, *waters*, and even the venereal, diseases ; which is not altogether improbable, considering the quantity of sulphur, and other minerals,

*Against  
hæmor-  
rhages and  
stone.*

*Stately  
buildings.*

*Tarragona  
described.*

*Its limits.*

*Divided  
by the  
Iberus.*

*Celtiberians,  
where seated.*

nerals, they are impregnated with, and the great perspiration which the heat of the climate gives to its inhabitants. There are two others of great fame here; to wit, that called *Bætio*, from a small town near it; it springs, in a small rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two streams, into two lakes; and its waters are noted for curing all hæmorrhages, by washing. The other is near the town of *Antiquaria*; which is no less famed for dissolving the stone, and bringing it off by urine <sup>a</sup>. We should be drawn into too great a length, were we to enter into so copious a subject as that of their artificial rarities; their stately buildings, such as bridges, churches, especially their palaces, whether those of the Gothic or of the Roman fashion: but one thing we cannot forbear observing, that there are some yet standing almost in their pristine grandeur, especially in the kingdom of *Granada*, built by the Moors, in a stile peculiar to them, and which has scarce anything common with the other two, and yet seems to exceed them in taste and magnificence. But as this country, as well as the several authors who have written upon it, are so well known to us, we shall enlarge no further upon them.

**TARRACON** was the third province in *Spain*. It was, as we observed before, by the Romans styled *Hispania Citerior*, or *Hither Spain*, and distinguished, by the name of *Tarracensis*, from the antient city of that name, which was then the capital of it, and the residence of the *Roman praeses*, or governor. We have seen, under the two former articles, how hard it is to settle the limits of this province, with respect to those of *Bætica* and *Lusitania*, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other sides they are easily fixed, it having the *Mediterranean* on the east, the ocean on the west, and the *Cantabrian* sea and the *Pyrenees* on the north, by which last it is divided from *Gaul*. *Tarragona*, being by far the largest of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likelihood, of petty kingdoms and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river *Iberus*, now *Ebro*, which ran almost across the whole province, having its source on the north-west side of it, between the *Cantabrian* mountains; and, very near the sea of that name, and by a south-east course, emptying itself into the *Mediterranean*, about thirty miles below the city of *Tarraco*.

Along the south-west side of that river were seated the *Celtiberians*, the antientest, and by far the most considerable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, so many distinct tribes descended from them, as we are apt to think they mostly were, from the greatest part of their names

\* MARIN. *SICUL. de reb. Hisp. lib. i. cap. de fontibus.*

being

being of *Celtic*, rather than of any other extract. This canton was called from them *Celtiberia*, and reached from the mouth of the *Iberus* quite to the country of the *Cantabri*, on the opposite coasts. Along the course of it, on that side, were, among other people of less note, the *Illercaones*, seated just within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the *Hedenati*, or *Sedetani*, *Pelendones*, *Berones*, and last of all the *Cantabri*. Nearer to *Bætica*, and on the borders of it, were, <sup>cantons</sup> towards the *Mediterranean*, first, the *Contestani*, mentioned <sup>along the coasts.</sup> also under the last article; and, as you went forwards, across the country, towards the opposite shore, you found another tribe of the *Turdetani*, the *Lobetani*, *Lusones*, *Carpetani*, *Arevaci*, and *Vaccæi*; and these two last were severed from each other by the river *Duero*, which was the confine of *Lusitania* on that side; and, west of the *Cantabri* and *Vaccæi*, were, on the *Cantabrian* coast, the *Transmontani* and *Artabri*; and in this last was the *Artabrum Celticum*, called also *Promontorium Nericum*, now cape *Finister*. In the inland are placed the *In the Astures*, *Augustani*, *Lucenses*, and *Gravii*. On the western inland coast, between the cape above-mentioned and the *Durius*, were the *Callaici* alias *Callæci*, whose country was called *Gallicia*, one tribe or canton of which were named *Bracarii*, and the country *Bracara*; and these were seated on the banks of the *Durius*: the others were distinguished by the name of *Lucenses*; and both were subdivided by *Ptolemy* into several *Lucenses* tribes, such as we shall speak of, upon another occasion, under the following note (K.). All these are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, as seated, the former on the other side of the *Iberus*, and the latter on the hither side of the *Tagus*. On the other side of the *Iberus*, along the *Mediterranean* coasts, were seated the *Lacetani* and *Ausetani*, who were <sup>and oth.</sup> parted by the river *Rubricatus*, or, as *Mela* calls it, *Lubrictatus*, now *Lobragat*, near the city of *Barcelona*. Along the *Iberus* were the *Illegetes*, *Jacetani*, *Sueffitani*, *Vascones*, *Var-duli*, *Autrigones*, and *Concani*; and these were seated between the head of the *Iberus* and the *Cantabrian* sea. Nearer to the

(K) This canton, which was since called *Gallicia*, and anti-ently *Celtica*, was, in all likelihood, either inhabited originally by the *Celtas*, or was a colony of them sent from *Gaul*; for many such they were forced to send out of that kingdom into this and other countries, for want of room in their own, as we shall see, when we come to their hi-

story: the latter seems, however, the most probable, from the names by which they were distinguished; such as *Celerini*, *Growii*, *Limici*, *Querquerni*, and some others, which to us appear to be of *Gaulish* extract, and bear a visible analogy with some of those which we find in antient *Gaul*.

*Pyrenean* mountains, along that vast ridge, were the *Ceretani*, *Indigetes*, *Cemfi*, *Lacetani*, and some others of less note. Every one of them had its distinct metropolis, from which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they gave that of their own tribe, as may be seen by those in the note (L). We have already observed in general on this head, that those districts which end in *tania*, and the cities which end in *briga*, are of *Celtic* extract; and we shall add here, that this province abounds with such, more than the other two, as may be seen by the list of the people we have given below; for, where their name terminated in *tani*, the country of course ended in *tania*, as *Ausetani* and *Ausetania* (M).

WE

(L) Thus the *Bracarii* had *Bracara*, the *Artabri Artabrum*, the *Astures Asturia*, the *Sueftani Sueffa*, the *Lacetani Laccia*, the *Ilergetes Ilerda*, and so of the rest, unless where the *Romans*, settling afterwards their colonies, called those towns by new names; especially we find some few of those places styled *Julia* and *Augusta*, as *Julia Libya* in the canton of the *Ceretani*; *Cæsar Augusta* among the *Lacetani*; *Augusta Bracara*, *Porta Augusta*, *Augusti Lacus*, in *Gallicia*, and the like.

Here, by the way, we must observe, that this last province was not called so from the *Galli*, as some have imagined, but from its antient metropolis, which was called *Calle*, situate in a pleasant valley upon the *Durius*, and near the mouth of it; and the port of it, being become a considerable one in time, was since named barely *Porto* and *Puerto* by the *Spaniards*, by the *Dutch Port a Port*, and by us *Oporto*. From these two, *Porto* and *Calle*, came the name of *Portugal*, or *Portucalle*. As for *Calle*, it must be

owned, that it is not mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, &c. but we find it in the *Itinerarium*, which places it on the road between *Ulisippo*, or *Lisbon*, and *Augusta Bæcara* (5).

(M) It is not our design to speak particularly of every one of them, and much less of their cities, many of which we know little else of, than their names. We may say of them in general, that they retained more of the antient *Celtic* valour, customs, language, and, we may add, fierceness, than those of *Bætica*, or even of *Lusitanus*, though the *Celtiberians* of this last province are said to have been the bravest people in all *Spain*, as we shall have occasion to shew in the sequel. And the reason, probably, of it is, that they were neither so much under the dominion of the *Romans*, nor so conversant with them, as those in *Bætica*; for the descendants of the *Celtes* were every-where as famed for their tenaciousness of their antient religion, laws, customs, language, &c. as the *Romans* were to propagate their own

(5.) *Cellar. ubi supra*, lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3.

We find, however, the following colonies of note (for we Roman shall omit the others for brevity's sake) to have been in time *colonies*. planted amongst these *Celtic* settlements ; to wit, in *Asturia*, the famed *Colonia Augusta*. It is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Colonia Ptolemy*, and in some antient medals, tho' differently placed <sup>b</sup>, *Augusta*, and was a court of judicature, according to *Pliny* in the place last-quoted. It divided the *Astures* into *Augustanos* and *Transmontanos*; which confirms what we hinted in the last note; to wit, that the former were, in all likelihood, of *Roman* extract, whilst the latter, of *Celtic*, removed over the ridge of mountains that parted them; for we find here also the seventh *Roman* legion, which was surnamed *Gemina*, settled between *Augusta* the *Asturian* sea and the capital of this district, called *Asturia Gemina*. *Augusta*, now *Astorga*, a city still of some note (N). This country was also celebrated by the poets for the gold it produced. The next was that infamous one of *Calaguris*, distinguished by *Pliny* by the name of *Nascica*, justly execrated, by the *Roman* authors <sup>c</sup>, for the murder of the brave *Sertorius*, mentioned in a former volume <sup>d</sup>. The city was at first a

<sup>b</sup> Apud *GRUTER.* p. 193. n. 3. p. 426. n. 5. Vide & *GOLTZ.* *HOLSTEIN.* & *HARDUIN.* apud *Cellar.* lib. ii. c. 1. seq. 3, & 44. Vide & *STRAB.* lib. iii. *PLIN.* lib. iv. c. 22. <sup>c</sup> Vid. *VALER.* *MAX.* lib. vii. c. 6. *L. FLOR.* lib. iii. c. 22. *JUVEN.* sat. xv. ver. 93.

<sup>d</sup> See before, vol. xiii. p. 122, & seq.

where-ever they conquered; and this was one constant cause, why the former chose rather to yield their territories to the latter, when they could defend them no longer against them, and to retire into more mountainous lands, where they could freely live by themselves, than to submit to their laws, and conform to their manners, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the sequel.

(N) *Ptolemy* indeed makes the *Astures* to have been of *Libyan* extract, and to have come over with the *Carthaginians*, and settled in this part of *Gallacia*. The city was called *Astorga*, from its being situate on the banks of a river of that name, which flows into the *Durius*; and the *Ro-*

*mans*, having seized on it, and the adjacent territories, called it *Augusta Asturica* (6). Some derive the names, both of the river and of the city, from *Affir*, *Memnon*'s coachman, who came thither with other *Trojans*, and planted a colony here (7); but this we look upon as fabulous.

As for the seventh legion above-mentioned, we find it called in *Ptolemy* *legio septima Germanica*; but as there is no mention of any such, either in other authors, or in any antient inscriptions, but often of *legio septima gemina* (8), it is rightly supposed, that it is in that author a mere error of the copyist, who mistook it for *Germanica*.

(6) *Gogr.* lib. ii. Vide & *Gerund. paralip.* lib. iii. (7) *Terapb. de reg.* *Hilf. ex Lucan.* & *Sil. Ital.* (8) *Neila apud Valesi chronic.* *Jub ann.* *Obv.* 106. *musi-*

Gracca-  
ris.

municipal one, and, in some inscriptions, furnamed *Julia* (O), and then made a colony, with some others mentioned by *Pliny*<sup>c</sup>, particularly those of *Osca*, *Ilerda*, and *Turiaga*. *Calaguris*, since *Calahorta*, was the head town of the *Autrigones*, seated indifferently by geographers on either side, but by the most exact on the other side the *Iberus*, as we hinted in the last note. *Grachuris*, or *Graccuris*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* among the chief cities of the *Vascones*, was, as we are told by *Livy*<sup>f</sup>, built by *Tit. Sempron. Gracchus*, who took it from the *Celtiberians*, and called it by his name. Its situation is uncertain; only the *Itinerarium* places it on the road to *Cæsar Augusta*, at sixty-four miles distance from it in the road to *Tarraco*. It is, in some ancient inscriptions, styled *Municipium Graccuris*. Some Christian champions, who suffered here for the faith in those early times, are, in some martyrologies, called the *Grachurian*, and in others the *Ilerdan*, martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of those two places. The last we shall name is the famed town of the *Vaccæi*, called

**Intercata.** *Intercata*, celebrated by antient authors for a single combat, which was fought, at the siege of that city, between *Scipio Æmilianus* and a bold *Spaniæ* tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no sooner escaped one danger, than he exposed himself to a greater, and was the first who scaled the walls of that place<sup>g</sup>. We come now to speak of some of the most celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which we may justly place the metropolis of it.

**Tarraco.** *TARRACO*, now *Tarragon*, situate on the *Mediterranean* coast, between the rivers *Iberus*, or *Ibero*, and the *Rubricatus*, now *Lebregat*. It was a colony planted there by the two

<sup>c</sup> Lib. iii. c. 3.      <sup>f</sup> Epit. xlvi.      <sup>g</sup> Liv. epitom. xlviij.  
**AUREL. VICT. IN SCIP. ÆMIL. APPIAN. IN IBERIC. &c.**

(O) It is inscribed, in some *Augustan* coins, MVN. CALAG. IVL, that is, *Municipium Calaguris, Julia*; and, in one of *Tiberius*, M. C. I. C. CELERE, C. RECTO IIIVIR, that is, *Municipium Calaguris Julia, Caio Celere, Caio Recto, Duumviris*.

As there were two cities<sup>d</sup> of that name, viz. this of *Nascica*, and another farnamed *Fibularen-sis*, some authors have placed them differently on the sides of the *Iberus*; but *Peter de Marca*

and *Cellarius*, whom we choose to follow, place the former on the other side of that river. As for the latter, which was at some distance from it, and inferior to it in point of privilege and opulence (9), it was only remarkable for a manufacture of what the *Romans* called *fibulae*, a kind of buckles or buttons to fasten their garments with; and was distinguished by that name, on that account.

(9) *Vid. Cæs. comment. lib. i. c. 40. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 3. scđ. 3. Scipios,*

*Scipios*, *Publ.* and *Cornel.* with a juridical court ; and was the capital of *Hispania Romana* (P), not so much on account of the excellency of its harbour, as *Strabo* observes, as for its being commodiously situated for all those, who traveled into this kingdom, whether by sea or land<sup>1</sup>. But *Spanish* authors, though they grant those two *Roman* generals to have planted a colony here, will by no means allow, that they founded the city ; but fetch its origin as high as *Hercules*, or even *Tubal*<sup>2</sup> (Q).

BELow *Tarraco* was the famed city of *Saguntus*, or *Saguntum*, on the same coast, of which having spoken amply in a former volume, and of its dreadful catastrophe, we shall refer our reader to it<sup>3</sup>. *Vulentia*, another antient city a little below *Saguntum*, was the capital of the *Edetani*. It is situate on the mouth of the river *Thurias*, about three miles from the sea, and was antiently styled *Colonia Julia*, and founded by *Junius Brutus*, whilst he was consul in *Spain*<sup>4</sup>, and given to

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. *PLIN.* nat. hist. lib. iii. <sup>1</sup> See *GERUND.* lib. v. & *TARAPH.* ex *Beros.* & al. <sup>2</sup> See before, vol. xii. p. 231, & seq. vol. xvii. p. 582, et seq. <sup>3</sup> *LIV.* epitom. lv. *PLIN.* lib. iii. c. 3.

(P) It is placed by antient geographers in the region or kingdom of the *Coffetani*, or *Coffitani*, situate between the two rivers above-mentioned. It appears from antient medals to have been a very flourishing city, especially in *Augustus*' time ; and is called by one *Colonia Victoria*, by another *Colonia Victoria Togata Tarraco*; and in a third are found these words, *GENIO COL. I. V. TARRAC.* that is, *Genio Colonie Victoriae Togatae Tarraconensis*. There are still, it seems, quantities of such antient coins frequently dug up about the neighbourhood of it ; which inclines one to think, it was formerly much larger than it is now, tho' it is at present very spacious, opulent, and confideable (1).

(Q) However that be, it has been all along very famous, hav-

ing been, since, the metropolis of the kingdom of *Arragon*, an archiepiscopal see, and famed for a council or two held there ; the first by *John* the then metropolitan, and his twelve bishops, in the year of Christ 516. in which it was, amongst other things, enacted, that the celebration of the *Sunday* should begin on *Saturday* evening. Hence that custom hath, it seems, spread itself almost all over *Spain*, to leave off all kind of work from that time (2). In another held under *Berengarius*, primate of the same place, 1180. it was ordained, that the dates of all public writings should be computed from the year of Christ, which before were wont to be reckoned from the reigns of the *Frankish* monarchs (3).

(1) *Vide Cellar.* lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3. § 104. *Marin. Sic. de reb. Hisp.* lib. iii. (2) *Vaf. chronic.* sub ann. 516. (3) *Taraph.* ubi supra, sub ann. 1176.

Complu-  
tum

his army. It was afterwards destroyed, with *Herennius* and his accomplices, by *Pompey*, and rebuilt by *Julius Cæsar*. It hath retained its antient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is still of the province of that name, an archiepiscopal see, and one of the most considerable cities of *Spain*. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honesty by *Tully*, as they now are, by their own authors, for their superstition and bigotry <sup>m.</sup> Before we leave this part of *Spain*, we must not omit the famous city of *Complutum*, now *Alcala de Henarez*, so called from the river *Henarez*, on whose banks it is situate, in a pleasant plain; and, as that river falls into the great *Tagus*, the circumjacent cities are easily furnished with all kinds of provisions and merchandizes. *Complutum* has now no bishoprick, but only a collegiate church, and is a considerable university, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal *Ximenes*, then archbishop of *Toledo*, under whose auspices, care, and immense charges, the first polyglot bible was compiled, and printed in this city, and is from thence called the *Complutian* polyglot (R).

Mantua. WESTWARD of, and between, *Complutum* and the antient city of *Toletum*, now *Toledo*, and on the same river *Tagus*, was situate the *Mantua* of *Ptolemy*; near which spot the town of *Madrid*, the now metropolis of all *Spain*, is supposed to have

<sup>m</sup> De his vide MARIN. SICUL. de reb. Hisp. in fin. lib. iii.

(R) This glorious work, the first of that kind, was performed by men of the greatest learning, invited thither by that cardinal at a vast charge. It was a considerable time in compiling, and about four years in printing, that is, from 1514. to 1517. but the whole was not published till 1520. when it came out, recommended with a bull of pope *Leo X.* in six volumes, including the lexicon. It was printed in four languages, viz. the *Hebrew*, *Cbaldee*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. The *Hebrew* was as correct as it could possibly be done, according to the original; but the *Septuagint*, *Cbaldee*, and *Vulgate Latin*, were

corrected in such a vast number of places, and from such a prodigious number of manuscripts, as were procured from all parts at no small expence, in order to render those three versions more conformable to the original, that it, by degrees, dwindled into dislike; but hath, however, this merit with the learned, that it served for a model to those which were since published in other kingdoms; among which that of *London* is justly esteemed, in all respects, the most useful and exact, though not enriched with such a variety of costly ornaments as that of Mr. *Le Jay*, printed at *Paris* (4).

(4) Vid. int. al. *Mattair. annal. typogr. Palmer. hist. of printing. Calmet. discourse of polyglots, &c. sl. mult.*

been

been since built (S). But of this, and many others, both on the sea-coasts and in the continent, we shall forbear saying anything further, they being so well known to almost every reader. We have already had occasion to mention some of the most considerable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the course of this article: the rest, that are of any note, together with such natural rarities that may be worth observing, the reader will find in the following note (T), and in the map annexed.

THE

(S) Hence we find it called by some *Mantua Carpetana*, by others *Madritum* and *Madritt*; but commonly now *Madrid* (5).

(T) Besides the cities above-mentioned, we should take notice of a very famed one, namely, *New Carthage*; but as we have had occasion to speak of it in a former volume, we shall refer our readers to it (6). *Segobriga*, alias *Segobrica*, was, as we are told, the capital of the *Celtiberi* (7), concerning whose situation authors, even *Spaniſh*, differ so much, that we can hardly say any thing about it. Some think there were two of that name, one in this province of *Tarraco*, and the other at the foot of the *Catellian* mountains; but the former, which is the most considerable, the authors above-quoted place in the neighbourhood of the antient *Numantia*, mentioned not only by them, but by the *Itinerary*, which places it between *Uxama* and *Turiaso*, near the river *Durius*. This last was, it seems, so excellently fortified by nature, that it neither had, nor needed, any walls, towers, or other fortifications, being seated on the top of a steep mountain, and

sheltered by much higher hills on three of its sides, being only accessible on the fourth, which opened to a plain, but by such narrow defiles, as could be easily guarded by an handful of men. Great wonders are told of this place by the authors under-quoted (8); for it would swell this note too much, were we to descend to particulars. It was, however, quite destroyed by the two *Scipios*; but, since we find it mentioned by those antient authors, and by the *Itinerary*, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by some of their successors. We have already given a full account of the *Numantine* war, and the sad catastrophe of that famed city; and shall refer our readers to it (9), to avoid repetitions; and, for the same reason, we shall forbear mentioning any more of those antient cities, whose names, and further particulars, have been sufficiently taken notice of in the course of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* history; for those of later date belong not to this, but to the modern part of this work.

\* Mountains of note, besides those already mentioned, are the *Pyrenees*, which divide Spain

(5) *Vide Sicul. Marin. de reb. Hisp. lib. ii.*

(6) See vol. xviii. p. 40.

(7) *Plin. lib. iii. c. 3. Strab. lib. iii. Ptol. lib. ii. c. 6. Bell. Numant. Oros. lib. v. c. 7. Vide & Marianam, lib. iii. & seqq. Hispan. superest et Cetaria, ubi supra, sect. 711.*

(8) *Iid. ibid. Flor.*

(9) *See vol. xii. p. 398, & seqq.*

Erythia.

THE chief islands belonging to the *Tarragonian* province, are, first, that of *Gades*, situate on the gulph of that name, between the freights of *Gibraltar* and the river *Bætis*, and famed, not so much for its bigness, as for the concourse of foreign nations thither from the earliest times, and for its celebrated city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, names, and other particulars, we have already spoken in this chapter, and in a former volume <sup>a</sup>. *Strabo* gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much smaller breadth; yet it had, according to him, no less than five hundred horsemen in his time <sup>b</sup>. We shall have occasion to speak of the famed temple of it, in the sequel. As for the city, we have, in the preceding part of this volume, mentioned its being plundered by the *Carthaginians*, and taken by the *Romans* <sup>c</sup>. It was since erected into a bishoprick, under the title of *Episcopatus Gaditanus* <sup>d</sup>. The next is the so much celebrated, and so hard to find, island of *Erythia*, where *Geryon* is said to have kept his fine oxen, which *Hercules* came and stole from him <sup>e</sup>. Some have placed it near that of *Gades*; others think it was the same with it; and others have thought, that it was either sunk into the sea, or was to be sought for among the rocks. We have, however, ventured, in a former chapter of this volume, to offer a conjecture concerning its situation; and shall refer our readers to it <sup>f</sup>. No less difficult has been the search after those

<sup>a</sup> See vol. xvii. p. 344, (E): vol. xviii. p. 470.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. iii.

<sup>c</sup> See vol. xviii. p. 61.      <sup>d</sup> VAS. chronic. c. 21.      <sup>e</sup> HESIOD. theogon. ver. 289, & seq.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. xviii. c. 15. sect. 1. (F).

from *Gaul* by a continued ridge of vast height and depth, and reaches from sea to sea. They are supposed to have been so called, from a fire which spread itself over the surface of them, and burnt with such fierceness during several days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels, as we shall see in the sequel. The *Idubedan* hills were another ridge, which crossed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of several famed rivers, such as those of the *Tagus* and *Anas*, which flowed westward toward the ocean, on one side; and of the *Suero* and *Thurias*, which ran

eastward into the *Mediterranean* on the other. The *Orospedan* ridge seems to have separated this province in part from *Bætica*. They were also called *Mariani montes*, and now *Serra Morena*. We spoke of them under the last article. A great many more this province abounds with; for a further account of which, we must refer our readers to the antient and modern authors, lately quoted; as likewise for those mines, mineral waters, and other curiosities, they and the neighbouring valleys produce, the bare mention of which would carry us far beyond our limits.

ten famed islands, called by the Greeks *Cassiterides*, from Cassiteri- whence the *Phœnicians*, the first discoverers of them, used to des. fetch such vast quantities of tin. We should not have mentioned them here, the learned *Camden* having fully shewn, that they are our islands of *Scilly*, had not some of the antients, as *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* <sup>t</sup>, placed them on the *Spanish* coasts, somewhat beyond the *Promontorium Celticum* or *Artabrum*, or *Cape Finister*; and others somewhere on the western ocean, about the upper coasts of *Lusitania* <sup>u</sup>. But as there could never be found any such islands on those coasts, they have been supposed to have undergone the same fate with that of *Erythia* lately mentioned. However, as we shall have occasion to resume them, when we come to speak of the *British* islands <sup>w</sup>, we shall say no more of them here, but pass to those which are more considerable, and better known to us; and these are the *Balcares*, or *Gymnesiae*, as they are called by the antients.

THESE were distinguished into *Major* and *Minor*, or, as *Baleares*. *Mela* expresses it, *Majores* and *Minores*. Their bigness, situation, and other particulars, are so well known to every reader, that it were superfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need to say of them here, is, in what state they were in those antient times. In the former, now *Majorca*, *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* place the two cities of *Palma* and *Pollentia*, the one on the east, the other on the west; and these are by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*, stiled *Coloniae*. In the latter, now *Minorca*, they place likewise two cities; to wit, *Jammo* and *Mago*; which were, however, no more than castles or forts, if *Mela*'s judgment, who was of that country, is to be preferred to the others. But as they seem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this island, it is hardly to be doubted but these soon grew into considerable sea-ports, especially that of *Mago*, which became since a celebrated one, under the name of *Maon*. These two islands were, on account of their situation and harbours, stiled *Fortunatae*, and stand at about thirty miles distance from each other. They were at first possessed by the *Phœnicians*, who held them till *Q. Metellus* brought them under the *Roman* yoke, for which he got the surname of *Balearicus* <sup>x</sup> (U).

FAR-

<sup>t</sup> STRAB. lib. iv. PROT. lib. iii. <sup>u</sup> DIOD. SICUL. lib. v. c. 38. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22, & alibi. MELA, & al. <sup>w</sup> See here-  
after, ch. 27. <sup>x</sup> De his vide STRAB. & PROT. ubi supra. D. SIC. lib. v. c. 18. MEL. lib. ii. ad fin. FLOR. lib. iii. c. 8.

(U) As to the etymon of *Baleares*, most authors derive it from the Greek βάλλειν, which signifies to throw with a sling, because the inhabitants of them were particularly famed for their skill

Pityusæ  
islands.

Their pro-  
duct.

Colubra-  
ria.

Ebusus.

Capraria.

FARTHER, towards the streights, over-against the cape *Dianium*, now *Denia*, are the two islands called *Pityusæ* by the antients, from the vast quantities of pine-trees which they produced <sup>y</sup>; the one of which, by far the larger of the two, tho' smaller than that of *Minorca*, was named *Ebusus*, now *Ivica*; the other *Ophiusa*, now *Formentera*. They are both mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; and *Mela* adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poisonous, nor even wild creatures; and that, if any were brought thither, they could not live in it <sup>z</sup>. The island abounded with pasture-ground <sup>a</sup>, and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed; some have even added sugar-canæ <sup>b</sup>, which it is said, they boiled into sugar, and made a traffick of: but this *Cellarius* has shewn to be a mistake, and that it means no other, than the dried figs above-mentioned <sup>c</sup>. The other, by far the smallest, is thought by some to have been the same with that which the *Latins* call *Colubraria*; but the author last-quoted hath plainly proved, from the testimonies of *Pliny* and *Mela*, that they were two different islands; and that the latter was at a much greater distance from that of *Ebusus* than the former; and both of them are so small and inconsiderable, that we need say no more of them. As for *Ebusus*, it was the name both of the island, and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly called *Ebusum*; for we find, in antient inscriptions of *Gruter*, *Ordo Ebusii*, and *Rp. or Respublica Ebusi*; and are further told, that it was a colony of the *Pbaenicians* <sup>d</sup>. The last island woth mentioning was called *Capraria*, and now *Cabrera*, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the *Colubraria* seems to have been, from its great quantity of adders. It stands on the south of *Majorca*, and is

<sup>y</sup> PLIN. lib. iii. c. 5.

AVIEN. descript. orb. vet. 621.

lib. i.

iii. ver. 362.

<sup>z</sup> De sit. in fin. lib. ii.

NONN. c. 94. in Stat. sylv.

Lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 4. § 132.

<sup>a</sup> FEST.

<sup>b</sup> SIL. ITAL. lib.

skill in it (1): yet, as the *Carthaginians* had these islands before any other, *Bochart* thinks they gave them that name, which is compounded of two *Punic* words, *Baal* and *Jarab*, which amount to the same sense, and signify a slinging-master, or

a man expert at throwing, &c. Their other name of *Gymnesæ*, or *Gymnasia*, is, according to the antient authors above-quoted, of Greek extract, and was given them on account of their inhabitants going naked in summer.

(1) Vide *Diod. Sic.* lib. v. c. 18. *Strab.* lib. xiv. *Plin.* lib. iii. c. 5. *Eustat. ad Dionys.* ver. 457.

chiefly

chiefly noted for being fatal to mariners. All these islands, and a great number of others mentioned by antient writers, now not to be found, and supposed to have been since sunk into the sea, belonged to this province of *Tarracon*, and underwent the same fate of passing from the *Carthaginian* to the *Roman* yoke. We shall conclude this section with observing <sup>The seven</sup> from *Pliny* \*, that this province was divided into seven *con-*  
*ventus*, or provincial assemblies, whose names the reader will <sup>Carthagi-</sup> confind in the note (W). It had seventy-nine towns, twelve <sup>nian con-</sup> *colonies*, twelve *Roman*, and eighteen *Latian* cities, and an hundred and thirty-five *stipendiaria* or garisons, in the *Roman* pay, and one confederate.

\* *PLIN.* lib. iii. c. 3. & al. supra citat.

(W) These were the *Carthaginiensis*, *Clunienensis*, *Asturis*, *Lu-*  
*nienensis*, *Tarraconensis*, *Cæsar-Au-* *censis*, and *Braccarus*.

## S E C T. II.

### *The Religion, Laws, Government, Customs, Learning,* *&c. of the antient Spaniards.*

THERE is no doubt to be made, that whre-ever *Spain* <sup>The reli-</sup> was inhabited by the descendants of the *Celtes*, thither <sup>gion of the</sup> they brought their old religion, government, &c. What <sup>antient</sup> these were, we have given an account of in a former volume <sup>a</sup>; *Spaniards*. and shall speak still more largely upon, in the next chapter of the antient *Gauls*, the undoubted and immediate descendants of the antient *Celtic* stock; for we must necessarily suppose, and so, indeed, we find, a great affinity between them in all these particulars, as they all sprang from the same origin. But, as the *Gauls* are better known to us than the *Spaniards*, we shall refer the greatest part of what we have to say on these different heads, till we come to their history; for, could we even admit what the generality of *Spanish* writers affirm after *Berosus*, that *Tubal*, the fifth son of *Japhet*, came and peopled *Spain* so soon as an hundred and forty-three years after the flood, *Gomer*, his eldest brother, and the father of the *Celtes*, must have been as soon in possession of *Gaul*; and both must, of course, be supposed to have brought the same religion, laws, government, &c. namely, that which they received from their grandfather *Noah*; which they strictly adhered to for a long series of years, and was, in all these countries, the

<sup>a</sup> Vol. vi. p. 23. & seq.

*Simplicity of their worship.* same as that of the old patriarchs. They worshiped one Supreme Being, not in temples, as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but in groves consecrated to him. They believed a future state of rewards and punishments, suitable to their behaviour in this. They offered victims to him, and celebrated some festivals in honour of him; and, in most things, observed a great simplicity in all their religious rites, during a long series of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into several of their superstitions, especially into their various ways of divination, of which we shall give a fuller account in the next chapter. One bloody and inhuman custom they gave, indeed, into very early, in common with most antient nations; to wit, that of human sacrifices; the origin of which having endeavoured to account for in some former parts, we shall refer our readers to them, to avoid prolixity <sup>b</sup>.

*Various religions introduced; and superstitions;* *under the Romans;* *under the Goths, &c.* BUT, as this country was afterwards invaded by such variety of other nations, the *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, and a multitude of others, who settled amongst them, it is natural to think, that every one brought their own religion and customs with them; and what these were, may be seen in the history we have given of each of those nations, in the course of this work. It is plain, such a mixture of different nations must bring not only a vast variety of religious laws and customs, but produce some alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed some doctrines and notions, rites and fashions, from one another, as suited their taste or circumstances. Superstition has no bounds, and persons, either out of wantonness or impatience, will be easily induced to hunt after a variety of deities, and superstitious ceremonies. This, we find, was the case of the *Israelites*, tho' restrained from it under such severe penalties: how much more will it be so, where every one is left at his own liberty? However, after the coming of the lordly *Romans*, whose constant policy it was, to introduce every where their gods, religion, laws, &c. either by fair or foul means, we need not doubt, but those that fell under their dominion, were obliged to submit to this change.

THE inundation likewise of the northern nations, such as the *Suevi*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, must likewise have introduced such changes as may be better imagined than expressed. We shall have occasion to speak of them in their several histories here ensuing; only thus much may be said here, that, though they had embraced Christianity, yet they were all of them infected with the *Arian* heresy. This did not, however, slacken

<sup>b</sup> Vide int. al. vol. ii. p. 191, & seq. 282, & seq. vol. iii. p. 336, & 485, & seq.

their zeal against the heathenish idolatry and superstition, *Heathenish idolatry abolished.* which had been introduced there by the *Egyptians*, *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, and other nations, whose temples, altars, statues, &c. they destroyed where-ever they came, obliging all *Arians converted.* that fell under their power to embrace their religion; but both *Sueves* and *Goths* at length exchanged their *Arianism* for the orthodox faith, the former under the reign of their *converted king Ariamirus alias Theodemirus*, and the latter under *Recaredus*, who made open profession of it upon his accession to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, bishops, and clergy; and their confession of faith was presented to the famed council of *Toledo*, where some further regulations *for the preservation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worship.* This great change was so much the more remarkable, considering the tenaciousness of those nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without persecution, or any other violent means. Upon the whole, it must be owned, that the *Goths* made many excellent laws and regulations, for the better government in *Excellent church and state.* We shall speak of them, in their history, *Liturgy.* in a subsequent chapter; and shall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them, known by several names, such as, *officium Gothicum*, *Toletanum*, and *Mozarabicum* (A), and supposed by most authors to have been compiled by *Isidore*, then bishop of *Hispal* or *Seville*. This liturgy was confirmed by the *Toletan council* above-mentioned, tho' the pope did not suffer them to enjoy it long, before he obliged them to exchange it for the *Roman*, not without a long and strenuous opposition *Suppressed from the Goths*, especially those of *Catalonia*, who sent a number of deputies to the council of *Mantua*, to expostulate against *pope* such a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars we are told with relation to this unsuccessful deputation, which, as they display the unfair intrigues and arbitrary sway of the *Romish court*, as well as the superstitious practices of those times, we shall give to our readers in the note (B).

## IT

(A) So called from the name of *Mozarabs*, which they then gave to those Christians, who were under the subjection of the *Saracens*.

(B) The merit of these two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by single combat; in which one champion was to fight for the *Gothic*, and the other for

the *Roman*. They did so; and the latter lost the battle; but the *Roman* party raising some fresh chicane about it, it was again agreed to have it tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the *Gothic* was preserved, and the other burnt. But such was the prevalence of the pope's party,

*Gouvern-* IT is probable, that though the first inhabitants of *Spain* were under one monarchical government, upon their first settling in it, as well as those of *Gaul*, *Germany*, and other *Eu-*  
*ropean* nations, yet, as they came to increase in number, and  
*Variety of* enlarge their territories, they split themselves into a multiplicity  
*them.* of petty kingdoms and commonwealths. This was the case

of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, when *Cæsar* first came amongst them, as we shall shew in due time; and much more may we suppose it to have been so here, considering the great variety of nations that came and settled amongst them; for it is more reasonable to suppose, that most, if not all of them, brought and settled their own laws and form of government, than that they should submit to that of the antient inhabitants, especially as many of the former came thither rather as conquerors, than colonies; from all which must necessarily result, not only a vast variety, but likewise a constant fluctuation, of them, as they passed from one dominion to another, especially when they came under that of the *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, *Goths*, and *Vandals* (C).

## AFTER

ty, as it was managed by his then legate, that the synod of *Leon* decided afresh in favour of the latter. The *Gothic*, however, was far from being wholly set aside. It was retained by several congregations, and by seven churches of *Toledo*, during a considerable number of years. Neither did it lose its credit by being disfused, since even the famed cardinal *Ximenes* erected a chapel in that city, in which the divine worship was to be performed according to the *Gothic* or *Mozabaric* liturgy; but, in the end, means were found to get it condemned, and wholly set aside, and with it the old character, in which it was written (1).

This character was not, however, the old *Runic*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the *German* history, as hath been affirmed by several authors; but the old *Gothic*, in which

most, if not all, books were written at that time in *Spain*, and elsewhere; and was near the same with the old *Roman*, but of a coarser mould; and was particularly used in all the *Visigothic* dominions.

(C) How they were governed under those conquerors, may be seen by their history. One thing we must, however, observe here, with respect to the *Romans*; that it was their constant policy, in their conquered dominions, to distinguish between those, that, through fear, or necessity, had either sought their friendship and protection, or willingly submitted to them; and those, who were subdued by force of arms. The former of these they permitted to preserve their laws, and form of government; and only obliged them to pay a certain tribute, and to send a number of auxiliary forces, and perhaps to

(1) De hoc vid. *Vas.* chron. sub ann. 717. *Comœc.* de ges. fr. *Ximenii*, lib. ii. & al. Vide *Capzsw German.* & *Leddiard.* verf. vol. ii. p. 284.

AFTER the expulsion of the *Carthaginians* by the *Scipios*, of *Under the Romans*<sup>c</sup>, Spain was governed by consuls, proconsuls, praetors, propraetors, and *praefides*, from that very time down to the reign of *Tiberius*, if not lower; for we find *L. Piso* praetor of the *Hither Spain* in his time, and a rescript of *Adrian* directed to the consul of *Bætica*. The *praefides* are mentioned likewise in subsequent reigns; but that title was of a more general signification, and applied to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-six emperors, from *Augustus*, who is said to have finished the conquest of it, to *Honorius*, in whose reign the *Romans* were expelled by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevi*. Under these emperors, who governed the empire after their own arbitrary will, *Spain* was divided into two provinces; but soon after reduced into one, though under several governors, or *legati* and *tribuni*<sup>d</sup>. About the reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian*, it began to be governed by *comites* or counts; and, if any of these were forced to be absent from their jurisdiction, they left the care of it to substitutes, who were called *vicarii*. And lastly, in the time of the *Goths*, those provinces, that were subject to the *Romans*, were set under government of *duces* and *praefecti*. Under the *Goths*, they were governed by nineteen kings, during the space of two hundred years, that is, from *Athanaric*, who began his reign in the year of Christ 369, to *Leovigild*, ann. 569. The *Suevi* reigned in *Galicia*, according to *Isidorus* and *Suevi*, an hundred and seventy-seven years, that is, from *Her-*

*Under the Roman emperors.*

<sup>c</sup> Vol. xii. p. 318. vol. xviii. p. 54, et seq.  
Vide & V. As. chron. c. 13.

<sup>d</sup> TACIT. ann.

quarter a number of their troops; but the others they forced to submit wholly to the *Roman* laws and government: tho', by the way, it must be observed, with respect to the former, that if they gave the least umbrage to their pretended protectors, they seldom failed of being stripped of their privileges, and of being reduced to the slavish state of the latter. This proved the case of the *Spaniards*, who were forced, by degrees, to submit, not only to the *Roman* yoke, but to their religion, customs, &c. and even to

their language (2).

We find, however, in some ancient authors, the names of several petty kings of *Spain*, both in the times of the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, who governed in their several little kingdoms, and lived in peace with, and acknowledged them both, or paid some tribute, perhaps, to them; such as *Mandonius*, whom *Livy* calls king of the *Ilergetes*, *Amusius* king of the *Lactani*, *Andubal* mentioned by *Polybius*, and some others; but to these the *Romans* only gave the title of *reguli*.

(2) Vide Aldrete, compend. hist. de Hispania.

*Succession  
of their  
kings.*

meric, A. C. 408. to *Andeca*, who was defeated and dethroned by *Leovigild* above-mentioned, who brought that kingdom under his subjection A. C. 581. In this list of Suevian kings, there is a chasm of their names for an hundred years, from *Re-mismund*, who infected that kingdom with *Arianism*, A. C. 464. to *Theodemirus*, who embraced the orthodox faith, the historians not having thought them worthy to be recorded. The others are ten in number, including *Reccaredus* above-mentioned. Lastly, the united kingdoms of *Goths* and *Suevi*, which began at *Reccaredus* the successor of *Leovigild*, and first orthodox king of the *Goths*, A. C. 568. lasted an hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, to A. C. 713. when the *Moors* put an end to the kingdom, in the third year of *Roderic*, their seventeenth and last king.

*Laws.*

WHAT laws the antient *Spaniards* originally had, or what new ones were imposed upon them by their conquerors, we are left to guess. We are indeed told, that *Hercules*, upon his coming thither, gave them a body of laws, such as he had brought from his own country, whether *Egypt*, *Tyre*, or *Greece*; but what they were, we are wholly in the dark about (D).

(D) If we may, however, offer a conjecture from what we read about their neighbours the *Gauls*, who had a multiplicity of governments, some monarchical, some aristocratic, and some even democratic; and, of the former, some limited, some despotic; we may reasonably conclude, that every one of them had their own laws, and such as best suited to their genius, interest, and the safety of the whole; but these do not appear to have extended farther, than to the preservation of each of their particular forms of government: for, in other cases, each of them had their grand council, to deliberate, enact, explain, and decide, according to the present emergency, as they thought for the good of the community. By these, all controversies between man and man, town and town, district and district, were adjudg-

ed; and their power was such, that even their kings, where they had not made themselves wholly absolute, of which we scarce meet with any instance, were obliged to submit to their decision, save only, that in all cases, where the plaintiff was not satisfied with it, he had liberty to challenge his adversary, and to determine the affair by single combat. The same was likewise done between city and city, district and district, who appointed one or more champions to appear for them, and the cause was always adjudged to the conquering side; for it was a constant maxim amongst all those antient nations, and more especially with the descendants of the *Celtes*, that Providence always interposed in such cases; and that, where-ever the victory fell, there was the surest right.

IN the art of war, and military discipline, we shall hereafter have occasion to shew, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other nations of *Celtic* extract, were very deficient, trusting too much to their strength and bravery, and despising all other arts, and even defensive weapons, as beneath a man of true courage; but, in this respect, the *Spaniards*, though no less brave and stout, had much the advantage of them; and this was chiefly owing to their being so early and so frequently at war with, and intermixed, and subdued by other warlike nations, from whom they received fresh and constant improvements; whereas the *Gauls*, and other northern nations, being scarcely known till after the coming in of the *Romans*, and having no other wars to wage, except what they did amongst themselves, one petty kingdom or commonwealth against another, were quite ignorant of martial discipline; and even their weapons were so clumsily made, and so miserably tempered, that they often became useless, before half the action was over. In a word, their way of fighting was so artless and rude, that, in many instances, it gave a double advantage to the enemy, as we shall shew in the sequel. The *Spaniards*, on the contrary, had, by their continual wars with such a variety of polite nations, made themselves masters of, and placed their chief confidence in, their expertness in every branch of the martial trade. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us <sup>e</sup>, that the *Celtiberians* had such an excellent way of tempering the steel with which they made their weapons, that no shield or helmet could resist them; and that they used them with equal dexterity both on horseback and foot, and alternately, if occasion required. He likewise commends them much for their extraordinary nimbleness in giving or avoiding of blows; and adds, that they used likewise the same defensive weapons that other nations did, such as the shield, helmet, &c. And this is the reason why the *Romans* were so long in subduing them, and spent more years in the conquest of this country, than *Cæsar* did weeks, if we may believe him, in the reduction of *Gaul*. In the former, they were forced to proceed, as it were, inch by inch, against a stout and warlike nation, that knew how to take every advantage of ground, situation, disposition, &c. In the other, every battle gained by *Cæsar* (and these, by his own confession, were easily obtained through this want of skill) opened to him a way through whole provinces, who were glad to submit to him on any tolerable terms. What increases the wonder is, that, at the coming in of the *Romans*, the *Spaniards* had sustained such long and dreadful wars, especially just before, against the *Carthaginians*, that one might have expected them to have

<sup>e</sup> Lib. ii. c. 1.

been quite exhausted of their strength ; and yet it is plain, they held out against them near, if not quite, two hundred years, before they were intirely subdued (E). We shall conclude this article with a judicious remark, which has been long since made, with respect to this conquest of *Spain* ; that though the *Roman* conquerors were always eager of taking the surname of those nations they subdued, such as *Asiaticus*, *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. yet none of them, not even *Augustus Cæsar*, who is complimented by *Livy* with having put the finishing stroke to it, nor any of his successors, though most of them ambitious enough of such high titles, ever took that of *Hispanicus*, *Ibericus*, or any other that this country was called by. Q. *Cæcil. Metellus* was the only one who aimed at it, and would fain have obtained that of *Celtibericus* ; but could not. This seems to argue the *Romans* to have been so conscious of the vast deal of blood and treasure, which it had cost them, more than any other, that they could see no reason for bestowing any such honours upon them, and for which there might not have been the least pretence, had the *Spaniards* been united into one common interest, instead of being divided into so many governments, and under so many heads ; for this, after all, will be found the main cause of their falling under the *Roman* yoke.

(E) Since then we find there was a constant necessity to keep a numerous army, and a watchful eye over them, and even quite to disarm whole provinces, to hold them under a tyranny, whilst many thousands, thinking it shameful and insupportable, preferred a voluntary death to such a slavish state ; so dreadfully abject did it appear to that fierce and warlike nation, says *Livy*, to live without arms (3). And indeed what *Valerius Maximus* says of the *Celtiberians*, or *Spaniards*, was common to all the *Celtic* nation, and their descendants. That they esteemed nothing so glorious, as to die with their sword in hand, and in defence of their liberty. We shall see many pregnant instances of

this noble spirit in some subsequent chapters. Even by the confession of some of their own authors, the victories, which they gained over them, often cost them so dear, that they deserved nothing less than such a pompous name (4) ; and many a triumph they have celebrated over them, which, had it had its due, would have been turned into a doleful mourning for a bloody and final defeat. Thus much, we think, is incumbent on an impartial author to say, in justice to any brave conquered people, though it be much more common now-a-days to see them treated with the same contempt and disregard by modern writers, as they were wont to be by their lordly conquerors.

(3.) *De bell. Mac.* lib. iv.(4.) *L. Flor.* lib. ii.

How soon arts and sciences began to flourish in *Spain*, can *Learning*, only be guessed at. That they had an excellent genius for *arts, and sciences*, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we shall mention only three of the most illustrious ; to wit, the famed stoic philosopher *Seneca*, who was a native of *Corduba* ; the learned orator *Quintilian* ; and the great cosmographer *Pomponius Mela*, often quoted through this work : and though we find other *European nations* very slow and late in cultivating them, such as the *Gauls, Germans*, and others, who affected a singular contempt for them, as unsuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius ; yet, considering the vast concourse of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent situation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reasonable to suppose, that they began to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours ; and it seems indeed almost impossible they could have subsisted without them, considering the continued invasions they were exposed to, and the many enemies they were forced to make head against. Even learning, and the liberal arts, if we may believe *Strabo*, began early to flourish here<sup>f</sup> ; for he tells us, *by progress in Spain*, that the *Turdetani*, a people of *Bætica*, were become very famous for them, and were possessed of a vast number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of laws written in verse, and other pieces of poetry of above six thousand years standing ; which last, however exaggerated, doth at least shew, that there was some foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of several kinds of it : and this is further confirmed by several other antient authors, particularly one of their own nation<sup>g</sup>, but more manifestly by what *Pliny* tells us<sup>h</sup> of one *Lartius Licinius*, a private person, who made no difficulty to give an immense sum, no less than forty thousand *nummi*, for a book of *Pliny II.*'s commentaries.

We make no scruple to affirm, that the original language of *Spain* was the old *Celtic*, of which we have given some account *guage, the old Celtic.* in a former volume<sup>i</sup>, and shall have occasion to speak further of in the next chapter ; for, whether we suppose, with the generality of *Spanish* authors, that *Tubal* came thither by sea, and peopled that country, or, as we have elsewhere hinted, that the *Celtes*, or descendants of *Gomer* his eldest brother, spread themselves thither by gradual migrations, the case will be much the same in this particular ; because, on the supposition of the former hypothesis, *Tubal* and *Gomer* parting so soon

<sup>f</sup> Lib. iii.      <sup>g</sup> POMP. MELA, SIL. ITAL. COLUMEL. MARTIAL. LUCAN. & al. plur.      <sup>h</sup> Epist. lib. iii.      <sup>i</sup> Vol. vi. p. 30, & seq.

after the flood, their language must have been the same; that is, the *Tubalians*, or, as they are called by others, *Cetubales*, and the *Gomerians*, must have carried the same language into those countries where they settled, whether we call it by the name of the one, or of the other; with this difference only, that it must have been much purer, and nearer that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether that was the *Hebrew*, or any other; concerning which we shall not here repeat what we said on the subject at the entrance of this work<sup>k</sup>. But as that *Berosian* account is now, by most learned men (except the *Spaniards*, who are fond of their own antiquity beyond other nations), rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here, and elsewhere, to ascribe the first peopling of *Spain* to the *Celtes*, or descendants of *Gomer* (F); for if we allow the *Celtes*

to

<sup>to</sup> Vol. i. p. 346, et seq.

(F) What confirms this hypothesis still more, is, that their antient language, as it is still preserved in some parts of *Spain*, appears to be much the same with that which is spoken by our *Welsh*, who are descended from *Gomer*, and retain still their paternal name of *Gomerai*, and call their own language *Gomraeg*, as we have shewn in their history, quoted a little higher. We likewise there took notice of the vast affinity there is between it and the antient *Hebrew*; in so much that to those, who are masters of both, they plainly appear to be only dialects of the same tongue; or, to speak, perhaps, more properly, the *Celtic*, or language of the descendants of *Gomer*, is a dialect of the *Hebrew*, or language of *Noah*. And hence the modern *Spaniſh*, as it is now spoken throughout that country, will afford us a new proof of what we have advanced on this head. Many learned men have observed, that it retains a great number of names, words, and, we might

add, idioms too, which to them plainly appeared to be of *Hebrew* extract, but have been at a loss how to account for it.

It is absurd to suppose, that they were brought thither by the *Jews*, who fled from their country, whilst *Nabuchadnezzar* was laying it waste; and came and settled there, as some have imagined; for that nation is rather famed for losing their tongue, than preserving it; much less for propagating it in any country they come to.

This made *Aldrete* to think those words to be of *Arabic*, and not of *Hebrew* extract, and to be of no longer date than the coming in of the *Moors* (5). Had that learned author had recourse to the old language, which is still kept in some parts of *Bizcay*, *Navarre*, and *Catalonia*, he would have found such a vast number of them, as would have convinced him, that they must be a great many centuries older than the coming in of the *Moors*: and, had he known any thing of the affinity there is be-

(5) *Antegued. de Hispan.* lib. ii. c. 8.

to have been either the first, or even some of the first, inhabitants of *Spain*, there will be less wonder there should be still found, in the modern language of that country, such primitive words, notwithstanding the length of time, and various changes, it may have undergone, since it is no more than *Its con-*  
*what may be observed, not only in the High and Low Dutch, formerly*  
*and other northern languages, but even in the French, the with other*  
*farthest removed, and strangliest altered, from the old Gaulish, languages,*  
*or Celtic.. We may add, that the modern Spanish preserves whence*  
*more of the masculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the*  
*old Celtic, than any other in Europe. The same may be said Between*  
*of the Spanish nation, with respect to the antient Celtic gran-*  
*deur and majesty ; and we may safely add, of their pride, and and Spa-*  
*singular contempt not only for trade, commerce, manu-*  
*factures, and the like, but even for agriculture, which they*  
*looked upon as below their dignity and martial genius ; and*  
*therefore turned them over, as much as they could, to their*  
*slaves, as we shall shew when we come to speak of the Gauls,*  
*in the next chapter.*

BUT whatever the original language of *Spain* may have *The Latin* been at first, it must have suffered great changes under those *introduced* different nations, by whom this country was subdued : but the *by the* greatest of all was under the *Romans* ; for these made it their *Romans* constant busines to introduce theirs into every country that fell under their yoke, at first, by founding schools, and even universities, where youth might, with the *Latin* tongue and character, be taught the arts and sciences, which was no small inducement to inspire them with a fondness for it ; and, where that failed, then more forcible means were used : so that, in time, almost the whole kingdom came to speak it as their mother-tongue, except those few tribes of the antient inhabitants, who, perhaps, like our *Welsh* here, fled into their

tween the *Hebrew* and the *Celtic*, he would have easily concluded, that all those words and idioms in the modern *Spanish* must have come from the latter, and not from the former ; which would have removed all the difficulty, without having recourse to the *Arabic*.

. What seems to have misled him into this notion, is, that there is likewise a great conformity between this last language and the *Celtic* : hence that

surprising number of words and idioms common to the *High Dutch* and *Arabic*, which has puzzled so many critics, and cannot be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing them to be of *Celtic* original, which, like the old *Arabic*, was, as we hinted a little higher, a dialect, or, as some choose rather to suppose it, both the *Hebrew*, and they, were dialects of the original tongue.

mountainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained their original one.

*Corrupted by the Vandals.* THE *Latin* continued no longer there than to the coming in of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, under whom it began by degrees to dwindle from its purity, as it did in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and other parts, where those barbarous nations, as they were called, got any dominion ; and to adopt their barbarisms, and to degenerate into the state in which we see it now. And here it must be observed, with respect to the *Spanish*, that it has suffered the least corruption, and retains more of the antient *Latin*, of any in *Europe*. This makes us think, that it did not receive any considerable alteration under the *Moors* ; otherwise it must have deviated much more from it than it actually doth. Besides, it is not likely, whatever *Aldrete* might infer from his fancied words and idioms of *Arabic* extract, that *Spaniards*, fond as they ever were of their old ways, would have adopted any thing from a nation, which could not but be hateful to them, as invaders and conquerors ; and much more so, on account of their religion.

*Their writing.* FROM what we lately quoted out of *Strabo*, it is plain, the antient *Spaniards* must have admitted writing amongst them many ages before either the *Gauls*,  *Germans*, or any others of *Celtic* extract ; since these, as shall be shewn in due place, made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their history, learning, or religion, but contented themselves with preserving them in proper poems ; which their druids and bards learned by heart, and transmitted in the same way to their disciples. But it is more than probable, that the former were, in some measure, forced to it by some of those many nations under whose dominion they passed from time to time, such especially as the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*. But which of those different characters was first adopted, or became most in vogue, we cannot pretend to say ; only that, from the coming of the *Romans*, their letters, as well as language, drove out all the rest, and were in use till their expulsion, when the old *Gothic*, of which we gave an account at the beginning of this section, took place (G).

(G) This last, though far inferior to the *Roman* in beauty, and more tiring to the eyes, continued in such vogue throughout *Europe*, from the coming of the *Goths*, downwards, that all church, divinity, and law-books, were

written, and (even long after the invention of printing, and reviving of the old *Roman*) were printed in it. We have seen there why and how it was at length condemned and set aside.

It will not be amiss here to take notice of an odd way, *An odd way of computing time in Spain,* which the *Spaniards* of old had of computing of time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its rise in the reign of *Cæsar Augustus*, prevailed all over *Spain*, and was not abolished till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is first in *Arragon*, by *Peter IV. A. D. 1358.* in *Castile*, by king *John*, an. 1383. and in *Portugal*, by *John I. an. 1415.* This way was, to reckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, instead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Christ, or any other remarkable epoch; and this was used, not only in their profane, but, what is still more surprising, in their ecclesiastic records. So that it has puzzled the learned not a little, at first, to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a tolerable etymon for that word thus used. It shall suffice to say here, that they are all agreed on one point; to wit, that the æra commenced in *Augustus's* time; some add, that it was instituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Christ. Some reckon it but barely twenty-six years; and think those highly mistaken who give it any more<sup>1</sup>. Others think it began on the year in which that prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangelist words it; and that it was called æra *W*hy called from the *æs*, or copper coin, which was exacted by that *de-ara*. *cree*<sup>m</sup>. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Christ, which was, according to them, the year in which *Julius Cæsar* was killed, and *Augustus* succeeded him<sup>n</sup>. The rightest of them, in our opinion, are those who deduct the first four years out of that emperor's reign, because, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the *Spaniards* should have begun so soon to compliment him with this new computation; and consequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of his triumvirate, when that country, together with *Gaul*, and some other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was, according to *Usher*, forty years before the birth of Christ. As for the original of the word, those that do not like that we mentioned above, which is that of *Isidor* bishop of *Seville*<sup>o</sup>, will be less pleased with some others, which *Spanish* critics we fetched still farther. That of *Vaseus*, who thinks that æra was a mark stamped on the coin, to shew the value of it; and that of *Rensendius*, who affirms that æra was nothing else but a term to signify a computation, or computed number; would appear most probable to us, if they were backed with any good authority<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GERUND. *paralipom. Hispan. lib. x. in fin.*  
ex *Isidor.*      <sup>n</sup> Vide *VASEI chronic. c. 22.*  
*Vas. apud eund. ibid.*      <sup>p</sup> Idem *ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> Idem *ibid.*  
• Epist. ad

*Excellent way of educating their youth.*

*Great love of liberty.*

*Bravery of their women.*

*Commerce, and anti-ent state.*

THE education of their children in antient days chiefly consisted in training them up to martial deeds, using them to such food and exercises, as tended to make them strong and robust, active and nimble; in inspiring them with a love of liberty, and a contempt of death. These principles were so strongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and so carefully riveted in them both by precept and example, as they grew up, as well as by the hopes of a glorious future life to the bold and brave, and of misery and ignominy to the base and cowardly, that the whole nation seemed unanimously to prefer death before slavery; and looked upon it as the most glorious of all blessings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in this martial way, contracted such a habit of bravery, that they seldom or never failed of shewing some signal examples of it to them, as often as an opportunity offered itself. But we shall defer speaking more particularly on this head, till the next chapter, where we shall single out several instances of this native valour, in these and other *Celtic* nations, even in those of the softer sex, and tender years.

WE have already observed, that this country was not only excellently situate for trade and commerce, but abounded with such commodities, especially silver, as invited all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, to come thither for them, to settle among them, and even to subdue them; insomuch that scarce any kingdom under heaven ever passed through so many different dominions as this. *Egyptians*, *Phoenicians*, *Tyrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Moors*, and many others, have had their particular settlements in it; and the greatest part of them, if not all, have held it, or at least some considerable share of it, under their subjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it (H).

To

(II) What condition the country was in, before those strange nations came into it, we dare not say; though, if we were to believe one half of what the *Spanish* historians have written on this head, it must have been in a more flourishing condition than any other; since we are told by them, that, even before the com-

ing of *Hercules*, it had a great number of rich and stately towns and cities, and these of great antiquity too (6): and this seems, in some measure, confirmed by antient writers, such as *Strabo*, *Justin*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and others; and indeed, if they really had such a succession as we are going to give

(6) *Vide inter al. Gerund. ubi supra, lib. i. Garci de academ. Hisp. Nomenclatur. vnb. Hispan. Taraf b. de orig. &c. reg. Hispan. Vas. chronic. & al. plur.*

To close up the character of the antient *Spaniards*, they General possessed all the virtues of the old *Celtic* nation, and inherited character fewer of their vices than any others of their descendants ; they of the antient Spa- were brave, noble, and magnanimous, and hospitable to an niards. high degree ; and so famed for their faithfulness, that, even after their being conquered by the *Romans*, several of those emperors preferred them to other nations, to be their life-guard. They were sober, frugal, patient under hardships, jealous of their honour, and, till a few centuries past, rather desirous, as much as they could, to preserve their own territories, than to go in search of new ones abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of *Celtic* extract, those of pride, cruelty, superstition, and laziness, are justly laid to their charge, as well as to that of the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others ; but it doth not appear, that they imitated them in their sumptuous banquets, much less in their excessive fondness for strong liquors ; on the contrary, they are famed for their aversion to them, by which they preserved themselves from such bloody quarrels, as were the natural consequence of those drunken revels, which we find to have been so indulged among their neighbours, and were commonly attended with the worst effects.

in the next section, of long-lived and opulent monarchs, from *Tubal* the grandson of *Noah* to *Ge-ryon*, whom that hero overcame, there would be no room to doubt of the truth of such antient cities having been built before his time. But the misfortune is, that there is no other authority for those reigns, than that of *Berosus*, who, as we shall shew in the sequel, is justly looked upon now as a fabulous author, and that what the

*Greek* and *Roman* authors mentioned above have said of the pretended antiquity of those cities, and their founders, was, in all likelihood, taken upon trust from the *Spaniards* themselves, who appear plainly enough to have been as fond of indulging this passion for antiquity, as ever the *Greeks*, or any other of their neighbours ; but of this we must leave every reader to judge for himself.

### S E C T. III.

#### *The Origin, Antiquity, and Chronology, of the antient Spaniards.*

WE have, in several parts of this work \*, proceeded on the Spain, its most probable hypothesis, founded on the testimony of first inhab- the best and most antient authors, that the *Celtes*, the descend- bitants.

\* See before, vol. i. p. 375, & seq. vol. vi. p. 4, & seq. & alibi passim.

ents of *Gomer* the eldest son of *Japhet*<sup>b</sup>, were the first that peopled *Europe*, at least as far as the *Danube* and *Rhine*, and even beyond. Whether this was done by gradual migrations from the place of their dispersion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by sea, will, we think, be more properly inquired into in the next chapter, where we shall speak of the *Gauls* the immediate descendants of those *Celtes*; and where we shall shew, from the best antient testimonies, that these were, from the earliest times, found settled in every part of it, and even in this of *Spain*, notwithstanding its being surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the other by the *Pyrenees*, before any nation that intermingled afterwards among them, of whom we have given an account in the first section of this chapter, and shall have further occasion to speak at the entrance of the next<sup>c</sup>. According to this hypothesis, it will be impossible to guess, about what time either this, or any other country of *Europe*, were peopled by them, or which of them hath the preference in point of antiquity before the rest, or even to assert any thing of this country before the coming of *Hercules* into it.

But the *Spaniards*, ever fond of their own antiquity, having once adopted the fabulous *Berosus*, have fetched their origin from another spring, namely, from *Tubal*, the fifth son of *Japhet*<sup>d</sup>, whom that author affirms to have come into, and reigned in *Spain* from the year of the flood 143. to 258. and from whom they pretend to derive a regular series of long-winded monarchs, down to the three *Geryons*, who were killed by the *Egyptian Hercules*, to say nothing of a much longer one, which they likewise draw from this last hero, and some other newcomers from *Libya*, down to the time in which they allow the *Celtes* to have made their first entrance into *Spain*; to wit, in the year of the flood 1350. So that, according to these authors, *Spain* had been a monarchy, and had lasted one thousand two hundred and twenty-six years before the coming of the *Celtes* into it<sup>e</sup>. This account, how fabulous soever, not only with regard to *Tubal's* reign, and of his pretended successors, but likewise, in some measure, with regard to those of *Hercules*, as it is not only adopted by all the *Spanish* authors general, but likewise by all the followers of *Berosus*, we shall be obliged, before we go further, to give our readers a compendious sketch of it, especially as we have all along in

*Berosian*  
*list of their*  
*kings.*

<sup>b</sup> Genes. x. 2.      <sup>c</sup> Sect. 3, and 4. of chap. 25.      <sup>d</sup> Genes. ubi supra.      <sup>e</sup> Vide inter al. GARIBAY. compend. hist. Hispan. lib. iv. c. 4, & seq. VAS. chron. Hispan. c. 10. sub an. diluv. 1350. GERUND. paralip. Hisp. SANT. MARIANNA. et al. mult.

this work given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the history of each nation.

1. **TUBAL**, having received his grandfather's blessing, came, *Tubal*, or according to these historians, and settled in some p. rt of *Thubal-Spain* (A), in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned there to the year 258. during which interval *Noah*, called by profane authors *Janus*, came thither, and built two cities, the one of which he called, from his own name, *Noeja* in *Galicia*, and the other *Noega* in *Asturia*, and which, to this day, retains that of *Navia*.

2. **IBERUS**, the son of *Tubal*, who began his reign in the *Iberus* year of the flood 258. reigned thirty-seven years, that is, to the year 295. From him our authors pretend, that the river *Iberus*, from which *Spain* was called *Iberia*, had its name. We have elsewhere given a much more probable etymon of these two names<sup>f</sup>. He was succeeded by his son,

3. **IDUBEDA**, by some called *Juballa*, and *Jubalda*, who *Idubeda*, reigned sixty-four years, gave name to the famed *Idubedean* mountains, peopled the province of *Briga*, now *Riola*, and called it by that name from,

4. **BRIGO**, his son and successor (B), who reigned fifty- Brigo. two years, and left the kingdom to his son,

#### 5. TAGUS,

<sup>f</sup> See before, vol. vi. p. 6. & seq. & note.

(A) This *Berosian* fable they think sufficiently backed by what we read in *Josephus* (1), who makes *Jubal*, or *Tubal*, as he is called, to have peopled *Spain*; and by St. *Jerom*'s comment on the prophets *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*, where he understands by *Tubal* either *Italy* or *Spain*; but this, at most, will only prove, that some of that patriarch's posterity came and peopled this country, or perhaps came and settled in some part of it; but not, that he came thither himself, and founded a monarchy in it; which has been sufficiently exploded in some former parts of this work (2), and by the generality of authors, who have confuted the fa-

bulous founder of that notion (3).

However, these partial ones, who have adopted it, have built many other conjectural schemes upon it; such as the place where he landed, settled, &c. the system of religion, laws, &c. he left with them, and the like; insomuch that they affirm, that his descendants strictly adhered to the precepts given to *Noah* by God, and preserved themselves free from idolatry, polytheism, and all the heathenish superstition, till *Hercules* brought those plagues from *Egypt*, and infected *Spain* with them.

(B) From him the *Briones*, or *Briganes*, situate along the long

(1) *Antiq. lib. i. c. 3.*

(2) See before, vol. i. p. 377, & seq. vol. vi. p. 4.

& seq. (3) *Vide inter al. Bochart. phaleg. Sir Walter Raleigh, bish. Perizon. Pizzoni. Calcutt, comm. in Genes. x. 2. & al.*

Tagus.

5. TAGUS, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river *Tagus*, and was succeeded by his son,

Bætus,  
the last of  
Tubal's  
line.

6. BOETUS, from whom the river *Bætis*, and the province of *Bætia* or *Bætica*, formerly *Turdetania*, and since *Andalusia*, had their names. He is said to have been surnamed *Turdetanus*, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging, learning.

Geryon.

7. GERYON, an African or Libyan, of a gigantic stature, and a bloody tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood 514. and reigned, according to some, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others\*. Against him came *Osiris*, or, as he is called by others, *Dionysius*, king of *Egypt*, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant (C), and divided his kingdom between his three sons, commonly called the three *Geryons*, after having first exacted a strict promise from

\* Conf. GARIBAY, compend. Vas. chron. Hisp. sub an. diluvii 514.

ridge of *Idubedean* mountains, are affirmed, by the *Navarrean* historians, to have been named, as well as the city of *Cantabria*, anciently, according to them, *Cantabriga*; whilst the *Castellani* derive both from the *Galli Bracati*, who came and settled there.

(C) This *Geryon* was also called *Deabus*, and is surnamed, by the Greeks, *Chryso*, on account of the vast wealth which he had gotten by his plunders and robberies. He is said to have brought over a number of wild or Scenite *Arabs*, and to have been the founder of the city of *Girona*. *Diodorus Siculus* (4) makes him the son of *Chrysdor*, or the golden sword, the son of *Medusa*. From his defeat is supposed to have sprung the fable of *Hercules*'s, overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away, spoken of in a

former volume (5). *Justin*, indeed, makes mention of him, and of his vast herds of cattle (6); but *Strabo* and *Pliny* look upon the whole as a mere fable (7); and *Arrian* further affirms (8), that there never was such a king as *Geryon* in *Spain*. *Aristotle* says, that *Hercules* (whom even some *Spanish* authors affirm to have been, not the *Egyptian*, but the *Greek* one, and son of *Jupiter* (9) by *Alcmeia*), had been enticed over into *Spain* by the richness of its inhabitants; whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongst them, forbidding the use or possession of silver, which was still in force some time after the coming thither of the *Carthaginians* (1). Something like this law was likewise among some of the antient *Gauls*, of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

(4) Lib. ix. c. 4. Vide & Aldrete, var. antiguedad. lib. iv. c. 18. (5) See before, vol. vi. p. 161. sub not. (6) Hisp. lib. xliv. (7) Strab. lib. i. Plin. lib. iv. c. 25. (8) De gest. Alex. Mag. lib. ii. (9) Vide Gerandens, paralipon, lib. ii. Ant. Nebrigenf. &c al. (1) Vasis chronic. sub an. diluvii. 539.

them,

them, that they would reign amicably, and abstain from those plunderers, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had so justly punished their father.

8. THREE *Geryons*, said to have been all of one birth, and *Geryons*. the last of the *Geryonic* race, reigned with such surprising concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that represents them with a threefold body. These being supposed to have had an hand in the death of *Osiris*, in revenge of that of their father, *Hercules* his son brought a great army from *Egypt*, overcame and slew them, one after another, in single combat. It is said, that the columns between the *Carpian* and *Abylean* mountains were set up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors, near forty years, when they received this overthrow, and were buried in the isle of *Gades*<sup>b</sup>. *Hercules*, who did not come so much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no sooner overcome the three *Geryons*, than he made ready to pass into *Italy*, and left the government of *Spain* to his son,

9. HISPAL (D), who built the city of that name, now *Hispal*. called *Seville*, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by *Cæsar*: and from *Hispal* began a new succession of *Spanish* kings. He is said to have reigned seventeen years, and to have left his kingdom to his son,

10. HISPAN, or *Hispanus*, from whom the country took Hispan. its name, which it hath preserved ever since. He began his reign in the year of the flood 607. and reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince (E), and to have made the city of *Gades* his chief residence<sup>c</sup>.

## II. HERCULES,

<sup>a</sup> GARIBAY, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 12. ad fin. <sup>b</sup> Id. ib. in fin. c. 14.

(D) In this expedition it is pretended, that our *Egyptian* hero introduced the idolatry and superstition of his country; to which another author adds the bloody rite of offering up human victims (z).

He had likewise two favourite companions with him, the one named *Zacynthus*, and the other *Baleon*; the former of whom gave his name to the famed city

of *Zacynthum*, since *Saguntum* (3); and the other to the *Balearic* islands, now *Majorca* and *Minorca* (4).

Another ancient author, who was a *Spaniard* by birth, adds, that the *Tyrians* built a stately temple to this *Hercules*, which became famous both for its antiquity and vast treasures (5).

(E) To him some ancient authors have falsely ascribed, among

(3) *Lactan.* lib. i. c. 22.  
(4) *Lyc. Flr.* lib. ix.

(3) *Vide Hieronym.* proem. in epist. ad Galat.  
(5) *P. Melia, de sit. orb.* lib. iii. c. 6.

other

**Hercules.** HERCULES, hearing of his grandson *Hispan*'s death, returned into *Spain*, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639. t, 658. Being grown very old, he bequeathed the *Spanisb* kingdom to *Hesperus*, one of his captains and companions, and died, and was buried at *Gades*, or *Caliz*, where that stately monument was erected to him, which we mentioned in a late note, and which became in high veneration, not only among the *Spaniards*, but was resorted to by most nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric*.

**Hesperus.** 11. HESPERUS, from whom both *Spain* and *Italy*, were called *Hesperia*, but the former, by way of distinction, *Hesperia Magna*, and his brother *Atlas*, surnamed *Italus*, had accompanied *Hercules* in all his excursions and conquests. Upon the death of that hero, *Hesperus* caused himself to be proclaimed his successor, as by his will and appointment. *Atlas*, who is supposed to have been left in *Italy*, upon the return of the other two into *Spain*, came thither also himself, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669. after he had reigned there eleven years.

**Atlas.** 12. ATLAS, after he had reigned ten years in *Spain*, is said to have returned into *Italy*, in order to drive his brother thence also; for, it seems, that fugitive prince was fled thither, and was so well received, as to give him new cause of jealousy. Upon his departure, he left the kingdom to his son,

**Orus.** 13. ORUS, or *Sicorus* (F), who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river *Sicoris*, now *Segre*, which falls into the *Iberus*, or *Ebro*; and was succeeded by his son,

**Sicanus.** 14. SICANUS, who had followed him from *Italy* into *Spain*; a prince said to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river *Anas*, now *An*, and reigned thirty-two years; during which he is said to have carried his successful arms into *Italy* and *Sicily*, which was from him called *Sicania*, as it had been before *Trinacria*, and since *Sicily*, from his successor,

other sumptuous works, the aqueduct of *Segovia*, which was built by the emperor *Trajan*, and the *Pharus* or famed tower of *Corunna*, a maritim city in *Galicia*, which was erected in *Augustus's* time (6).

(F) From this, and the two following princes names, *Sicanus*

and *Sicelus*, it is supposed, that their proper names were *Orus*, *Anus*, and *Eleus*; and that the *Sic* was a titular praenomen; and this is further proved by *Anus* giving his name to the river *Ana*, and *Eleus* to that of *Eleo* (7).

(6) *Vide Fior. Vas. chronic. Garic. &c al. ubi supra.* (7) *Idem ibid. c. 24.*  
*Vid. al. Nabrig. bish. reg. catbol. Vsf. chronic. sub an. diluv. 967. &c al.*

15. **SICELEUS** succeeded his father, and reigned forty-four years; during which he is said to have passed over into *Italy*, and performed very great feats, and to have assisted *Iasius*, the grandson of *Atlas*, by *Electra* his daughter, who was then at high wars with *Dardanus*, about the succession to certain states in that country. In this prince's reign the *Deucalian* flood is said to have happened; and that *Moses* was then likewise performing his wonders before the hardened king of *Egypt*.

16. **SICELEUS** was succeeded by his son *Lusus*, who had accompanied him in his wars in *Italy*. He is said to have been a brave prince, but vastly addicted to the heathenish superstitions that then prevailed. Some attribute the peopling of *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, to him; others to *Lusus*, a chieftain and companion of *Bacchus*, as we lately hinted. *Lusus* reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by,

17. **ULUS**, or *Sic-Ulus*, whom some make the son of *Lusus*, others of *Atlas*. He was so warlike a prince, and kept such vast armies and fleets, that he was called the son of *Nep-tune*. He passed over into *Italy*, to assist those *Spanish* colonies that had been settled there by *Atlas*, repressed their enemies there, peopled some countries in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, built some cities, and particularly the famed castle of *Alfino*: thence he passed into *Sicily*, to assist those *Spanish* colonies, which his predecessors had fixed there, and who, it seems, were sadly harassed by the other inhabitants of that island; which, from his great seats there, he called by his own name. He reigned about sixty years, and was succeeded, by what means we are not told <sup>k</sup>, by,

18. **TESTA**, an *African* or *Libyan*, to whom, however, the *Spanish* historians give the character of a good and wise prince. Some of them affirm, that, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, a colony of *Greeks*, from the island of *Zacynthus*, came into *Spain* by sea, and, with his permission, settled in that part of it, which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by those of *Saguntini* and *Suguntines*, mentioned in a former volume<sup>l</sup>. As for *Testa*, after a reign of seventy-four years, he was succeeded by his son,

19. **ROMUS**, who reigned thirty-three years, and is supposed to have founded the city of *Rome*, in the province of *Tarragona*, since called *Valentia*, from the *Romans* calling that city afterwards by this name, and inlarging and beautifying it,

<sup>k</sup> Idem, c. 23. V. s. sub an. diluv. 893, & al.

<sup>l</sup> See before,

vol. xvii. p. 578.

and making it the metropolis of it (G). *Romus* was succeeded by,

**Palatus.** 20. **PALATUUS**, the supposed founder of the city of *Palentia*, or *Palantia*. This prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquillity, when a famous warrior, named *Licinius Cacus*, raised a war against him, and deprived him, according to some, of part, according to others, of his whole kingdom, and forced him to wander about from country to country, whilst he reigned uncontroled, and encouraged all kinds of arts and handicraft trades, which, till then, had been much neglected in that country. At length, *Palatus* found means to recover his kingdom from him, after he had possessed it thirty-six years; and gave him a total overthrow near mount *Cacus*, now *Monteajo*, so called from him after this overthrow. Some pretend, that he was slain upon it; others, that he retired into *Italy*. However that be, *Palatus* reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by,

**Erythræus.** 21. **ERYTHRÆUS**, in whose reign is placed the founding of *Carthage*, of which we shall say no more here, having given an ample account of it in a former volume<sup>m</sup>. He is said to have given name to the famed island of *Erythræa*, or *Erythia*, as it is called by *Mela*<sup>n</sup> and *Pliny*<sup>o</sup>, an island, which has been sought for far and near P. We have endeavoured, in this volume, to give the best account of its situation, to which we shall refer our readers<sup>q</sup>. *Erythræus* was the last of the line

<sup>m</sup> Vol. xvii. p. 221, & seq. <sup>n</sup> De situ, lib. iii. c. 6. <sup>o</sup> PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22. <sup>p</sup> Conf. auct. supra citat. et ARRIAN. cum mult. al. <sup>q</sup> Vol. xviii. p. 187, (F)

(G) Others will have it, that the people of the province built this famed city, and called it by that name, in honour of *Romus*; and that the Greeks called it *Rome*, and the Latins *Valentia*, as names of the same import in each language (8).

In this prince's reign, the *Poenicians* are said to have made their first entrance into *Spain*; and about the same time also the famed Greek chieftain *Iacobus*, or *Bacchus*, surnamed *LiberPater*, not so much with a design to conquer that country, as to spread his fame and colonies on this, as he had

done on the other, side of the world, where he is said to have carried his conquests as far as the *Indies*. As he traveled through *Andalufia*, he built the famed city *Nebris*, in the province of *Bætica*, since called *Veneria*, and now *Lebrix*, the native place of the learned *Antony Nebrisensis*, often quoted in this chapter; who says, on this head, that *Lusus*, the son of *Bacchus*, gave name to *Lusitania*; and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the destruction of *Troy*.

(8) *Garib. ubi supra*, c. 24. *Idem ibid.* c. 26.

of *Tesfa*; in which the monarchy had lasted two hundred and forty-five years, according to some, or an hundred and twenty-three, according to others<sup>1</sup>, including the thirty-six years of *Licinius's* usurpation. He was succeeded by,

22. **GARGORAS**, surnamed *Mellicola*, because, as *Justin Gargoras* hath it<sup>2</sup>, he found out the use of honey, and cultivating of bees. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, a wise prince, and a great promoter of industry. In his reign, the famed city of *Troy* having been destroyed by the *Greeks*, of which, as well as its long siege, an account has been given in a former volume<sup>3</sup>, many of those warriors, who either did not care, or were hindered, by contrary winds, from returning into their own country, came and settled in *Spain*, and built cities in several parts of it, and, amongst them, those which the reader will find in note (H). To *Gargoras* succeeded, if we may believe *Justin*<sup>4</sup>,

23. **HABIS**, his grandson by a daughter, and a bastard, but, *Habis*, *his* in all other respects, an extraordinary prince, whether we *excellent* consider the many and surprising dangers he was obliged to go *reign* through, and from which he was delivered, as it were, by as many miracles, or the beauty and talnes of his person, or the many and signal benefits which the *Spanish* nation received from

<sup>1</sup> Conf. ANT. NEBRIGENS. **GARIBAY**, et **VASEUM**, ubi supra.  
<sup>2</sup> Hist. lib. xliv.   <sup>3</sup> Vol. iv. p. 498.   <sup>4</sup> Lib. xliv.

(H) *Teucer*, the son of *Tela-mon*, one of the first that came into *Spain*, settled in that part where the new *Carthage* was built, since called *Carthagena*, if he was not the founder of it. From thence he passed into *Galicia*, and gave name to that canton (9). He is likewise said to have built the city of *Salmantica*, low *Salamanca*, in memory of his own native country; though *Stephen of Byzantium*, who calls it *Elmantica*, says nothing of his founding it. *Amphilochus*, a companion of *Teucer*, is said to have built that of *Amphilocha*, since called *Aguas Caldas*, or hot waters, and now *Orense* in *Galicia*. *Diomedes* built *Tydo* on the banks of the *Minius*, now *Minno*, in

memory of his father *Tydeus*. It retains still the name of *Tuy*, *Tuya*, and *Tude*. Some other places and colonies, these, and a few more, gave name to; as *Astur* to *Asturias*, *Ulysses* to *Ulyssipone*, now *Lisbon*, where he built also a temple to *Pallas*. *Strabo* (1) calls this city *Ulixipolis*, or city of *Ulysses*. *Mnestheus* built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coasts of *Andalusia*, near the city of *Gades*, or *Caliz*; in which last, the *Andalusians* say, was a stately temple, built by the same warrior, which became in time famous, and much resorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world.

(9) *Justin*, ex *Trog.* lib. xlii.

(1) *Strab.* lib. iii.

him during his reign, to which he was, for his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather in his life. The *Spaniards* at that time were still so very rude and uncivilized, that they knew nothing of the use of bread, or of cultivating the earth. It was he, it seems, that first taught them to plow their land with oxen, to sow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewise gave them many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them seven courts of judicature in seven cities of his kingdom. Our author adds, that, after his death, his kingdom continued in his posterity during several centuries; but we must not thence suppose, that either he or they, or indeed any of his predecessors, were masters of the whole country, but only of some considerable part, as we hinted a little higher, in speaking of their government. How long this last king reigned, who succeeded him, &c. what other kings reigned in other parts of *Spain*, and many other things relating to the antient history of it, we are wholly left in the dark about, down to the coming of the *Carthaginians*, no antient historian having left us any thing about it. Only this chasm is filled up, by some of their authors, with such fabulous stuff, as what we have here in *England* from our own monkish books. We shall mention one or two of them, by way of sample, in the note (1).

**Year of  
the flood  
699.** **ABOUT** forty-two years after, the *Crites*, or *Gauls*, are said to have come first into *Spain*, and about twenty years after the *Rhodians*. Of the first it is affirmed, that they fought for some time with the *Spaniards*, or *Iberians*, as they were then called,

(I) In the year after the flood 1250. that is, thirty-four years after the beginning of *Habis's* reign, began, according to these authors, such an extraordinary drought, that it did not rain in all *Spain* during the space of twenty-six years; insomuch that all the rivers of it, except the *Bætis* and the *Iberus*, were dried up, and the country became almost a desert, for want of inhabitants. If such a long and universal drought had really happened, it would rather be a wonder, that there were either man or beast alive in most parts of that vast country. They tell us, in-

deed, that about the same time a certain people, whom they call *Almonides*, came and settled in it; but, if so, is it not very strange, that no antient author should have taken the least notice of it (2)? for which reason the learned author, often quoted in this chapter, justly rejects both as fabulous (3). Fifty-seven years after, *Homer*, or, as his right name was, *Melignes*, traveled through *Spain* and *Italy*. This was before he lost his sight; and he, according to *Herodotus*, flourished an hundred and sixty-eight years after the *Trojan war* (4).

(2) *Vas. sub an.*(3) *A. Nebricens. ubi supra.*(4) *Vide Strab. lib. iii.*

about

about their settlements; but agreed at length upon a peace at mutual friendship; so that they, from that time, became so blended with each other, by intermarrying and living together, that they became as one people, under the name of *Celtiberians* \*. From which account we shall observe, by-the-bye, that this could only be one of those colonies, which the *Celtas* in *Gaul* sent into this country; for more than one or two they sent from thence hither, as well as into other parts of *Europe*, as often as they were freighted for want of room, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is therefore very probable, that these colonies, coming into *Spain* after a few battles or skirmishes, being found by the inhabitants to be originally of the same stock, having the same, or nearly the same, language, religion, and customs, were readily admitted, and blended with them. The *Rhodians*, who came thither by sea, landed at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains, and built there a city, to which they gave their name. It was a bishop's see till the time of the *Goths*; but is now reduced to an heap of ruins. About ten years after, happened that great fire, which spread itself all over that vast ridge of mountains called the *Pyrenees*, and from thence *Incendium Pyrenaeum*, or, as others will have it, more properly, that those mountains were thence called *Pyrenean*. This fire, we are told, was at first kindled by some shepherds x, and burnt with such fierceness for many days, that it spread itself almost over that whole ridge. As for what they add, that the intenseness of the heat melted the silver in the mines, and made it boil up, and run down in rivulets along those hills, it is justly looked upon as exaggerated by *Posidonius*, *Strabo* y, and others (J). " Year of  
the flood  
720.  
Bef. Christ  
1619.

\* *Dion.* *Sic.* *bibl.* *lib.* vi. *LUCAN.* *HIERON.* et al. x *Dion.*  
*Sic.* *lib.* vi. *Vide et ARISTOT.* *de mirab.* *auscult.* y *Lib.* iii.

(J) It must be owned, however, that *Spain* yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal; since *Aristotle* assures us, that the *Phœnicians*, who are supposed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for such an immense weight of it, that their ships could neither contain nor sustain its load, though they used it for ballast, and made their anchors, and o-

ther implements, of silver; and yet this is nothing (5) to what we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, of the immense product of these mines. As for the *Phœnicians*, they are supposed to have likewise settled in *Spain*, and to have built several other cities, especially in *Bætica*, and to have had the mastery of the sea for the space of forty-one years; after which they went and settled in the *Balearic* islands.

*Other nations that governed in Spain.*

BESIDES the *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Phoenicians*, already mentioned, who obtained footing and dominion in this country, *Eusebius* mentions <sup>z</sup> several other nations, who did the same, before the coming in of the *Carthaginians*, such as the *Egyptians* a second time, who held the dominion of the sea thirty-five years, and built some cities, especially *Tarracona*, which they so called from *Tarraco* their leader. The *Mileians* are likewise affirmed, by the same author, to have held some government there for the space of twenty-nine years. Next, the *Carians* forty-eight years, from whom *Ptolemy* affirms the *Caristi* in *Spain* to be descended. The *Lesbians* succeeded them, who built several cities, and governed, according to the same *Eusebius*, sixty-eight years. Then the *Phocians*, in the sixteenth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and held the government forty-eight years; and from thence went and settled on the south part of *Gaul*, and built the city of *Marseilles*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter. Lastly, *Nebuchadnezzar*, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and conquest of *Judea*, is affirmed, by *Josephus* and *Strabo*, to have reigned nine years in *Spain* <sup>a</sup>, at the end of which it is said, that he abandoned it to the *Carthaginians*; though it is likely, that, as the *Spanish* writers affirm, a great part of that vast host, which he had brought with him, settled there, and built cities and castles, which they called by their own, or some *Chaldee* names; by which they may be still traced up to their original <sup>b</sup>. But, upon the whole, it seems probable, that most, if not all, of these nations, contented themselves with maritim parts, for the sake of commerce, and the command of the sea, and penetrated but a little way into the inlands, whilst these might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad to trade and barter with them, and so be less solicitous who were masters of the sea-coasts, and parts adjacent, if they could but enjoy the benefit of their commerce, and the produce of their own lands, in peace and quietness. If any of these strangers were enticed, by the pleasantness and fruitfulness of the country, to settle amongst the antient inhabitants, whether this was done by permission and consent, or by force of arms, yet it could not be long before they became so blended with each other, that nothing remained of their origin, but the names they gave to those places, which they either built or lived in. As for the *Celliberi*, mentioned a little higher, they increased so fast in that pleasant and

*The coasts which are inhabited by those strange nations.*

<sup>z</sup> EUSEB. chron. Vide et TARAPH. sub ann. ante Chr. 840.

<sup>a</sup> Antiquit. lib. x. c. 9. Geogr. lib. iv. <sup>b</sup> Vide LIV. decad. iv. TARAPH. reg. Hisp. sub ann. 571. GARIBAI. lib. v. c. 4. VAS. sub ann. U. C. 13, et 204.

healthy country, that they were forced to have recourse to their Celtibergian method of sending colonies abroad. Some of them settled in *Lusitania*, where they founded several cities, and called *Lusitania*. them by *Celtic names* (K); and from these colonies the *Lusitanians* had that of *Celtiberi* given to them: hence *Diodorus Siculus* says, that of all the *Celtiberians* the *Lusitanian* were the stoutest c. Another colony of them went into *Bætica*, where they likewise left several cities, and other monuments of their settlement. The goodness of the climate, however, joined to their laborious exercises, and plain way of living, which made them so stout and long-lived, may be justly esteemed one of the main causes of their multiplying so fast, and being obliged to send abroad such frequent colonies, a further proof of which we have in the long reigns of some of their monarchs formerly mentioned; and we shall close this section with one more, in the person of the famed *Argantho- Arganius* king of the *Tarpeffii*, who is said to have reigned at *thonius, Gades*, now *Cadiz*, full fourscore years d, and to have died in his long the hundred and thirtieth, according to one e, or hundred and life and fortieth, according to another antient author f; and is mentioned with admiration by others, for his long reign and life g (L).

c Lib. vi.      d VALER. MAX. lib. viii. c. 14.      e ASIN. POLL.  
apud eund.      f VAL. MAX. ibid.      g HERODOT. ANACR.  
CICER. de senect. BASIL. epist. ad Nepot. Vide & VAS. sub an.  
U. C. 129. GERUND. TARAPH. & al.

(K) Amongst these was the antient city of *Segovia*, or *Segobia*, famous for its celebrated aqueduct, and afterwards for its woolen manufacture; and another of the same name, and built by another colony of *Celtiberians*, near *Corduba* in *Bætica*, and mentioned by *Cæsar*, tho' the other was the more famed of the two (6).

(L) *Herodotus* says, that he reigned in *Carteia*, al. *Tarpeffia*;

*Anacreon*, that he lived an hundred and fifty years; *Pliny* gives him but an hundred and twenty; but *Silius Italicus* three hundred. As for the time in which he lived, it is impossible to ascertain it; some making him cotemporary with king *Siculus*, the seventeenth king in our list, in the year of the flood 1514 (7). Others bring him down as low as the 130th year of *Rome*, or of the flood 1692 (8).

(6) *Complent.* lib. iii.      (7) Lib. iii. Taraph. sub an. 1485.      (8) *Vas.*  
sub an. U. C. 129.

## S E C T. IV.

*Of the Conquest of Spain by the Carthaginians and Romans, to the Coming in of the Goths, and other Northern Nations.*

THIS remainder of the *Spanish history* we give here in a separate section, not as desiring to treat of it in that ample manner that it would deserve, were it detached from the body of this work; for that were a deviation from our original plan, and on the one hand draw us into superfluous repetitions, their conquest by the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* having been fully treated of in the history of those two nations; and, on the other, oblige us to anticipate those of the *Gauls*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. who conquered, or settled in, any part of this country, and which will, therefore, more properly belong to their several histories in a subsequent chapter. Our motives, therefore, for separating this part from that which we gave in the last section, are, first, to distinguish the true from the fabulous, or the certain from the uncertain: of this latter kind, at least, we look upon to be most of what hath been said in the last section, though, for the reasons there mentioned, we were obliged to insert it in such a work as this; and, secondly, because in the remaining part of this volume, we shall proceed in a more succinct account, to avoid all such needless repetitions or anticipations, and content ourselves with giving our readers a kind of regular summary of those conquests, and refer them for the further account of them to the volumes and pages, where they are to be seen at full length; and, for the rest, to the respective chapter, where they will be more amply related.

THEIR conquest by the *Carthaginians* was, if we may believe *Justin* and *Orosius*, occasioned by the *Tyrians*. These, having founded the city of *Gades*, and built a temple to *Hercules*, were so molested by the jealous *Spaniards*, that they

*Carthaginians invited into Spain by the Tyrians.* were forced to send to *Carthage* for help; which being readily granted, *Micenas* was sent with a fleet to their assistance, who suppressed their enemies, and enlarged their territories, by the reduction of several considerable places along that coast <sup>a</sup>. The richness of the country soon invited them to pursue their conquests; and the vast treasures, both in gold and silver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a strong temptation to them <sup>b</sup>, as they were engaged in such a bloody and expensive war with the *Romans*. This was ac-

<sup>a</sup> *Justin. ex Trog. lib. ult.*

<sup>b</sup> *Diod. Sic. lib. vi.*

cordingly

cordingly performed with great success at first, by their great general *Hamilcar Barcas*, and afterwards by his sons *Afdrubal* and *Hannibal*, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inspire him with greater hatred against the *Romans*, and with a more eager desire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the subjection of *Carthage*. The success which these generals met with, both against the *Spaniards* and against the *Romans*, whom they had courted to their assistance <sup>e</sup>, has been so fully spoken of both in the *Roman history* <sup>d</sup>, and in that of the *Carthaginians* <sup>e</sup>, that we shall need only to refer our readers to those places cited at the bottom. *Afdrubal* likewise, another of their generals, who was left there to command during *Hamilcar's* return to *Carthage*, was no less successful there, and obliged the *Romans* to come to a treaty with him, of which the reader will find an account in a former volume <sup>f</sup>, and which he inviolably kept with them whilst he lived; but his death, which happened soon after <sup>g</sup>, and his being succeeded by young *Hannibal*, put an end to it: and that enterprising hero, tho' then but twenty-six years of age, began the war afresh, and laid siege to the famed city of *Saguntum*. We have given already a full account of that siege, and the sad catastrophe of its brave inhabitants, and shall refer our readers to it <sup>h</sup>. But *Hannibal* having undertaken his fatal expedition into *Italy* <sup>i</sup>, the *Carthaginian* affairs began to decline apace, and their forces to receive many consecutive overthrows here, both by sea and land <sup>k</sup>, especially under *Afdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, who, being defeated by *Scipio*, was forced to retire to *Gades* <sup>l</sup>, where, being again defeated at sea, and, to complete his misfortunes, betrayed by *Masnissa*, he was reduced to such a desperate state, that, in revenge, he committed such horrid cruelties, as rendered him and his nation odious to the *Spaniards* and *Romans* <sup>m</sup>. All this while the two *Scipios* not only gained ground against them by these frequent defeats, but by some signal instances of their politeness rendered themselves as amiable to the *Spaniards*, as their enemies were become hateful to them <sup>n</sup>. At length two decisive battles, which they gained over them, were attended with the retaking of *Saguntum*, which had been rebuilt by *Hannibal*. They also caused the *Turdetani*, who were found there, to be all sold for slaves, for

<sup>c</sup> See before, vol. xvii. p. 567. & seq. & 212. & seq. 175, & seq. 221, & seq.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. xii. p. 206, & seq. vol. xvii. p. 258. & seq.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. xii. p. 217, & seq. Ibid. p. 591. & seq.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. xvii. p. 339. & seq. 539. & seq.

<sup>p</sup> Vol. xii. p. 304. & seq.

<sup>d</sup> See vol. xiii. p. 160, & Vol. xvii. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. xvii. p. 574. & seq.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 605. & seq.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 305. & seq.

Year of  
the flood  
<sup>2119.</sup>  
Bef. Christ  
<sup>229.</sup>  
Hamilcar  
<sup>and his  
son's suc-  
cess in  
Spain.</sup>

having joined *Hannibal* against that faithful city <sup>o</sup>. We shall not repeat here the circumstances of the death of those two generals; which was like to have quite altered the posture of affairs, had not the brave *Morcius* recovered that great loss by a bold and desperate act; and, with the few troops which he could gather up, after the loss of those two battles, surprised and burnt the *Carthaginian* camp, which occasioned, in the confusion that then reigned, the deaths of thirty-seven thousand of them, besides near two thousand more, who were taken prisoners by him <sup>p</sup>. He was succeeded by young *Scipio*, who, though at that time but twenty-four years of age, had been unanimously chosen proconsul of *Spain*, and came thither with a reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His wonderful success there, the immense spoil he got at the taking of *New Carthage*, his singular behaviour and continence towards a beautiful female captive, and his generous refusal of the vast ransom which her parents offered to him, gained him the affections of the *Spaniards* to such a degree, that they looked upon him as a demigod, and began everywhere to revolt from the *Carthaginians* <sup>q</sup>. Their generals made several vain efforts to stop the progress of this young hero, and were as often defeated by him <sup>r</sup>, as were also *Mandornius* and *Indibilis*, who had revolted from him <sup>s</sup>. At length, having thus far reduced the *Carthaginians*, he resolved on a descent into *Afric*, to oblige them to abandon *Spain*. The success of this expedition being foreign to this *Spanish* history, except that he actually forced them out of this country, and brought it under the *Roman* yoke, we shall refer our readers to those places, where a full account is given of both <sup>t</sup>.

*Script of the flood  
2142.  
Bef.Christ 206.*

Year of the flood  
~~~~~

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*Script of its mines and treasures.*

THE *Romans* being thus become masters of this rich and noble country, or at least of a considerable part of it, by the expulsion of the *Carthaginians*, one of their first cares was, to seize on all its valuable mines, especially those of silver and gold <sup>u</sup>, and to strip it of its immense wealth; and how considerable this was, may be guessed by the sketch we shall give in the next note (A), of the prodigious quantities which their prætors,

<sup>o</sup> Vol. xii. p. 231, & seq. p. 262, & seq.      <sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 275, et seq.      <sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 288—295.      <sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 309, et seq.      <sup>s</sup> Ibid. p. 306.      <sup>t</sup> Ibid. p. 309, et seq.      <sup>u</sup> 1 Maccab. viii. 3, et seq. Liv. OROS. &c

(A) Thus we are told (1), his return to *Rome*, carried with that *Scipio* above-named, upon him fourteen thousand three hun-

(1) *Liv. decad. 4. lib. i. ii. & iii.*

prætors, even by the confession of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public, as well as into their own treasury. But as it would be impossible to enter into a detail of all those transactions that happened during their *Roman* bondage, without repeating all that has been said in their history in the foregoing volumes, we must in this, as well as in the subsequent chapters, refer our readers to what has been already said there ; and only add here one or two remarkable

dred and forty-two pounds of silver, besides an immense quantity of coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable things. *L. Lentulus* is said to have brought away a still much larger treasure; to wit, forty-four thousand pounds of silver, and two thousand five hundred and fifty of gold, besides the money which he divided among his soldiery. *L. Manlius* brought with him twelve hundred pounds of silver, and about thirty of gold. *Corn. Lentulus*, after having governed the *Hither Spain* two years, brought away one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold, and of silver two thousand, besides thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin; whilst his colleague brought from *Farther Spain* fifty thousand pounds of silver.

What is still more surprising, is, that these immense sums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, four thousand and ninety-five of gold, besides coin, and other things of value, were brought away within the short space of nine years; for just so much time elapsed between the first and the last of these *Roman* prætors (2); and just after they had been as severely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other

friends the *Carthaginians*. These few instances shall suffice to shew, how rich this country must then have been, and what an immense treasure it yielded to their conquerors; for though thele last never slacked their hands, but kept still on bringing fresh supplies from thence, yet we do not find, that it was at all exhausted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richness of the country, that invited the northern nations, many centuries after, to come and seize upon, and drive the *Romans* out of it, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

We are, indeed, told by *Stra-bo*, that when the *Carthaginians* first came thither, they found silver in such amazing plenty, that their utensils, and even man-gers, were made of it (3); insomuch that *Posidonius* said of this country, that *Pluto*, the god of riches, had his residence in the bowels of it (4). And *Pliny* mentions several rich mines of silver dug there by the *Carthaginians*, one of which, called *Bebel*, from the finder of it, yielded *Hannibal* three hundred pounds of silver per day (5). In a word, most antient authors have celebrated this country for its richness to such a degree, that it hath only exposed it the more to the invasion of foreigners far and near.

(1) *Vide Val. c. 10. ab an. urb. 549. ad an. 558.* (2) *Lib. iii.* (3) *Ib.*  
and *ibid* (4) *Lib. xxxiii. c. 6.*

*Embassy  
to Alex-  
ander.*

events, which have not yet been taken notice of, or but lightly touched upon. One of them is the grand embassy which the *Celtics* and *Spaniards* sent out of this country to *Alexander the Great*, to congratulate him upon his vast successes, to beg his amity, and that he would send proper persons to adjust some differences that were amongst them, that is, in all likelihood, between some of their petty kings. This embassy, it seems, was highly pleasing to that conqueror, who heard of those nations for the first time; and, having granted their request, sent them very honourably home <sup>w</sup>. *Orosius* tells us, that the head of this embassy was called *Maurinus* <sup>x</sup>.

THE next is that noble push which was made by the *Celtiberians* in *Lusitania*, to suppress the *Roman* tyranny, and, if possible, to drive them farther, if not quite out of *Spain*. What their succels might have been, had not their leader *Viriatus*, whom *Florus* calls a shepherd, and *Orosius* a banditto, been dispatched by the treachery of *Servilius Cæpion*, who hired that general's guards to assassinate him, may be easily guessed by the dispatch he had made in crossing the *Durius*, *Iberus*, and *Tagus*, seizing on *Galicia*, and some other provinces, and putting all the *Roman* colonies to fire and sword: but his untimely death put an end to all farther opposition, it being found then too dangerous to head an army against so powerful and treacherous a nation as the *Romans* shewed themselves on this occasion <sup>y</sup>. How those brave brothers, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, fared, for daring to oppose them some time after, need not be here repeated <sup>z</sup>, any more than the dreadful catastrophe of *Numantia* <sup>a</sup>, *Saguntum* <sup>b</sup>, and some other cities and people, for daring to defend their country against them. By these cruel and treacherous means these *Roman* invaders so far suppressed that noble love of liberty for which this nation was justly famed, that very few attempts were afterwards made for regaining it; and those proved so unsuccessful, or, to speak more properly, were so severely punished, that it quite deterred them from even betraying the least hope or desire after their antient freedom, till at length they were quite forced to submit to all their laws, customs, and religion; and, in a word, to be wholly romanized after their own arbitrary will. However, it is plain, that *Farther Spain* was not quite subdued till the fourth consulate of *Marius*, A. U. 657. nor the *Celtiberians* till five years after, two years after *Dolabella* had triumphed over the *Lusitanians* <sup>c</sup>. The rest is said to have been conquered by *Augustus*, as we have formerly hinted.

<sup>w</sup> *ARRIAN.* gest. Alex. Magn. lib. vii. <sup>x</sup> Lib. iii. c. 20.  
<sup>y</sup> *SIL. ITAL.* *OROS.* lib. v. c. 8, et seq. *FLOR.* lib. liv.  
<sup>z</sup> Vol. xvii. p. 616. & seq. <sup>a</sup> Vol. xii. p. 308. & seq. <sup>b</sup> Vol. xii. p. 231. vol. xvii. p. 578. & seq. <sup>c</sup> *QRO.* ubi supia. *PLUT.* in Mar. <sup>WE</sup>

WE shall conclude this chapter with a list of the *Spaniſh* prætors, as far as *Livy* has gone with them, and afterwards of the emperors, under whose government *Spain* continued from *Augustus* to *Honorius*; in the beginning of whose reign the *Romans* were driven out of it by the northern nations, whose history will follow in due time; by which means the reader will easily come at the remainder of the *Spaniſh* bondage under both, without our being forced to repeat what has been already said in the *Roman* history, or anticipating upon what more properly belongs to those of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. hereafter; but as we shall but barely mention those *Spaniſh* prætors and emperors, without entering into any further particulars of their reigns, we shall give the list of them in the close of this section. And the same we shall do of the *Gothiſh* kings which reigned in *Spain* from *Athaulphus*, the brother of *Alaricus* king of the *Goths* in *Italy*, who was seated there in that part of it near the *Pyrenees*, by the emperor *Honorius*, down to *Rotheric* the thirty-third king; who, by inviting the *Saracens* to his assistance, occasioned the conquest of the greatest part of this country by those infidels; under whose severe yoke it continued more or less during the space of 700 years, before it could be quite cleared of them. Lastly, to keep up the series of the *Spaniſh* government, we shall subjoin a short account of those brave Christian princes, who recovered, by degrees, their several kingdoms from the *Saracenic* yoke, from *Pelagius*, who became the first prince of *Aſturias*, down to *Ferdinand* king of *Caſtille*, who, by the marriage of *Isabella* queen of *Leon*, united both kingdoms in his family; by which *Spain* was reduced under one monarchy, and from whom the modern history will be resumed. But, before we leave *Spain*, we beg leave to add, that tho' the *Romans* carried off such immense quantities of gold and silver out of it, as was hinted in the last note, they still left enough behind in it to maintain their numerous armies and colonies, to build great cities, castles, forts, and particularly schools and academies, for all kinds of learning and exercises; to which we may add many other stately edifices, which were there reared by their prætors, consuls, and especially by their emperors; all which served either to allure the *Spaniards* to the *Roman* yoke, or to deter them from shaking it off.

AFTER *Scipio* above-mentioned had expelled the *Carthaginians*, *Spain* was governed by the following prætors; to wit,

*Hither Spain, by*

|                         |                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>L. Lentulus</i>      | <i>C. Flaminius</i>         |
| <i>Q. Fabius Butæus</i> | <i>M. Baebius Pamphilus</i> |
| <i>Cato the censor</i>  | <i>L. Aemil. Paulus</i>     |
| <i>P. Ccr. Scipio</i>   | <i>M. Fulv. Nobilior</i>    |

|                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>L. Manlius</i>       | <i>P. Licin. Crassus</i> |
| <i>Quint. Crispinus</i> | <i>Ap. Claud. Cento</i>  |
| <i>A. Terent. Varro</i> | <i>P. Fur. Philo</i>     |
| <i>Q. Fulv. Flaccus</i> | <i>Cn. Fab. Buteo</i>    |
| <i>T. Sempronius</i>    | <i>M. Jun. Poenus</i>    |
| <i>M. Titinius</i>      |                          |

*Farther Spain, by*

|                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>L. M. Acidinus</i>     | <i>P. Sempronius</i>         |
| <i>Q. M. Thermus</i>      | <i>P. Manlius</i>            |
| <i>Ap. Cl. Nero</i>       | <i>L. Posthumius</i>         |
| <i>Sext. Digitius</i>     | <i>T. Fonteius Capito</i>    |
| <i>M. Fulv. Nobilior</i>  | <i>M. Cornelius Scipio</i>   |
| <i>A. Attil. Serranus</i> | Not mentioned by <i>Livy</i> |
| <i>C. Flaminius</i>       | <i>Cn. Servil. Cæpio</i>     |
| <i>Cn. Man. Vulso</i>     | <i>M. Mantinius</i>          |
| <i>C. Catinius</i>        | <i>Sp. Lucretius</i>         |
| <i>C. Calpur. Piso</i>    |                              |

After them the senate reduced the country under one prætor, in the consulships of *P. Licin. Crassus*, *C. Caff. Longinus*, an. urb. 583. which continued so only under the two following ones; to wit,

*C. Marcellus*                           *Publ. Fonteius.*

After whom it was again divided, and governed by

*Cn. Fulvius*                            *C. Licinius Nerva.*

Thus far *Livy*; and from this time, to wit, A. U. 701. Spain became a consular province, under the consulship of *Q. Fulvius* and *T. Annus*; and was governed by them, and their proconsuls and propraetors, as we learn from *Florus* and *Orosius*.

The emperors are as follow:

- |     |                     |     |                       |
|-----|---------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| 3.  | <i>Julius Cæsar</i> | 16. | <i>Antoninus Pius</i> |
| 2.  | <i>Augustus</i>     | 17. | <i>M. Aurelius</i>    |
| 3.  | <i>Tiberius</i>     | 18. | <i>Commodus</i>       |
| 4.  | <i>Caligula</i>     | 19. | <i>Pertinax</i>       |
| 5.  | <i>Claudius</i>     | 20. | <i>Julian</i>         |
| 6.  | <i>Nero</i>         | 21. | <i>Severus</i>        |
| 7.  | <i>Gallia</i>       | 22. | <i>Cara alla</i>      |
| 8.  | <i>Otho</i>         | 23. | <i>Macrinus</i>       |
| 9.  | <i>Vitellius</i>    | 24. | <i>Heüsgalalus</i>    |
| 10. | <i>Vespasian</i>    | 25. | <i>Alexander</i>      |
| 11. | <i>Titus</i>        | 26. | <i>Ma. iminus</i>     |
| 12. | <i>Domitian</i>     | 27. | <i>Eulimus</i>        |
| 13. | <i>Nerva</i>        | 28. | <i>Gordianus</i>      |
| 14. | <i>Trajan</i>       | 29. | <i>Ælbius</i>         |
| 15. | <i>Adrian</i>       |     | <i>Decius</i>         |

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 31. <i>Gallus</i>       | 44. <i>Dioclesian</i>  |
| 32. <i>Æmilianus</i>    | 45. <i>Galerius</i>    |
| 33. <i>Valerianus</i>   | 46. <i>Constantine</i> |
| 34. <i>Gallienus</i>    | 47. His three sons     |
| 35. <i>Claudius II.</i> | 48. <i>Julian II.</i>  |
| 36. <i>Quintillus</i>   | 49. <i>Jovian</i>      |
| 37. <i>Aurelian</i>     | 50. <i>Valentinian</i> |
| 38. <i>Tacitus</i>      | 51. <i>Valens</i>      |
| 39. <i>Florianus</i>    | 52. <i>Gratian</i>     |
| 40. <i>Probus</i>       | 53. <i>Theodosius</i>  |
| 41. <i>Carus</i>        | 54. <i>Arcadius</i>    |
| 42. <i>Numerianus</i>   | 55. <i>Honorius.</i>   |
| 43. <i>Carinus</i>      |                        |

*Gothish Kings in Spain.*

1. *Ataulphus*, who having married the princess *Placidia*, sister to *Honorius*, was by him made prince of some provinces, on both sides of the *Pyrenees*, and kept his court sometimes at *Barcelona*, and sometimes at *Narbonna*. He was murdered by his treacherous subjects, in the third year of his reign, and succeeded by,

2. *Sigeric*, who was likewise murdered soon after, and succeeded by,

3. *Wallia*, or *Abalia*, a warlike prince, who having enlarged his dominions, died at the end of a three years reign.

4. *Theodore*, alias *Theodoric*, or *Thierry*, reigned thirty-one years, and was killed in a battle against *Attila the Hunn*, and succeeded by his son,

5. *Thorismund*, who drove *Attila* out of *France*; and, after a three years reign, was murdered by the treachery of his own brothers, and succeeded by one of them; to wit,

6. *Theodoric II.* who, being successful against the *Vandals* and *Saracens*, was likewise murdered by his brother, after a reign of thirteen years.

7. *Euric*, who reigned sixteen years, enlarged his dominions both in *France* and *Spain*, and left his crown to his son,

8. *Alaric*, who was killed in battle by *Clovis king of France*, after he had reigned 23 years, and succeeded by,

9. *Gezaleyk* his bastard son, an usurper, who, four years after, was ousted by,

10. *Amalaric*, the lawful son of *Alaric*, who was restored by the help of the *Ostrogoths*, and reigned twenty-one years. In him the family of the *Visigoths* being extinct,

11. *Theudis* the *Ostrogoth* was raised to the throne; but murdered soon after by a pretended mad man, and succeeded by,

12. *Thou-*

12. *Theudisel*, of another family, who reigned only one year, and was succeeded by,
13. *Agila*, who was defeated and killed soon after his election to the throne by,
14. *Athanagild*, who reigned thirteen years; and after whose death,
15. *Liuba*, or *Liuya*, was elected, and reigned five years, and left the crown to his brother,
16. *Lievigild*, who had reigned four years in partnership with him, and fourteen more after him. He overthrew the *Suevi*, and joined their kingdom to his own, and was succeeded by,
17. *Ricared*, alias *Flavius Recaredus*, the first orthodox king, who likewise converted all his subjects from *Arianism*, as has been hinted a little higher. He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son,
18. *Liuvia II.* who was murdered in the second year of his reign by,
19. *Witteric*, who, after seven years' reign, was also murdered by his own people, and succeeded by,
20. *Flavius Gundamar*, who reigned but two years, and was succeeded by,
21. *Sisbut*, who subdued the *Asturians*, and died in the ninth year of his reign.
22. *Ricared II.* the son of *Sisbut*, reigned but three months, and was succeeded by,
23. *Flavius Swintila*, the son of *Ricared I.* who quite expelled the *Romans*, and became the first absolute master of all *Spain*; but, after a ten years' reign, was dethroned by,
24. *Sisenand*, who reigned only four years, and was succeeded by,
25. *Chintila*, who was elected to the crown, and, after a four years' reign, left the throne to,
26. *Tulga*, who reigned but two years, and was succeeded by,
27. *Flavius Chindaswind*, who seized on the crown by force, and held it seven years.
28. *Flavius Racewind* reigned twenty-four years, and was succeeded by,
29. *Wamba*, alias *Bumba*, and *Uthamba*, who was deposed by,
30. *Flavius Ervigius*, who reigned seven years, and left the crown to his son-in law,
31. *Flavius Egica*, who reigned fourteen years, and left the throne to his son,
32. *Vitza*, a most wicked tyrant, who, to prevent his subjects revolting against him, laid the foundation of the total reduction

reduction of the *Spanish* monarchy by the *Saracens*, which happened in the following reign, by causing all the walls and fortifications of his towns to be demolished, and all the arms that could be found in his dominions to be destroyed. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

33. *Rotheric*, a prince no less wicked than his predecessor, and who having ravished the daughter of his great favourite count *Julian*, the latter called in the *Saracens*; who, bringing an army of six hundred thousand men, defeated him in an action which lasted eight days; after which he was never more heard of. The infidels became masters of the field, over-ran the greatest part of *Spain* in about eight months time, which afterwards took up almost as many centuries to recover from them.

THE Christian princes, who contributed to the shaking off the *Saracenian* yoke, were those that follow :

1. *Pelagio*, of what extract is uncertain, who became so powerful in *Biscay* and *Asturias*, that he gave the infidels several signal overthrows, and recovered several dominions in the mountainous parts from them; for which he was raised to the royal dignity, and reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by his son,

2. *Favila*, who reigned but two years, and left the crown to,

3. *Alonzo*, in whom it became hereditary, in right of his wife *Ermezenda*, the daughter of *Pelagio*. He reigned eighteen years, and won thirty-four battles against the *Saracens*, and was succeeded by his son,

4. *Fruela*, who killed fifty-four thousand *Moors* in one battle, greatly enlarged his dominions, and, after a reign of eleven years, was basely murdered by his brother,

5. *Aurelius*, who reigned six years, and was succeeded by,

6. *Silon*, who came to the crown in right of his wife *Adozinda*, the daughter of *Alonzo*, and enjoyed it nine years.

7. *Mauregat*, a bastard son of *Alonzo*, seized on the throne, and held it five years, by the help of the *Moors*.

8. *Bermudo*, in *Latin Veremundus*, a prince of the royal blood, but whose father is not known, enjoyed it six years; from whom it passed to a son of *Fruela*, named,

9. *Alonzo II.* and surnamed *the Chaste*, who, during a long reign of forty-eight years, gained very considerable advantages against the *Moors*, and was the first who styled himself king of *Oviedo*. He died in 843. and was succeeded by the brave,

10. *Ramiro*, the son of *Bermudo*, who is said to have slain sixty thousand *Moors* at the battle of *Clavijo*, and, after a seven years reign, left the crown to his son,

11. *Ordonno*, who likewise gained great advantages over the *Moors*, reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his son,

12. *Alonzo III.* surnamed *the Great*, who reigned forty-eight years, and was still more successful against the *Moors*, and gained many victories over them.

13. *Garcia* his son succeeded him, and reigned only three years, and was succeeded by his own brother,

14. *Ordonno II.* This prince likewise gained several victories over the *Moors*, and made the city of *Leon* the capital of his kingdom, whence it had that name; but was at length defeated by them, as he was going to assist the king of *Navarre* (B). Upon which,

15. *Fruela II.* his brother, seized on the crown, and held it about fourteen months; after which, his nephew,

16. *Alonzo IV.* the son of *Ordonno II.* enjoyed it six years, and resigned it to his brother,

17. *Ramiro II.* a very successful prince against the *Moors*, of whom he is reported to have slain eighty thousand in one battle. He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded, anno 950. by his son,

18. *Ordonno III.* who reigned five years, without doing any great feats, and was succeeded by his brother,

(B) This king was lineally descended from *Garcia Ximenes I.* who put himself at the head of some *Pyrrenean* mountaineers: and, after several signal successes, was by them proclaimed king of *Navarre*. His dominions were about the *Pyrenees*, and within little compass; but were much enlarged by his successors, who still retained the title of kings. The time of his inauguration is uncertain; but he died anno 758.

Near about the same time we begin to read of the earls of *Caraille*; the first of whom that we meet with, was called *Rotheric*, and lived in the reign of *Alonzo the Chestle*. These earls were at first created by, and subject to, the kings of *Leon*, till, growing

too powerful, they assumed the sovereign authority, and from earls raised themselves to the royal title.

Much the same was done soon after by the kings of *Barcelona* and *Arragon*. The former of them owed their rise to *Lewis* the son of *Charlemagne* king of *France*, who, having taken the city of *Barcelona* from the *Moors*, created one *Bernard*, a *Frenchman*, first earl of it, anno 815. whose successors in time made themselves independent and absolute.

And about the same time it was, that *Garcia* king of *Navarre* made one *Aznar* earl of *Arragon*, whose descendants likewise raised themselves to the regal title and dignity (6).

(6) *De his videlicet Mirian. h[ab]it. gener. de Espanna. Mendez. Sybre. catalogue genealog. Garibei. compend. hist. Hispan. Vastei paratip. &c al.*

19. *Sancho*, surnamed *the Gross*, or *Fat*. This prince had been for some time banished by *Ordonno II.* the son of *Alonzo the Great*; but now recovered the crown by the assistance of the *Moors*, and was the first who exempted the *Spanish* gentry from taxes. He reigned twelve years, and was at length poisoned. He was succeeded by his son,

20. *Ramiro III.* who reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by,

21. *Ermindo II.* surnamed *the Gouty*, and son to *Ordonno III.* He suffered many great losses from the *Moors*, assisted by the treacherous earls of *Castille*; insomuch that they destroyed several considerable cities of his kingdom, particularly his capital of *Leon*, and *Compostella* in *Galicia*; yet did he at length overcome them, and reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son,

22. *Alonzo V.* who gained many victories over the *Moors*, recovered the city of *Leon*; but was at length slain at the siege of *Viseo* in *Portugal*, anno 1028. after a reign of twenty-nine years.

23. *Bermudo III.* lived in peace with the *Moors*; but, having no children, was compelled by *Sancho* king of *Navarre* (who had seized on the earldom of *Castille*, in right of his wife *Nunna*, eldest daughter of *Garcia* earl of that country), to give his sister *Sancha* to his son *Ferdinand*, now declared king of *Castille*, in order to give him a title to both crowns. This marriage did not hinder *Bermudo* from renewing the war against him, in which he was killed, after a reign of nine years.

24. *Ferdinand* then seized on the kingdom of *Leon*, in right of his wife; and, being a warlike prince, gained many signal victories against the *Moors*, took many considerable places from them, and overthrew his elder brother *Garcia* king of *Navarre*. He died at the end of a glorious reign of twenty-eight years, and divided his dominions between his three sons.

25. *Sancho* the eldest had *Castille*; *Alonzo VI.* *Leon*; and *Garcia III.* *Galicia*; but *Sancho* expelled them both: soon after which, he was slain at the siege of *Zamora*, anno 1073. after he had reigned almost seven years, and was succeeded in all his dominions by his next brother,

26. *Alonzo VI.* king of *Leon*, and I. of *Castille*, a very warlike and successful prince, who gained many places from the *Moors*, particularly the city of *Toledo*, which he made his residence. He reigned thirty-five years, and was succeeded by,

27. *Alonzo VII.* before king of *Arragon*, but now likewise of *Leon* and *Castille*, in right of his wife *Urraca*, sister and heiress to *Alonzo VI.* but she being a lewd woman, and he forced

forced to divorce her, his title to the two last, which then ceased, devolved to her again. But,

28. *Alonzo VIII.* her son by her first husband *Raymund*, earl of *Burgundy*, having forced her to resign it to him, after a reign of fifteen years, caused himself to be crowned emperor at *Toledo* (C). He took many towns from the *Moors*, and reigned thirty-four years, and was succeeded, anno 1157. by his son,

29. *Sancha*, who had only the kingdom of *Castille*, that of *Leon* being given to his brother *Ferdinand*. He reigned one year, and was succeeded by his son,

30. *Alonzo IX.* surnamed *the Good*, and *the Noble*, who married the princess *Eleanor*, daughter to our king *Henry II.* He was a warlike prince, and, by the assistance of the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, gained several considerable victories against the *Moors*, particularly at the battle of *Nabas de Tolosa*, wherein he slew two hundred thousand of them, and by that means recovered many cities and strong places from them. He reigned fifty-six years, and died anno 1214. and was succeeded by his son,

31. *Henry*, who was killed by the fall of a tile from an house, in the fourteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years. He was succeeded by,

32. *Ferdinand III.* surnamed *the Holy*, his sister *Berengaria's* son, in the two kingdoms of *Castille* and *Leon*. This prince was likewise very brave, and successful against the *Moors*, from whom he took the cities of *Cordoua*, *Murcia*, *Taen*, *Seville*, and many others, and reigned thirty-five years. He died in 1252. and was succeeded by his son,

33. *Alonzo X.* surnamed *the Learned*, for his great knowledge in astronomy, and other sciences. He was chosen emperor of *Germany*; but met with so many troubles from his rebellious subjects, that, though he accepted of the imperial title and dignity, yet he could not go out of *Spain* to be put in possession of it. He reigned thirty-two years, and died anno 1284. and left his Spanish dominions in no small confusion: for,

34. *Sancho IV.* surnamed *the Brave*, and second son of *Alonzo*, seized on the crown; so that much blood was shed between him and his two nephews *Alonzo* and *Ferdinand*, the sons of his elder brother *Ferdinand*: but he got at length the

(C) It was during his reign, that *Alonzo*, the son of the earl of *Burgundy*, whom *Alonzo VI.* had made earl of *Portugal*, usurped that dominion, and took upon him the title and dignity of king of that country, which he left to his posterity (7).

(7) *Idem ibid. Vide & Far. Souza Europ. Portugueze. Duarte descript. Portug. et al.*

better of them, and, after a reign of eleven years, left his crown to his son, *anno 1295.*

35. Ferdinand IV.'s reign proved no less troubled than his father's, on account of his bad title to the crown. He suppressed the knights templars, and, having unjustly condemned two of them to death, they, at their execution, summoned him to answer it before CHRIST's tribunal in thirty days; upon which he was surnamed *the Summoned*, and died accordingly on the thirtieth day after, *anno 1312.* having reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son,

36. Alonzo XI. a valiant and successful prince, in whose reign all the Spanish monarchs united their forces against the Moors, of whom two hundred thousand were slain at the battle of Tariffa. He gained several places from them, and reigned thirty-eight years. He died *anno 1350.* and was succeeded by his son,

37. Peter, surnamed *the Cruel*, who was harassed with continual broils by his discontented subjects during a reign of nineteen years, and was at length murdered, *anno 1369.* by his bastard brother,

38. Henry, the natural son of Alonzo XI. who, after an usurpation of ten years, left the crown to his own son,

39. John, who married Beatrix, the heiress of Portugal, and was engaged in a war, to assert his right to that crown, against John the bastard of king Ferdinand, who held it from him. He was at length killed by a fall from his horse, *anno 1390.* after a reign of eleven years, and succeeded by his son,

40. Henry III. surnamed *the Sickly*, who married the lady Catherine, daughter to John of Ghant duke of Lancaster, and grand-daughter to Peter king of Castile. He reigned sixteen years, and left the crown to his son,

41. John II. then an infant (*anno 1406.*) on which account the rebellious nobility would have bestowed the crown on his uncle Ferdinand; but that prince not only generously refused it, but maintained his nephew on the throne, till he was called to that of dragon. However, his reign, though forty-eight years long, proved very full of intestine troubles. He died *anno 1454.* and was succeeded by his son,

42. Henry IV. who was no less barbarously treated by his rebellious subjects, who attempted to set up his younger brother Alonzo on the throne; but he dying in the mean time, part of them submitted to him, whilst the rest offered the crown to his sister Elizabeth, and at length obliged him to declare her his heiress, though he had a daughter of his own, named Joanna. He ended his troublesome reign *anno 1474.* after it had lasted twenty years. Upon which,

43. Ferdinand, son to John king of Arragon, having married the princess Elizabeth, or, as she is commonly called *Isabella*, made heiress of Castille by Henry above-named, i wrong to his own daughter Joanna, united the two crowns of Arragon and Castille in himself and successors, as will be more fully shewn in the modern history of that monarchy. Thus much shall suffice for the series of the antient governors and monarchs of Spain<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> De his vide auct. supra citat. sub not. (B) et (C), et al. mult.

## C H A P. XXV.

*The antient State of the Gauls, to their Conquest by Julius Cæsar, and from thence to the Irruption of the Franks.*

### S E C T. I.

*The Origin of the Gauls, and Extent of their Country.*

*Their origin, names, &c.* THE Gauls were certainly descended from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, as has been fully shewn in some former volumes<sup>a</sup>, or, to speak more properly, were the same people, under a different and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by some of their neighbours, whilſt they still retained their primitive one of *Gomerai*, or descendants of *Gomer*, as those do, who still keep up their antient language in its purity, especially the northern *Welsb.* Other names they were known by, such as they either seem to have affimed upon some particular occasions, or such as other nations thought fit to give them; of all which the reader may see a specimen in the following note (A). The name therefore of *Gau*, *Gall*, and

<sup>a</sup> See vol. i. p. 375. vol. vi. p. 11, et seq.

(A) Of the first kind we may reasonably reckon all those which are of *Celtic* extraction; such as those of *Celte* and *Gaul*, which signify *brave* and *warlike*, *Armoric*, *maritim*, and the like. Even that of *Belga*, which signifies *fierce* and *quarrelsome*, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original fierceness, from which the rest had polished

themselves by their commerce and intercourse with other nations; those of *Cit*, *Trens*, and *Sabalpine*, from their situation on either fide of the *Alp*; that of *Celto-Scythians*, from their being neighbours to, and intermixed with, that nation; that of *Celtiberians* to those that were seated on the other fide the *Pyrenees*.

As they spread themselves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue

and *Gallia*, is not only a foreign one, but of a recenter date, as are likewise those other appellatives, by which *Julius Cæsar*<sup>b</sup>, and other antient authors, distinguish one part of their country from another. Such are those, for instance, of *Cisalpina* or *Citerior*, *Transalpina* or *Ulterior*, and *Subalpina*, which was situate at the foot of the *Alps*<sup>c</sup>. The inhabitants, however, were formerly better known by the name of *Celtæ*<sup>d</sup>, and the country; in the whole, by that of *Celto-Gallia*<sup>e</sup>, of which name we have given, in a former volume<sup>f</sup>, the best etymon we could find. *Cæsar* afterwards distinguished the whole country under the three following names; to wit, *Belia*, *Aquitania*, and *Gallia Propria*, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the *Celtæ* or *Gauls* (B). This

<sup>b</sup> Comment. lib. i. c. 1, &c.

<sup>c</sup> PLUT. in Cæs. et Marcell.

PLIN. hist. lib. xvi. c. 11. STRAB. MELA, CLUVER. et al.

<sup>d</sup> See

PAUSAN. in Attic. c. 3.

<sup>e</sup> PTOLE. lib. ii. c. 7. DIODOR. SICUL.

lib. xxxix. et alibi.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. vi. p. 58, et seqq. pass. and notes.

tongue spread itself into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became so numerous, and so vastly different from it, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their fountain-head. We shall therefore venture no farther, than upon such ones as carry a kind of certainty of their extract, and refer such of our readers, who are curious of such etymons, to the authors quoted below (1). He may likewise read that vast variety of names in *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Cæsar's* commentaries, *Diodorus Siculus*, and other antient authors; particularly those that follow, which are the most known, to wit, 1. *The Bituriges*. 2. *S. nonuf. s.* 3. *Arverniens*. 4. *Ædui*. 5. *Ambarrenses*. 6. *Carnuti*. 7. *Julerci*. 8. *Infibri*. 9. *Sæli*, or *Salyensis*. 10. *Canmani*. 11. *Salluviens*. 12. *Boii*. 13. *Lingones*, and *Veneti*. All

which are recorded to have passed over into, and settled in, *Italy*; or rather to have sent colonies thither, whilst the rest continued in their respective *Gaulish* territories; besides a number of others, of which those antient historians make no mention (2).

(B) His words are these (3): “The whole country of *Gaul* is divided into three parts; the first of which is inhabited by the *Brigæ*, the second by the *Aquitani*, and the third by those whom we call *Gauls*, but, in their own tongue, are called *Celtæ*. All these have their language, manners, and customs different.” The meaning of which words is generally taken to be, that he speaks here of those parts, which remained as yet unconquered by the *Romans*, and which retained still their antient language and cu-

(1) Beckart, phalez. Scalig. thes 1. op. Cluver. introd. Pezron. antiqu des Celtes. Röwland. Scheda antiqu. Polonus b. d. des Celtes. Hist. rom. Francs. Gall. &c. al. mult. (2. F. de Deu. ut. juig. e. t. 10. Patercul. p. 235.) (3) Cæsar, bell. Gall. lib. i. . . .

This last was further distinguished into *Comata*, whose inhabitants wore long hair; *Brahabata*, from their wearing breeches; and *Togata*, from the *Roman toga* being worn there (C).

WE

stoms; whereas those which were already subdued, had altered both by that time, to such a degree, as to appear to him different from the rest. Such was, for instance, that part which was called *Togata*, from their having taken up the *Roman* dress, and, in all likelihood, several other of their customs, and, by their intercourse with them, might have very much altered their dialect from the rest.

One thing is very remarkable, that *Cæsar* makes this province, which he likewise calls *Cjulpina*, to begin at the foot of the *Alps*, and to have extended itself along the *Po*, as far as the *Adriatic sea*, and the *Rubicon* (4); whereas *Strabo*, who quotes his commentaries (5), and *Diodorus Siculus* (6), plainly intimate, that the *Gauls*, or *Celtæ*, inhabited all those parts from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*; and we shall shew by-and-by, that they extended even beyond the latter, and possessed the greatest part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, as we have already hinted in the foregoing chapter.

However, the most that can be inferred from the passage quoted out of *Cæsar*, is, that he found *Gaul* so divided at his coming thither; and that, by this time, their language, manners, &c. were grown very different, tho' originally one and the same, as they were originally one and the same people.

(C) We shall endeavour to settle the limits of each of these in the following paragraph, and refer our readers, for the other names by which it was occasionally distinguished; such as that of *Armorica*, from its lying along the sea-coasts; of *Aquitania*, from its abundance of water; *Cis* and *Transpadana*, or on either side of the *Po*; and some others; to the account given of them at the entrance of the *Roman* history above-quoted (7). All that needs be added here is, that the words *Celtæ* and *Gaul*, signifying, in the antient language, *brave* and *warlike*, that of *Belga*, *fierce* or *quarrelsome*, that of *Armoric*, *maritime*; these names were, in all probability, given them by other nations. As for those of *Cimerians*, *Cimbrians*, *Cumbrians*, and the like, they are plainly a corruption of their original one of *Gomerians* or *Gomeri*, as those of *Galatians* and *Celto-Galatians* were of *Celto-Gaul*.

As for the *Galatia*, or *Celto-Grecia*, of *Asia Minor*, in which these *European Gauls* were settled by *Nicomedes*, who had called them thither to his assistance, we shall, as much as we can, refer our readers to what has been said of them in some preceding volumes (8), to avoid unnecessary repetitions. All that need be added here is, that this province had *Cappadocia* on the east; *Bithynia* on the west; *Pamphylia*

(4) *Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. 1. &c. 2. lib. iii. c. 2.  
*Sic.* lib. v. (5) *See vol. xi. p. 208, &c seq.*  
*ibid. vol. xi. p. 349.*

(6) *Diod.*  
(8) *See vol. ix. p. 192.*

We have already shewn in the history of the antient *Celtes*<sup>8</sup>, *The extent* that they were possessed of the greatest part of *Europe*. There of *Gaul*, is scarce a province,<sup>1</sup> or even a corner of it, in which they have not left some evident monument of themselves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, promontories, and such-like. In every part of it, where either the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, or *Romans*, sent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by antient writers to have found the *Celtes* or *Gauls* already settled <sup>h</sup>: not that they expressly mention them by those two names; for we have just observed on what account they had several other appellatives given them, but yet such as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, customs, &c. to have meant one and the same nation. However, we will not venture to say, that they were all of the same *Celtic* extract that inhabited those parts of *Europe*, either towards the sea-side, such as *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *French* coasts, along the *Mediterranean*, or towards the north-east, where they seem to have been so blended with the *Sythians* and *Sarmatians*, that it is next to impossible to assert their boundaries on that side. All that we pretend to conclude from those antient authors, who have written most clearly and knowingly on this head, is, that the *Celtes* or *Gauls* plainly appear to have been the first that peopled and possessed themselves of, or claimed a dominion over, this country.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. vi. p. 5, & seq.      <sup>h</sup> Vide DIODOR. SIC. lib. v. LUCAN. lib. vi. SIL. ITAL. lib. iii. APPIAN. PTOL. & al.

on the south; and the *Euxine* on the north. Here St. Paul founded a church, to which he directed that epistle, which is still known by the name of the epistle to the *Galatians*, and was written to reduce them from those *Judaic* observances, into which some false teachers of the circumcision had debauched them, and to confirm them in the true gospel liberty which had been preached to them. We know little else of these *Galatians*, besides what has been said in the two volumes last quoted, except that we read, in the second book of *Maccabees* (viii. 20.) of a signal overthrow which the *Jews* gave them in the province of *Babylon*, where their,

with a small army of eight thousand men, defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thousand of the former. The text says nothing further concerning this signal victory, nor about the time in which it happened; so that we are left in the dark, whether *Judas* speaks there of the *Galatians* settled in the province lately mentioned, or, which is more probable, of the *Gauls* themselves, who had by this time, if not long before, spread themselves all over *Asia*; for it must be observed here, that the name of *Galataiwa* is indifferently given, especially by Greek authors, to the one and to the other.

Gauls in Spain and to prove the *Gauls*, or *Celtes* rather, to have been settled in Portugal. *Spain* and *Portugal* before any other nation; first, because they were here called by the name of *Iberians*, or, at most, *Celtiberians*; from which some are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the first inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the *Celtes*, who came over the *Pyrenees*, and settled amongst them. And, secondly, because *Varro* <sup>i</sup> mentions no less than five different nations, that were found there, when the *Romans* first invaded that country. These were, according to him, the *Iberians*, *Perians* (D), *Phœnicians*, *Celtes*, and *Carthaginians*. As to the first, we have formerly shewn, that the word *Iberian* signified, in the antient *Celtic*, any people, country, or place, that was situate over, or on the other side of, a sea, river, ridge of mountains, and the like <sup>k</sup>: so that these might be naturally called *Iberians*, on account of their situation over the *Pyrenees*, by those that lived on this side; and *Celtiberians*, to distinguish them from those nations they were blended and intermixed with there. As to what is objected out of *Varro*, we have had occasion to hint, in the history of antient *Spain*, that neither the *Tyrian* or *Phœnician* colonies, nor those of the *Carthaginians*, came thither till a long time after the *Celtes* or *Gauls* had been settled there, and peopled a great part of that country. All this seems self evident, first, from the consentient testimony of antient authors, the greatest part of whom expressly affirm it <sup>l</sup>, and make these inhabitants to be of the same extract with those that filled the hither parts of *Europe*, to all whom they give the same common name of *Celtes* and *Gauls*, and sometimes the more antient one of *Cymriani* and *Cimbrians* <sup>m</sup>. And, secondly, from those traces and monu-

<sup>i</sup> De re rust. vid. & PLIN. nat. hist. lib. iii. c. 1. Vide & LUCAN. APPIAN. DIOD. &c. ubi supra. <sup>k</sup> Vol. vi. p. 7 et seq.

<sup>l</sup> HERODOT. lib. ii. c. 33. lib. iv. c. 49. & alibi. EPHOR. apud STRAB. lib. iv. Vide et PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. lib. i. c. 4. <sup>m</sup> STRAB. ubi supra. SICUL. lib. v. et al.

(D) As it doth not appear from any antient author, that the *Perians* sent any colonies into this country, it is somewhat difficult to guess who these were, whom our author mentions with the other four. If we may be permitted to offer our conjecture, the name being of *Celtic* extract, and signifying *severed* or *divided*,

it is not unreasonable to suppose, that it was given to some tribe or canton of this nation, on account of their rupture or difference from the rest, either in their customs, laws, and such-like, or for retaining their old ones, whilst these had altered theirs, in compliance to the other nations they were intermixed with.

ments they have left in almost every canton and province of that country; such as the names of seas, rivers, mountains, cities, and the like, all which are manifestly of *Celtic* extraction.

ITALY cannot be supposed to have been long unpossessed by *In Italy.* them, if they were not the first peoplers of it, concerning which we shall refer our readers to what has been said on that head in some former volumes <sup>n</sup>. It was, indeed, too fair a spot not to invite such a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been ever so well peopled beforehand; but, we think, we have made it at least very probable, that they came thither sooner than any other; for if the *Humbrini* or *Umbri* really were, *Umbri*, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been <sup>o</sup>, the *antient aborigines* or *antientest* people of *Italy*; and they were descended from the *Celtes* (<sup>E</sup>), as their name, and other concurring circumstances, seem plainly to intimate <sup>p</sup>; then it will scarcely be doubted, that they must have entered and peopled that country very early, when we recollect what dreadful devastations the *Hetrurians* made among them, and how many hundreds of their towns and cities they destroyed in that invasion which they made upon them, and for the further particulars of which we refer our readers to a former volume <sup>q</sup>.

We shall shortly come to speak of the *Germans*, and other *Germans*, northern nations, as well as of the isles of *Great Britain*, *Ire-* &c. of *land*, *Iceland*, and others less considerable; all which plainly appear to have been first discovered and peopled by the *Gauls* <sup>r</sup> or *Celtic tract.* *Celtic ex-* or *Celtes*. As for the *Germans*, they were so like the *Celtes* in their language, religion, and customs, except, as *Strabo* observes <sup>s</sup>, their retaining some of their original fierceness, which was doubtless owing to their vicinity and intermixture with the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, that they seem to have been one and the same nation; and this our author thinks to be the oc-

<sup>n</sup> See vol. vi. p. 8, et seq. et vol. xi. p. 214, et seq. <sup>o</sup> FLOR. lib. i. c. 17. PLIN. DION. HALICAR. & al. <sup>p</sup> Compare vol. vi. p. 11, et seq. and vol. xi. p. 224, et seq. <sup>q</sup> Vol. vi. ubi supra.

\* Lib. iv. & vii.

(E) *Pliny* derives their name from the Greek *οὐρανός*, which signifies a shower; because they had been dislodged from their country by a flood, occasioned by violent showers (<sup>g</sup>). But this etymon is far-fetched and forced, unless we will admit, that it carried the memory of their escaping

the universal deluge with it; in which case it must be supposed, that they came early into those parts, and set up some monuments of their deliverance there. But as to the name of *Umbrians*, or *Humbrini*, it seems rather a softening of the original one of *Gomurians* or *Cimbrians*.

<sup>g</sup> Nat. hist. lib. iii. c. 4.

casion of their being called *Germans* (F). We shall find a much properer etymon for that name in the sequel. What made us mention it here, was as a proof, that *Germany* was part of the *Celtic* or *Gaulish* territories, at least as far as the *Rhine*<sup>s</sup>, if not as far as the *Danube*<sup>t</sup>, though, as we have already observed, all that inhabited the countries between these two great rivers, were very much intermixed with the *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, and other northern (G) nations. All that needs be added here is, that the *Hvetii*, *Rhatii*, *Norici*, and *Pannonians*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume<sup>u</sup>, are sometimes called *Celtes*, and sometimes *Gauls*, indifferently; and that their troops were still distinguished by the name of *Celtic* and *Gaulish* legions in *Aurelian's* time<sup>v</sup>, as were also those that lived along the foot of, or upon, the *Alps* themselves.

*How they came first into Europe.*

*Berosus's account confuted.*

IN the mean time it will not be improper, before we come to fix them according to that epocha, to inquire, how this ancient nation came at first to spread itself, as we have shewn they did, all over *Europe*, that is, whether they advanced by gradual steps from the place of their first dispersion, which we formerly fixed in *Phrygia*<sup>x</sup>; or whether they came thither by sea, and, landing at first on some of the *Italic* or *Mediterranean* shores, dilated themselves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypothesis has its difficulties. If that of *Berosus* and his followers could be credited, that *Gomer's* sons settled themselves in several parts of *Spain* and *Italy* so early as an hundred and forty-two years after the flood, the gradual migrations will hardly be thought quick enough to have

<sup>s</sup> DIODOR. I. xxxviii. et seq. PTOL. lib. ii. c. 9.      <sup>t</sup> TACIT. German. c. i. PTOL. lib. viii. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. iv. c. 12.      <sup>u</sup> See vol. xii. p. 452, et seq. sub not. (D), (E). vol. xiii. p. 517, et seq. sub not.      <sup>v</sup> ZOS. lib. li. c. 2. LIV. lib. xxii. c. 30, et seq. POLYB. lib. iii. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. iii. c. 20, et alibi.      <sup>x</sup> Vol. i. p. 375, et seq. vol. vi. p. 9, et seq.

(F) The word *Germanus* was that by which the *Romans* distinguished brothers by the same father and mother from those which were only by the one or the other, whom they termed *uterini* or *consanguini*. And though the etymon itself be certainly false with respect to the *Gerrans*, yet it shews the great affinity which that author observed between them and the *Gauls*.

(G) Such were the *Saxons*, *Franks*, *Sicambri*, *Burgundi*, *Quadi*, *Goths*, *Huns*, *Bastarnae*, the *Rhatii*, *Norici*, *Pannonians*, *Maejani*, *Frixiens*, and many more, whose names and situation the reader will find in the several maps at the head of this history; and for the description and particulars of which we refer him to the general index at the end of this work.

extended themselves to such vast tracts of ground in so short a time; and it will be more natural to suppose, that they sailed thither from *Lesser Asia*. But then it will be equally difficult to imagine, how they could, in the short space of an hundred and forty-two years, become such expert mariners, as this supposes them to have been; and, if we allow them a longer space for making themselves so far masters of navigation, they may be as reasonably thought to have extended themselves thus far by such gradual migrations, as either want of room, curiosity, or desire of change, may be supposed to have led them to (H).

THE same fate having attended them, not only in *Italy*, but likewise on this side of the *Alps*, where the provinces of *Noricum*, *Helvetia*, *Rhaetia*, and that whole tract which lies between those mountains and the lake of *Geneva*, were taken from them, as we have seen in the *Roman history* <sup>1</sup>, the whole *Gaulish* extent came then to reach no farther than from that lake to the *Pyrenees*, having still the *Mediterranean* on the south, the *Rhine* on the north, and the *British* chanel on the west; for, by this time, the *British* and other islands were detached from the inlands, and lived under princes of their own, though, in matters of religion, they still kept a kind of conformity with, if not rather a kind of jurisdiction over them, as we shall see under the next article. This was the state of *Gaul*, and these its limits, when *Julius Caesar* first came into it, as we have seen in a former volume, where we likewise

*The Gaulish bound-*  
*aries*  
*strengthened*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xlvi. p. 250.

(H) That they began betimes to navigate, or to coast at least, not only the *Mediterranean*, *Atlantic*, and other seas, but even on the main ocean, we shall presently have occasion to shew, when we come to speak of their arts, commerce, &c. But it is scarcely to be believed, all things considered, that their rude skill in this art could bring them thither so soon as the others could get thither by land. However, since some antient authors have affirmed, that the first inhabitants of *Spain* came thither by sea, some say from *Asia*, and others from *Afrie*, the most reasonable opinion seems to be that, which

allows these to have indeed come thither from those parts, and to have settled in those countries, though not till some considerable time after they had been discovered and peopled by those, who came thither by land, and by gradual migrations. And this will further account, both for that great variety of names, dialects, and customs, which such an intermixture must, of necessity, be supposed to produce, and for the loss of that whole country in process of time, when the *Gauls* were partly driven out of it, and the rest subdued by their conquerors, as we have seen in the last chapter.

took notice of several other changes which were made in their boundaries; and new divisions of their provinces and districts by the conquering *Romans*, particularly by *Augustus*, and to which we beg leave to refer our readers, to avoid repetitions and prolixity<sup>z</sup>.

FOR the same reason we think it superfluous to say anything here of its natural or artificial rarities, or to spend any longer time in describing a country so near, and so well known to us. We have described its antient state in a former volume<sup>a</sup>, and there given an account of its most considerable rivers, lakes, mountains, &c. We have there likewise taken notice of the fertility of the country, and how early it had begun to be cultivated and improved, even as far back as the times of *Mercury*, who is affirmed by a learned modern, and not without some substantial proofs, to have reigned in *Gaul*, when it was in its full extent, and by his wholesome laws, and indefatigable pains to promote its trade and commerce into foreign countries, to have raised the *Gaulish* nation to a surprising height of power and glory<sup>b</sup>. This reign hath indeed been very much suspected by some other authors, who have written since<sup>c</sup>, as fabulous and imaginary; but we do not think it as yet consuted by any thing that has been offered either against it, or in favour of the *Cteian* history, which, we hope, we have, notwithstanding all its many and learned advocates, sufficiently confuted, in our *Affrian* history<sup>d</sup>. But, waving that intricate and controverted point, it is generally allowed, that this country was in as flourishing a condition when the *Romans* first invaded it, as any in *Europe*, and their lands, commerce, arts, &c. cultivated and improved by its industrious inhabitants, in a manner altogether answerable to its excellent situation and climate, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the sequel (I).

## S E C T.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. xi. p. 209. vol. xiii. p. 159, & seq. p. 520, & seq. & alibi pass. vol. xiv. pass. <sup>b</sup> Vol. vi. p. 12, & seq. <sup>c</sup> PEZRON. antiquit. des Celtes, c. 15. See vol. vi. p. 33, & seq. p. 52, & seq.  
FOURMONT. Vide & PELLOUTIER. hist. Cel. sub indic. auctor. BEDFORD. chronol. & al. <sup>d</sup> Vol. iv. p. 250, & seq.

(I) However, it must be observed here, that these improvements were of much later date than their first settlements; and that, if we except *Spain*, *Italy*, and the southern parts of *France*, the rest of their territories were too cold and discouraging to a

nation that chiefly delighted in war, hunting, and such-like exercises, and at a time when agriculture was, as it were, in its infancy; and it is most probable, that the fruitfulness of the warmer climates first put the northern inhabitants upon endeavouring to supply,

## S E C T. II.

*The Religion of the Gauls.*

WE have already given an account of the religion of the *Their religious antient Celtes* in a former volume<sup>2</sup>; and as the *Gauls* ~~were descended from them, as we have shewn under the last article,~~ <sup>ved from</sup> it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongst them, in the same manner and form as they received it from them, till their intercourse with other nations, or perhaps rather their subjection to them, gave birth to those changes and intermixtures which it afterwards underwent. To come therefore at a tolerable notion of true *Gaulish* religion, we should seek it amongst those *Gauls* who were least conversant with other people, and had least occasion or

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi. p. 25, & seq.

supply, by art, the defects of their soil and climate; for even in the times of the *Roman* emperors, we do not find, that they had either vines, olives, or any other fruit or grain, except corn (1); and most authors, who have written on this subject, seem to attribute it wholly to the extreme cold to which they were exposed. It is indeed very likely, that those authors, being used to warmer climates, have somewhat exaggerated the coldness of these, which experience shews are nothing so severe as they have represented them (2); but it is, at the same time, far from improbable, that they are become much warmer than they were in those antient times, either by destroying a vast number of forests, which stagnated the air, and intercepted the warmth of the sun; or by the draining many standing

waters, and marshy grounds; and by cherishing it with warm manure, and other improvements, which are obvious to every naturalist. The *Romans* themselves seem to have been sensible of this change, though they attributed it to some favourable alteration in the position of the earth, pretended to have been even foretold by that famous Greek astronomer *Hipparchus* (3). But, however that be, it is plain, that these countries are so far from being constantly covered with ice and snow, and their great rivers from being always so hard frozen, as to serve them instead of bridges, for crossing whole armies over them in their winter excursions, that we look upon it now as a kind of wonder, whenever any of them chance to be frozen at any such rate.

(1) Excerpt ex Appian. de Cels. Var. de re rustic. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. v. Strab. lib. iv. Cic. de conser. prou. Petron. sat. &c al. (2) Vide avell. supra citat. & Herod. lib. v. Plin. jun. panegyr. cxi. Ann. Marcill. lib. xix. c. 2. lib. xxxi. c. 9. Ovid. de trist. eleg. x. uer. 8. & al. (3) Vide inter al. Columell. de re rust. lib. i. c. 1.

*Not bor-  
rowed  
from other  
nations.*

necessity of receiving or adopting any thing from them ; instead of having recourse to that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, from whom whatever they might, in process of time, borrow, that might cause a kind of resemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almost all other respects, as black from white. Much worse have they succeeded in this point, who have transformed the *Gaulish* deities into *Greek* and *Roman* ones, and spent a deal of time and pains to no purpose, to prove them to have been such<sup>b</sup>; whereas we hope, in the sequel, to give our readers indubitable arguments of their being of *Celtic* extraction. For the same reason we must be very wary how we depend too much on those few ancient authors, whether *Greeks* or *Romans*, who have occasionally spoken of them (A). These few scraps they have left us of *Gaulish* religion, sufficiently shew, that they knew little of it ; and that, even in those points in which they do not clash against one another (B), they

<sup>b</sup> SCHED. biblioth. hist. Franc. p. 29. Vide relig. des Gaul. pref. P. 4.

(A) The most considerable of these are, *Julius Caesar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*; and they have written of it in such a vague and yet concise manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages ; and, if these pages were to be reduced to their just value, would lose one half of their bulk (1); whether it be, that these authors have but just copied one another, or only designed to say the same things.

(B) According to those quoted in the last note, both the religion and customs of the *Gauls* are drawn in such colours, as would incline one to suspect them of innate partiality, or rather hatred, at least, of a neighbouring nation. *Diodorus*, among the rest, makes no scruple to tell us, that their ferocity was in nothing more re-

markable than in their religious rites, in which, says he (2), nothing could be more impious than the victims which they offered, nor more inhuman than the manner in which they offered them. And, if we may believe *Procopius* (3), it seems as if this barbarous custom had been still in vogue some centuries after their embracing Christianity.

A modern writer, however, has been at the pains to quote other authorities, to disculpate them from a great deal of this pretended inhumanity (4), and to prove, that they were famed for their virtue and morality. It is well, if both sides have not exaggerated in their turns. But, at the worst, the *Gauls* do not appear to have much outdone those other nations, who cry out so bitterly against them, in these execrable customs of offering

(1) *Relig. des Gaul.* pref. p. 2.  
ii. c. 25.

(2) *Hist. lib. v.* (3) *Gauth. lib.*  
(4) *Vide Lewis, Histor. Britan.* c. 2. *3 author. ab eo citat.*

they have betrayed such a fondness and partiality for their own, as if they had looked upon it as the mother, and the other as the offspring of it. Upon which account *Josephus Carefully* makes no scruple to affirm <sup>c</sup>, that all that the best of these *concealed* had written of the *Gauls*, was without any foundation, and from owing to an itch of saying such things of them, as no man had *strangers*; ever said before, or, indeed, could say. And, in fact, it could hardly be otherwise, considering that the *Gauls* made it a constant rule never to commit any thing to writing, according to a settled maxim amongst them, that it was more glorious to perform noble deeds, than to speak and write well <sup>d</sup>. Besides, had they laid more open to their neighbours than they really did (C), yet could these have received no great intelligence concerning their religion, since their druids or bards

<sup>c</sup> Cont. Apion. lib. i.

<sup>d</sup> See Cæs. comment. lib. vi. SAL-  
LUST. bell. Catilin.

human victims to their gods, of murdering some captives in their auguries, and such-like. On the contrary, we have shewn in some former parts of this work, that not only the antient *Egyptians*, *Canaanites*, &c. but even the *Romans*, *Carthaginians* (5), and others, made a common practice of them; and thus far their religions bore a resemblance, whichever of them were the inventors of these bloody ceremonies, concerning which we have nothing to add to what we have said in the volumes above-quoted.

(C) *Josephus* (6) tells us accordingly, that their country was, in some measure, inaccessible, because nature had fortified them on all sides with a kind of impenetrable ramparts, such as were the *Alps*, the *Pyrenees*, the ocean, and *Mediterranean*, the *Rhine*, &c. and with strength and courage to defend their frontiers.

It is no less improbable, that their religion was brought in amongst them, either over any of these then inaccessible mountains, seas, or rivers; because, on the one hand, the nations that antiently inhabited over the *Pyrenees*, *Alps*, and on the other side the *Rhine*, *Danube*, &c. were, as we have shewn, of the same *Celtic* extract with the *Gauls*, and had received the same religion, laws, and customs, with them from their ancestors; so that we must, of course, suppose, that it was settled and practised amongst them some ages before they either thought of making excursions out of, or were invaded in, their own territories. On the contrary, it appears from some authors, that even the *Romans* did not make any attempt on them till about four hundred years after they were known to be sufficiently fixed in their religion, government, and discipline (7).

(5) See an account of the religion of those nations, in the vols. i. ii. & seq. of this work. (6) Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 16. (7) Pausan. in Phocic. Vide re-  
bg. des Gaul lib. i. c. 3.

*and even from their laity.* made it a main part of their policy to conceal it, at least the most considerable points of it, even from their own laity, as we shall shew in the sequel (D).

*Worship  
the su-  
preme  
Deity.*

WHETHER the *Gauls*, or antient *Celtes* rather, were the first introducers of these hypotheses, or whether they adopted them in imitation of other antient nations, is a knot too hard for us to untie. However, it is plain they antiently adored a Supreme Being under the name of *Esus*, which seems only a corruption of the old *Celtic* word *Dhew*, from which the *Greeks* probably borrowed their *Θεος*, and *Zeus*, and the *Romans* their *Deus*. This notion was religiously preserved by their druids; and if they, for worldly ends, or perhaps to please the people, whose impetuous desire after this novelty they could not resist, suffered the worship and images of these gods to be introduced amongst them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities, whatever the laity might be indulged to do in process of time; but the worship of the true God was still carefully kept up, and the oak esteemed the symbol of the Deity, as fire was among the *Persians*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume <sup>e</sup>. To frame therefore a right notion of the religion of this, or any other nation, we must not judge of it by the corruptions introduced into it by a mad populace, and winked at by the priests and philosophers, but as it was believed and professed by those who had the care of it. And in this case we shall perhaps find the most material difference between that of the

• • See vol. v. p. 149, et seq.

(D) It will appear still more unreasonable to suppose, that the *Gauls* received any part of their religion from either the *Greeks* or *Romans*, if we consider, besides what has been hinted at the end of the last note, that their gods and goddesses, and their very names, plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extract, and exactly answering some eminent part of their character, not as gods and goddesses, but as heroes and heroines, famed for some peculiar excellency, and as such decided, if we may be allowed the

expression, by the courtesy of their descendants; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* did not adopt, much less challenge them for their own, till many ages after; that is, as a learned author seems rightly to suppose (8), not till the former had been ordered by the oracle of *Dodona* to adopt the deities of the barbarians (9), and the latter made it a standing law not to invade any nations, till they had implored the favour of their god, and promised to build them temples, and establish their worship amongst them (1).

(8) *Relig. des Gaul.* lib. i. c. 3.  
his farther explained in *ibid.* 4. under no. 1.

(9) *Piæ:* ib. xxii. c. 3.

(1) See

*Gauls* and that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, even in those points in which they seem most to agree, we mean the worship of the same gods, with respect to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of them, the latter seeming calculated to sooth the most inordinate passions, and authorize the worst of crimes, and the former rather quite opposite to it: and this is what the modern author last quoted has taken no small pains to shew, in two main instances; to wit, from the contrary notions which these entertained of their gods, and from the moral doctrines of their druids (E).

WE

(E) It is indeed no hard matter to imagine how the religion and precepts of *Nous* (and these were free enough from all idolatry, and the superstitious trash, which crept in afterwards among his descendants) should be preserved for a considerable time in the family of *Jupeth*, upon which that patriarch had pronounced and intailed a peculiar blessing (2): but we cannot be so sanguine in favour of those druids, as to believe with that author, that they preserved them so pure among themselves during such a series of ages, as he seems to suppose. If they did, they were guilty of a very shameful remissness and condescension to the laity, in suffering them to run themselves into such vile idolatries, horrid superstition, detestable rites, and corruption of principles and morals, as they must be owned to have done, in spite of all false glosses that have been used to palliate their degeneracy, or the supposition of their having been too much misrepresented by *Greek* and *Latin* authors. We have, on the contrary, shewn in a former volume (3), that the antient *Celtas*,

even in the times of their primitive simplicity of life, and when they were as yet freest from luxury and other corruptions, had yet adopted many inhuman ceremonies into their worship, auguries, &c. Even the *Scythians*, a younger branch of *Japeth's* family, who lived still in a much greater simplicity, and were more unmixed, and had less intercourse, with other nations, did yet exceed the *Celtas* in the barbarity of their religion and customs (4): and it will evidently appear from what follows, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other northern people, did not only copy after, but even outdo them in it; so that though they must be allowed, for reasons hinted more than once, to have been little known to, and, in great measure, designedly misrepresented by, those authors who have written of them, yet they cannot, without manifest partiality, be discredited from the charge of having had many bloody and inhuman rites, many absurd and unsocial principles, as well as corruption of morals, in common with other nations, though not in the same degree with

(2) *Genes. xix. 27. See Nonius Aetius, p. 43, et seq. p. 9<sup>o</sup>, et seq. p. 105, et seq.*  
 (3) *See vol. vi. p. 23, et seq.* (4) *Ibid. p. 19, et seq. 72, et seq. et alibi post.*

them.

*The Gaul-* We think ourselves obliged to be the more particular in our ~~ish religion~~ inquiry into the religion of the *Gauls*, as it is the source and ~~the mother~~ foundation, not only of the antient *Germans*, and other more ~~of all the~~ northern nations, but likewise of that of the antient *Britons*, who, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, were descended, and had received their religion, laws, customs, &c. originally from them; so that what is said on that subject in this chapter, will serve as a clue to that of those other nations we shall have occasion to speak of in the following ones; by which means we shall avoid many needless repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to those points, in which they differed from this their common mother, or in such cases, where there appears a necessity to shew the affinity they bear to each other. As for those of the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, *Spain*, &c. who became intermingled with the *Gauls*, the reader will find the former already done in a preceding volume<sup>f</sup>, and the rest will come in their turn in some of the subsequent chapters. And here we shall, for order-sake, begin with an account of the different deities worshiped by the antient *Gauls*, and the particular ceremonics and sacrifices used to each of them, not as they were transmitted to them from their *Celtic* ancestors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been said in their history, but as they were found in the times of the *Romans* invading of, and becoming first acquainted with them.

*Jesus the supreme Deity.* We have already hinted, that they antiently worshiped the supreme Deity, under the name of *Ejus* or *Hesus* (F), and the symbol

<sup>f</sup> Vol. xi. p. 220, et seq. p. 296, et seq.

them. Let therefore the private do&trines of their druids have been what they would, and they be supposed ever so averse and opposite to the general practice of the people, nothing can be said for their countenancing, if not encouraging, those abominable ceremonics; such as their offering up of human victims to their gods by way of expiation; their auguries from the reeking blood and ~~and~~ of their captives; and others of the same nature, of which we shall speak in due time.

(F) There have been various conjectures concerning the etymon of this word, besides that

which we offered a little higher, and which to us seems the most natural, because the *Celtic Db* being pronounced with a kind of preceding aspiration, and not unlike our softer *t̄h* in such pronouns as *thēe*, *thou*, &c. foreigners, who were unused to it, could not well express the sound of the word *Db̄w*, but by the letters *Ejus*. As for the final *s*, it might be superadded by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, according to their way of terminating the masculine gender in *ns* and *os*, as they did likewise in the plural *Ff*, *Aisci*, as they may be seen in *Helycibius*.

The antient *Etruscans*, according

symbol of the oak; and it will not be thought strange, that this notion of a Supreme Being should have been preserved among

cording to *Sustonius* (5), called the Deity *Aesar*; for he observes there, that, among the other prodigies which preceded *Augustus's* death, a flash of lightning having erased the *C* from the word *Cesar*, as it stood engraved on a pedestal which supported his statue, the diviners told him, that the *C* being a numerical letter, signifying an hundred, the omen portended, that he had but so many days to live, after which he would be deified; because *Aesar*, or the remainder of the word, signified God in the *Etruscan* language. If we might therefore be allowed a far-off conjecture concerning these two names, *Esus* among the *Gauls*, and *Aesar* among the *Etruscans*, it would be, that they might be both of *Hebrew* extract; and we have elsewhere shewn, that the old *Celtic*, with which the *Etruscans* has a vast affinity, appears visibly to have been a dialect of the *Hebrew* (6). The word *בָּחַר* signifies *strong* and *mighty*, and is given to God in many places, particularly by the *Psalmit* (7); and *בָּחַר* signifies *help*, or *helper* (8); and is likewise given to him, as he is emphatically so, when all other helps fail. The patriarch *Abraham*, and his descendants, knew him by the name of *אֵל סָדָה*, *el saddai*, *the mighty* or *self-sufficient* God, till he made his peculiar name *Jehovah* known unto them (9); and it is remarkable, that the *Thracians*, a branch of the *Celtic* did, according to *Macrobius*:—

the god, to whom they had erected a temple on mount *Zilmiffus, Sabazius*, which is a plain corruption of the *Hebrew* word *Tzabaot*, especially considering, that, in their religious rites to *Bacchus*, they were wont to cry out, *Evoke Sabai*, which is the *Elohe*, or, if you please, the *Jehovah Tzabaoth* of the *Hebrews*, as God is emphatically called by the *Psalmit* in the psalm above-quoted, and signifies *Lord of hosts*; a title that well suited the martial *Thracians*. As these therefore were rather attributes, than the names of the Godhead, each nation may be supposed to have chosen that which suited their genius best; and the *Gauls* that of *Hesus*, as suiting most with their warlike spirit.

That not only the names of the deity, but this way of worshipping him under oaks, and in oaky groves, was common to all the descendants of *Noe*: we have undoubtedly proof out of the Old Testament, as we shall presently shew; and we only mention it here, to confute the notion of those who suppose the *Esus* of the *Gauls* to have been the god *Mars*; for neither he, nor any other inferior deities, were worshiped under these oaks, or with the same rites with *Esus*; and therefore *Pliny*, in his description of the ceremony which they used in gathering the mistletoe of those sacred oaks, has these words, which plainly shew, that these trees were dedicated to the Deity itself: “The druids, says

(5) *In vir. int. sl. Plut.*

(6) *Ez. vi. p. 25 Gen. ii. 1*

(7) *Vid. y. p. 21, &c. B. y. Con. Gen. viii. 1. et*

*Exod. vi. 3.*

he,

*Worshipped among the descendants of Japheth, when we find such lively traces of it even among the idolatrous Syrians, Midianites, and even the Canaanites, as in the family of *Laban*<sup>a</sup>, of *Jetro*<sup>b</sup>, and of the two *Abimelechs*, kings of *Gerar* in the times of *Abraham* and *Isaac*<sup>c</sup>, and some others we could name, particularly the *Gibeonites* in *Joshua's* time<sup>d</sup>, *Adonibezek* in the time of the judges<sup>e</sup>, and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*<sup>f</sup>; who all not only retained the notion of the Deity, notwithstanding their idolatry, but had likewise a peculiar name for it, distinct from those of their other gods (G). To this we must add, that, in the midst of those heathenish superstitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, the *Gauls* never erected any either temples or idols unto this *Jesus* or Supreme Deity; so that he seems to have been acknowledged by them much in the same manner that the *Athenians* did the unknown GOD mentioned by St. *Paul*<sup>g</sup>; which notion was far enough from being peculiar to them. Others had their unknown GOD as well as they, and owned themselves his offspring, though their notion and worship of him were very imperfect, and, in many cases, too unworthy of him, as even the *Gauls**

<sup>a</sup> Genef. xxxi. 48, & seq.

and xviii. 9, & seq.

Josh. ix. 9, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Acts xvii. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Compare Exod. ii. 21, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Genef. xx. 3, & seq. xxvi. 8, & seq.

<sup>d</sup> Judg. i. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Kings v. 7, & seq.

<sup>f</sup> he (1), believe, that the mistletoe is a sign that God hath chosen that tree to himself; and a little lower, after having particularly described their manner of gathering it, he adds, "that they offered up victims and prayers to God, that he would bless and prosper his own gift to them that receive it." It is plain from it, that he neither speaks here of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, or any other of their gods, but of the Deity itself.

(G) To this let us add, with respect to the *Gauls* we are now speaking of, that the natural fondness, which they had for the religious and moral forms of their forefathers, the contempt they entertained of other nations, the recluse and solitary life of their druids, who were the keepers

and teachers of their theology, and their strict and constant practice, founded upon it, of sacrificing, and performing their other religious rites, under the oak only, as consecrated to that Supreme Being, were most effectual means to preserve that fundamental notion still uppermost amongst them, whatever other superstitions might be, in process of time, introduced among them; for we must here observe, that they kept constant to this custom, or rather, as seems, law, of performing their religious worship under that tree, or, more properly, in groves of it, even after they had adopted that long regiment of deities, of which we are about to give an account.

(1) *Hijj. n.s. lib. xvi. c. 44.*

did, when they came to intermingle the *Roman* theology with their own. However, antiently they seem to have entertained some sublime notions of him; to confirm which, we need but add what *Tacitus* says of the *Senones*, who were a branch of the *Celtes*, and had the same religion: They, says that author <sup>o</sup>, *Worshipped* have no other temples but a wood or grove, where they perform all their religious rites. None is admitted to enter it, unless he carries a chain, in token of his dependence on, and <sup>Their sub-</sup> owning the supreme dominion, which *God* has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none must dare to help him up; but he must either roll himself, or crawl upon his belly, <sup>time no-</sup> out of the place. He adds, that their whole religion consisted in an acknowledgement, that the Deity, which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him, and ought to obey him. *Strabo* says much the same of the *Celtiberians*, another branch of the *Celtes*; and adds, that they worshiped the *God* without name, and danced every full moon, before their houses, all the night, in honour of him <sup>p</sup>; and might it not be upon this account, as an ingenious author observes <sup>q</sup>, that *Lucan* railles the *Maffilian* druids, when he tells them <sup>r</sup>, that they were the only ones of all men, to whom it was given to know, or not to know, the gods they adored? And then, speaking of their groves, says, that their ignorance of the deities they worshiped under them, was the cause of that veneration they paid to those sturdy and shapeless trees. - He speaks there indeed of deities in the plural, *Roman* and poet like; but that he did not intend thereby, that any more than one was worshiped in those groves, is plain from what he says at the end of his description of the *Maffilius* grove (H); to wit,

<sup>o</sup> *De mor. German.*      <sup>p</sup> *Geogr. lib. iii.*      <sup>q</sup> *Relig. des Gaul.*  
lib. ii. c. 2.      <sup>r</sup> *Luc. Pharsal. lib. iii.*

(H) This description, though disfigured with satire and ridicule, being curious, and pertinent to our present subject, we shall give the substance of it to our *English* readers. It is as follows: There is without the walls of *Marseilles* a sacred grove or wood, which had never been touched by ax from the creation. The trees of it grew so thick and interwoven, that they suffered not the rays of the sun to come through their branches; but a perfect damp and darkness reigned through the place. Ni-

ther nymphs nor sylvan gods could make their abode in it, it being destined for the most inhuman mysteries. There was nothing to be seen there but a multitude of altars, upon which they sacrificed human victims, whose blood turned the very trees of an horrid crimson colour. If antient tradition may be credited, no bird ever perched upon their branches, no beast ever walked under them, no wind ever blew through them, nor thunder-bolt did ever touch them.

*Their veneration for the oak.*

*Whence probably derived.*

wit, that the priest or druid, who officiated there, was afraid of meeting *Dominum luci*; by which he could mean nothing else but the Deity worshiped there, a notion probably common to them and the *Jews*, as we have shewn in the last note.

ANOTHER remarkable thing in their religion was, their great veneration for the oak. This seems likewise to have been common to them and the old patriarchs and *Jews*, among whom that tree was in high esteem, though not in the same superstitious degree. *Abraham* is recorded to have pitched his tents under some famed oaks, such as those of *Mamre*, of *Moreh*<sup>5</sup>; which, though our version, and some others, have transformed into plains, yet, in the original, plainly signify an oak, or oaky grove<sup>6</sup>. He is said moreover to have planted

<sup>5</sup> Genef. xii. 6. xiii. ult. et alibi pass. <sup>6</sup> Genef. xxi. 33. See also the margin of our bibles, and the generality of commentators.

These stately oaks, as well as the black water that winds about through the place in different channels, fill one with horror and dread. The figures of the god of the grove are a kind of standing, rude, and shapeless trunks, covered over with a dismal yellow moss. It is the genius of the *Gauls* (continues he) to feel no veneration for the gods, unless they be thus represented, in a manner quite opposite to the rite of other nations; for which reason, their fear and regard for them increases, in proportion to their ignorance of those gods which they worship.

There is a report, that this grove is often shaken, and strangely moved, and that dreadful sounds are heard from its caverns; that the yews, if thrown or cut down, grow up again of themselves; that the grove is sometimes in a blaze, without being consumed; and that the oaks are twined together with monstrous dragons. The *Gauls* dare not live in it, out of respect to the Deity that inhabits it, and to

which they entirely abandon it. Only at noon and midnight, a priest goes trembling into it, to celebrate its dreadful mysteries; and is in continual fear, lest the Deity, to which it is consecrated, should appear to him. Thus far our poet.

We have already observed, that tho' he expresses himself in the plural, in speaking of the *Gaulish* gods, rather as a poet and a *Roman*, yet his last words plainly shew, that he intended to speak of one Deity here. All that we would further observe of the priest's dread of seeing that Deity, seems plainly a relic of that notion, which even the patriarchs and antient *Jews* had, that no man could see God, and live (2). As for the dreadful description of the grove, and its horrid apparatus, if it is not, in a great measure, the fiction of the poet, to ridicule the *Gaulish* worship, might it not be that of the druids themselves, to prevent their laity, as well as strangers, from entering, and prying too curiously into it?

(2) *I id. int. al. Genef. xxviii. 16, et seq. Judic. vi. 22, xiij. 22, et seq.*

groves

groves of them; and, where-ever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the *LORD*, and to have given some significant name to the place, such as that of *Beer-sheba*<sup>u</sup>, *Bethel*, and the like (I). The *Gauls*, in particular, improved upon this patriarchal custom, the origin of which seems rather owing to what we hinted in the last note, than to any sanctity or extraordinary virtue, which either *Abraham*, or any of his ancestors or successors, could imagine to be in those trees; whereas, among both *Celtes* and *Gauls*, the oak was looked upon and revered as an emblem, or as the peculiar residence, of the Deity. The fruit of it, especially the *mistle-dine*, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was used as <sup>The mistle-</sup> <sup>to.</sup> a kind of panacea for man and beast, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contusions, and cuticular ailments, and also for inward diseases, and even barrenness and abortion, in men, women, and cattle (J). The leaves, <sup>or</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Gen. xxi. 31. Vide & Gen. xxviii. 19, & alib.

(I) It must be observed, that the original word *alon* signifies both an *oak*, and a *grove* or *thicket of oaks*. These were, at first, chosen in those hot countries, for the sake of coolness and shade; and where the plains were well watered, and fit for pasture, but wanted such woods or groves, they planted them, as *Abraham* is recorded to have done at *Beer-sheba*. These, in time, came to be in great esteem by his descendants, not only on account of their extreme usefulness, and long duration, but out of regard to those patriarchs who had dwelt and sacrificed under them. *Jacob*, we read, buried his beloved *Rachel's* nurse under an *oak*, which he called *The oak of mourning*. He buried all the idolatrous trash, which he found in his household, under another (3). This last became famous among the *Sabeans* (4), probably because *Joshua* reared a

stone or pillar under it, in memory of the covenant which he renewed just before his death between *God* and the *Israelites* (5).

This regard, by degrees, dwindled into downright superstition, not only among the *Jews*, but even among Christians, *Mohammedans*, and other nations. As to the former, they became infamous for their sacrificing and burning incense in their high places and groves, and at length, as they are justly upbraided by the prophets, under every oak and green tree (6), notwithstanding *God's* prohibitions, and severe threatenings. As for the latter, we are told, that the oaks under which *Abraham* dwelt, were still shewn in Constantine's time, and resorted to with great devotion by Christians, Turks, and even heathens (7).

(J) *Pliny*, who has given us this account more accurately

(3) Genes. xxxv. 4, 8.

(4) Judic. ix. 6.

(5) Job. xxiv. 26.

(6) See 2 Kings. xvi. 4. Isa. lvi. 5, et seq. Jerem. ii. 20. Hosae iv. 13. Judic. iii. 8.

(7) N. Damasc. Joseph. Gal.

*Their groves for worship.*

or some small boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were constantly performed, as we hinted above, under those trees, or in oaky groves. These, if we may guess from the few fragments we have left of them in history, and from some carnaeds or heaps of stones still standing in some of our isles, especially that of *Anglesey* \*, and which may be supposed to have been cinctures

\* See *Mona antiqua*, p. 91, et seq. *KEYZER.* antiqu. septentrion. p. 77, et in addend.

than any other author, tells us (8), that they called the mistletoe, as well as the particular day or festival on which they gathered it, by a name which signified *cures all*. We shall quote the whole passage, as it is both succinct and curious :

" The druids, says he, who are among the *Gauls* what the magi are elsewhere, hold nothing so sacred as the missoldine, and the tree that bears it. This is constantly the oak, for which they have such an high esteem, that they do not perform the least religious ceremony, without being adorned with garlands of its leaves. It is, in all likelihood, from the Greek name of the oak, that the *Gaulish* priests are called druids. These philosophers believe, that every thing that grows upon that tree, comes from heaven ; and that it is an evident proof, that God hath chosen it above all others.

" The missoldine of the oak being scarce, and rarely found, when any of it has been discovered, they go, with great ceremony and respect, to gather it. This is always done on the sixth day of the moon, a day so esteemed among them,

" that they have made their months and years, and even ages, which consist but of thirty years, to take their beginning from it. The reason of their choosing that day is, because the moon is, by that time, grown strong enough, though not come to the half of its fulness ; and this day they call by a name, which, in their tongue, signifies *curer of all ills*.

" When the druids have got ready, under the oak, all the apparatus for the sacrifice, and the banquet which they usually make, they tie, for the first time, two white bulls to it by the horns. Then one of the priests, cloathed in white, gets up the tree, and, with a gold sickle, cuts off the missoldine, which is received in a white *sigum* ; which done, they begin to offer their sacrifices. and pray to God to give a blessing to his own gift, unto them that are honoured with it. He adds, that the water of the missoldine gives fertility to man and beast, is a specific against all kind of poison : an eminent instance, says he, that human religion has often no other object than frivolous things."

or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees, except where it was left open to the comer; and, not unlikely, guarded by some inferior druids, to stop all strangers from intruding into their mysteries ; we say, if we *Their* may guess at them by these few antient helps, these groves *form*. were of different forms, some quite circular, some oblong, and more or less capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the largeness of the district or canton to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompassed with several rows of these oaks, set very thick and close. Within the large circle were several smaller ones, surrounded, as is supposed, with large stones, which served for the sacrifices, and other most solemn part of their worship. In the centre, or near it, of these small circles, *Altar.* were placed solid stones of a large size, and convenient height, on which the victims were killed, dissected, and offered up. Each of these being, as we imagine, a kind of altar, was surrounded with another row of stones, the use of which cannot be easily guessed at, unless it was to keep the people at a due distance from the priests that officiated. Some of these interior *Circumferences.* circles are likewise thought to have served, one or more, for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or assembly, or for such other purposes as can only be guessed at \* ; though we very much doubt, considering the vast reverence that was paid to those groves, as they were consecrated to religious rites, whether their druids would suffer any secular matters to be transacted in them. We are rather inclined to think, that these circumferences might all serve for the same religious ends, one for human victims, another for those of beasts, a third for auguries, and such-like ; not but they may be reasonably supposed to have had other groves, designed for such secular purposes as we just now mentioned, and these might probably enough be of oaks, as the others were, that the sacredness of those trees might strike these courts and councils with due awe, and prevent such quarrels and indecencies, as might otherwise happen. And this conjecture (and the contrary one is no more than guess-work) seems more agreeable to what we have lately quoted of their worship out of *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, and *Lucan*. How conformable the religion of the druids was to that of the patriarchs, in the most essential points, is what we shall now endeavour to shew (K).

\* KEYRLER. ibid.

(K) How the *Esus*, or Supreme Deity of the *Gauls*, came afterwards to be transformed into, or give place to, *Jupiter*; which, if we may believe *Lactantius*, did not happen till about the

1. THE Gauls had a sovereign pontif or head of the druidish order, to whom both these, and the whole nation, paid the highest regard. The same we find among the *Jews*, to say nothing of *Melchisedek*, to whom *Abraham* paid tythes of the spoil he had lately gained.

2. THE druids, under this their head, had such an uncontrollable power and sway, that whoever refused to submit to their decisions, not only in religious, but civil matters (even to the putting an immediate stop to an engagement, when both parties were ready for the onset, if the druids did not like the prognostics), was interdicted from assisting at their solemnities, which was looked upon by the *Gauls* as the most grievous punishment <sup>y</sup>. The *Jewish* high-priest, at the head of the sanhedrin, was looked upon as the dernier appeal in all causes; and excommunication, the greatest punishment among the *Jews*, was to be the lot of those, who refused to abide by their decision <sup>z</sup>.

3. THE druids were obliged to assemble themselves in the territories of *Chartrain* once a year. The *Jews* had their three grand festivals, on which their males were obliged to repair to *Jerusalem*.

4. THE druids wore white garments. The same did the *Jewish* priests.

5. THE druids lived in woods and groves. The same did generally the patriarchs, the sons of the prophets, and the *Ephesians*, a kind of monks among the *Jews* <sup>a</sup>. The *Gauls* had

<sup>y</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. v. Cæs. comment. lib. vi. <sup>z</sup> See vol. iii. p. 70, & seq. p. 124, & seq. <sup>a</sup> See a full account of them, vol. x. p. 478, &c seq.

the fourth century at soonest, we shall endeavour to account for in the sequel. But, by what we have said of him, and his worship, and of the oaks and groves consecrated to him, &c. the reader cannot but have observed a great deal of conformity between the *Gaulish* and the patriarchal and *Jewish* religion, tho', if this had been all, we should hardly have inserted this remark; neither could *Celsus* have had so much reason to oppose the antiquity and wisdom of the druidish religion; and its conformity to that of the ancient

*Jews*, against the novelty of the gospel (9). We shall therefore beg leave, in speaking of the other branches of the *Gaulish* religion and ceremonies, to observe to him the same conformity running through very many other particulars, as they have been collected in one view by a very diligent author often quoted under this head (1); and from which we may be able to satisfy ourselves, that they could never be owing to mere chance, but that both plainly appear to have flowed from the same source.

(9) Vida Origen. contra Celsum.

(1) Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. p. 53, & seq.  
their

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their female druids, prophetesses, and aruspices. The *Jews* had *Miriam*, *Aaron's* sister, *Deborah*, *Huldah*, and other prophetesses<sup>b</sup>, to say nothing of other women, who kept familiar spirits. Some of those females were in high repute among the *Gauls*, and bore a great sway in the government. And *Deborah* was a famed judge in *Israel*.

6. THE *Gauls* vowed to *Mars* some parts of the spoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The same was among the *Israelites* with respect to those cities and kingdoms, which were subject to anathema, as in the case of *Jericho*. The rest they divided among themselves, according to certain laws and customs settled amongst them. *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *David*, made also laws on the same head, what portion should be offered to *God*, what given to the priests, and how the rest should be divided between the combatants and those who guarded the camp and baggage.

7. THE *Gauls* worshiped a brasen bull. And the *Israelites* golden calves.

8. In public calamities they offered an human victim, on whom they threw all the curses that threatened them. The *Jews* did the same by their scape-goat<sup>c</sup>.

9. THE *Gauls* had power of life and death over their servants. The same had the patriarchs and *Jews*, and the former even over their families, as one may conclude from the instance of *Judah* and his daughter-in-law *Tamar*<sup>d</sup>.

10. THEY began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and *Jews* did; and, like them, distinguished the year only into three seasons, to wit, spring, summer or harvest, and winter. The autumn was so unknown to both, that they had no name for it. The same is affirmed likewise of the *Egyptians* by *Diodorus Siculus*.

11. THEY gave significant names to their children, to places, &c. as these did.

12. THE *Gauls* believed the immortality of the soul; so that no people under heaven could shew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and *Jews*, if we except the upstart sect of the *Sadducees*, were famed for looking on this life only as a mere passage into a better.

13. WHEN their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own servants<sup>e</sup>. We have an instance of this in *Jephthah*, one of the ~~16~~<sup>f</sup> ancient judges, and his rash vow<sup>f</sup>, though it was more common among the *Phoenicians*, and other antient nations.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. iii. p. 235, et seq. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 40, et seq. et not. (V), et Cæs. comment. lib. vi. <sup>d</sup> Genes. xxxviii. 24. <sup>e</sup> Comment. ubi supra. <sup>f</sup> Judg. xi. 30, et seq. See also what hath been said of it, vol. iv. p. 12, et seq. & not. (O).

14. THE Jews had the waters of jealousy to assure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives <sup>a</sup>. The Gauls had some kinds of ordeals or tryals to the same sense; and Julian the emperor tells us, that the waters of the Rhine had some secret virtue to punish those wives, who had gone astray (L).

15. THE druids made it a constant maxim not to commit any thing of their laws, philosophy, or history, to writing; but to couch them in set poems and canticles, to be learned by heart, and sung at proper places and seasons. These songs were, it seems, so multiplied in Caesar's time, that it took up some druids (for they were all obliged to it) near twenty years in learning them <sup>b</sup>. We do not find but that this was the ancient custom of the patriarchs, and other nations in Canaan before Moses, who quotes some of those canticles, and composed some of them himself, as did other prophets after him, in memory of some signal victories, deliverances, and the like.

16. SOME Gaulish nations carried their gods along with them to the war, as did the Israelites their ark, and their apostates the tabernacles of Moloch, Chiun, and Remphan.

17. THE Gauls personified and deified their rivers, lakes, woods, &c. and might not this be a corruption of that laudable elegance of the sacred poets, who called upon those, and all other creatures, to praise GOD?

18. IN all probability, their offering human victims, common likewise to other nations, and even to the apostate Israelites, in imitation of them, seems to have had its rise from the example of Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac, concerning which we shall refer our readers to what we have said in a former volume i. We shall now give our readers a short account of this inhuman rite, as it was practised among the

<sup>a</sup> See before, vol. iii. p. 337, et seq.  
<sup>b</sup> See vol. iii. p. 335, et seq.

<sup>b</sup> Comment. ubi sup.

(L) This is not a proper place to speak of those ordeals and other trials, that passed, in all probability, from Gaul into Great Britain, and which might, in all likelihood, have their rise from the Jewish waters of jealousy. But that which the apostate Julian mentions concerning the Rhine, can scarcely be owing to any thing else.

He tells us (2), that, when a Gaul suspected his wife of infi-

delity, he obliged her to throw, with her own hands, the children that were born of her body into that rapid river. If they sunk, the woman was deemed guilty, and put to death. If they swam, and moved towards the place where she stood trembling at a convenient distance, and ready to receive them, she was cleared, and restored to her husband's favour.

*Gauls*, and leave our readers the pleasure of discovering, in the sequel of this history, many more instances of that conformity we have been speaking of, which we are forced to omit, to avoid being tedious.

As to this bloody custom of sacrificing human victims, *Human* which began so early with the *Gauls*, and which, if we may <sup>victims</sup> believe *Procopius* <sup>k</sup>, did not end till some centuries after their <sup>how often</sup> embracing Christianity, we can only speak of it as it was trans- <sup>ed.</sup>

acted out of their groves, or places of worship ; for, as to what was done within them, no stranger being made acquainted with, much less admitted to see it, we must be wholly in the dark about it, as their druids committed nothing of it to writing. Concerning those unhappy ones, that were offered abroad, *Cæsar* and *Plutarch* give us the following account :

“ When a man’s life is in danger, either through sickness or <sup>the occa-</sup> <sup>sun of some</sup> “ other accident, they immediately sacrifice, or at least make <sup>of them.</sup>

“ a vow so to do, some human victims ; for, besides that they “ think them the most perfect, and pleasing to the gods, they “ believe, that one man’s life cannot be redeemed, but by that “ of another, without which no satisfaction could be made to “ them for their goodness to men. And these are the cere- “ monies established amongst them upon all such occasions : <sup>How per-</sup>

“ They erect an huge hollow pile of oiler, which they fill <sup>formed.</sup>

“ with these unhappy wretches, who are quickly suffocated “ by the smoak, and reduced to ashes soon after. They imagine, however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims ; but, where they are not to be had, the innocent must go in their stead. In their funerals, which <sup>At fune-</sup>

“ are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every <sup>rals.</sup>

“ thing that the deceased delighted in, even to living creatures ; and it is not long since they threw likewise into it “ all his favourite servants and slaves. Some of his near relations ( continues *Cæsar* ) likewise flung themselves into “ the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next “ world.” This custom was exactly like that of burying the Jewish kings, except the burning of living and human creatures, as the reader may see in a former volume, where we have given an account of that ceremony <sup>m</sup>.

We lately hinted at their imitating, in some measure, the *In their* Jewish scape-goat, by devoting some vicarious victims to *auguries*, death, and praying, that all the curses due to them might fall <sup>and other</sup> upon it. The *Massilians*, among the rest, are reported to have, *Superfl-* in times of pestilence, made choice of some indigent person, <sup>tion;</sup> that offered himself voluntarily, whom they ~~took~~ care to fat-

<sup>k</sup> *Goth.* lib. ii. c. 25. <sup>l</sup> *Comment.* lib. vi. *PLUT.* de super-  
stit. <sup>m</sup> *Vol.* iii. p. 171, et seq. et not.

ten with the daintiest fare during a whole year ; after which, they dressed him with garlands, and other rich ornaments, and led him through the streets, loaded with the bitterest imprecations, to his death <sup>n</sup>. We have formerly had occasion to account for this custom, which was likewise common to other nations, as well as the *Gauls*, and had its rise from the same

*Offered in  
all calamitous  
times.*

*How cho-  
sen, and put  
to death.*

*Brute  
victims.*

*National  
sacrifices  
now per-  
formed.*

source <sup>o</sup>. However, if the *Gauls*, in such calamitous times, could procure any of the handsomer and nobler sort to offer themselves to such a voluntary death, they not only preferred them, but encouraged them by large rewards and encomiums.

These were led, like the poorer sort, out of the city, and stoned, and the former thrown down from some high precipice. The common notion among them was, that such a spontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth intitled them to a rank among the gods. In other cases, they either tied or nailed them to some tree or post, and shot them to death with arrows : others they burnt, with a number of beasts, on a pile of hay <sup>p</sup>. It was also customary among them to reserve their criminals to the fifth year, and to burn them in sacrifice with the first fruits of their ground <sup>q</sup>. The same author adds, that they threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold, and other rich things, which it was death for any one to meddle with afterwards <sup>r</sup>.

As for their brute victims, they were left, in some measure, to the choice of the offerer, or perhaps rather of the druids, who were the butchers of them, and always officiated in white garments <sup>s</sup>, both in this, and all other parts of their worship : only the horses, which they took in battle, or at least part of them, they burnt, with the bodies of the slain <sup>t</sup>. All these sacrifices were occasional, and unlimited, except those which *Lucan* calls national, and which were constantly performed at noon, and at midnight, as we have hinted above. As the *Gauls* were addicted to all kind of superstition (M), they used to be exceeding watchful of the singing

and

<sup>n</sup> PERRON. satir. ad fin. Vide et SERV. comm. in *AEn.* iii. vpr.

<sup>o</sup> See the note (V), in vol. iii. p. 49, et seq. <sup>p</sup> STRAB. lib. iv. <sup>q</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. lib. vi. c. 9. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. lib. v.

- Comment. ubi supra. Vide et KEYZLER antiqu. septentr. p. 305, et 459. PELLOUTIER. hist. des Celtes, Relig. des Gaul. et al.

<sup>t</sup> TACIT. German.

(M) According to the Greek and Roman writers, the *Gauls* exceeded all other nations in cruelty and superstition ; and yet, if we compare them together, even according to their

own writings, we shall scarce perceive any difference between them, but what is on the opposite side. It must be owned, however, that some of the Gallic nations were very famed for their

and flight of birds, and other such kind of ominous trash. They *Superstitiones* never undertook any thing of consequence, without the advice *divinationis* of their aruspices, who were, for that reason, in high request *inter cunctos* among them. These carefully examined the entrails, blood, *et cere-*  
*monies*. of their victims; and, when they offered any human one, as they constantly did before they held a council, whether of the nation or district, they stabbed him behind with a cutlass, a little above the *diaphragma*, watched the manner of his falling, whether on his right or left side, or on his face, how the blood flowed at the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the case be what it would, or the appearances be ever so much against it; insomuch that they have come to the head of an army, and stopped the fight, which was just going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to contravene them upon any account <sup>4</sup>.

We have already hinted, that their religious groves had *Their altars.* some large stones, which were supposed to be the altars on *Reliques of* which they offered up their victims. Some of them are still *them still extant.* extant in several parts of *France, Germany, England, Wales, Ireland,* and the isle of *Anglesey*, and are of such a monstrous

<sup>4</sup> STRAB. lib. iv. JUST. lib. xxiv. c. 4. DIOD. SIC. lib. vi. c. 9.  
Comment. lib. vi.

their superstition, since *Alexander Severus* is upbraided with having even outdone some of them, to wit, the *Vascones* or *Gasccons*, in it (3).

Our design is not to extenuate those inhuman and abominable practices of the *Gauls*, but to observe how little reason other authors, especially the *Romans*, had to blacken them above all other nations, when they themselves outdid almost all that ever went before or since. We have given a sufficient number of instances of it in their history under several of their emperors, especially *Severus* above-mentioned, *Nero*, and *Julian*; and we shall close this note with another, which happened just upon the breaking out of the war be-

tween the *Gauls* under *Viridomarus* and them, when, as *Plutarch* tells us (4), they thought themselves obliged to obey certain oracles, which they found in the *Sibylline* books, and to bury alive in the beef-market two *Gauls*, and two *Greeks*, a man and a woman of each nation, to whom, says he, they still offer some private sacrifices in the month of *November*, which the people are not allowed to be present at; which very sacrifices, we are told by two of their own authors (5), were since repeated at the same place on several occasions, especially at the first opening of the *Punic* war, which immediately succeeded that of the *Gauls* above-mentioned.

(3) *Lamprid. in Alexand. Sever.*  
lib. xxii. c. 57. *Plin. lib. xxviii. c. 2.*

(4) *In vit. M. C.*

(5) *Tit. Liv.*

size, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the superstitious inhabitants, to have been the work of those demons, that were supposed to attend on that kind of worship, especially considering that, as it is pretended, there were no quarries of such stones within any reasonable distance from the place where these altars stood (N).

THE antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent in their accounts of those altars, and other piles of huge stones, which are to be met with in almost every kingdom and province of *Europe*, together with such other monuments, as describe those sacrifices that were offered upon them, and the apparatus and instruments that were used in them; but they generally deal so much in conjectures, and agree so little with each other, that it is no wonder that kind of study has been so disrelished by the far greater part of the learned; so that it would be lost time for us to enter further on this subject; and all that we think worth adding to it is, that the *Gauls* are affirmed by the generality of authors to have constantly assisted at these sacrifices armed cap-a-pie, and to have carried some small thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands \*, after it had been offered up, or had been led to the altar.

*How the Gauls assisted at these sacrifices.*

*They had no temple till long*

TEMPLES, we have already hinted, they had not before the coming in of the *Romans*, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after *Cæsar's* conquest of them. An author, who lived

\* Cæs. ubi supra, Dion. Sic. Mel. lib. iii. et al.

(N) Of these one that is to be seen in the confines of *Allace*, measures about thirty-six feet in circumference, twelve feet and an half in breadth, and four feet and a quarter in thickness. It is reared on a parcel of other stones, about three feet and an half from the ground (6). Some of these altar-stones were round, others oval, some square, others oblong, and some triangular. Some appear to have been adorned with a kind of workmanship either of bas-relief or inscriptions, others to have been quite plain; but whether originally so, or by

time and weather, is not certain. Others there were, which had a kind of hollow or basin on the surface, supposed to have been designed to receive the blood or entrails of the victims (7). One of these is recorded to have had a hollow kind of nasty passage under it, through which they made those strangers, whom they designed for sacrifices, to pass, pelting them all the way with filth and dung; from which that passage is, it seems, called to this day *cunus dæmonis, duvels-skut,* or *devil's hole* (8).

(6) Keyder, ubi supra, p. 41, &c seq.  
(8) S. Gen. de J. ab. Franc. apud Blatto, antecit, & Keyder, ubi supra,

(7) Cæs. comment. ubi supra.

long

long after him, tells us expressly, that they had not any other *after Cæsar* statue of *Jupiter* but a tall oak <sup>x</sup>; which could hardly be supposed to be growing in a temple, any more than those colossian piles of hay, and other combustibles, in which, we are told by other authors <sup>y</sup>, they used to burn their numerous human victims, can be imagined to have been reared in any such close places, much less still the trees, on which they fastened those whom they pierced with arrows. Their groves, such as we have described them, were much fitter for those ceremonies; and this appears to have been one main difference between the *Gauls* and the *Greeks* and *Romans* <sup>z</sup>. *Mars*, as we have formerly shewn, was only worshiped under the figure of a naked sword, that was deposited upon an altar in one of those groves; but as they had then a custom to vow to him what spoil they took from their enemies, *Cæsar* tells us, they generally deposited it in any place where they chanced to be. There they sacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the rest of the plunder in vast heaps in the open country; which were, nevertheless, held so sacred by the people, that none dared to touch any part of it, though there were amongst them great quantities of gold and silver, and other rich stuff; for he tells us, that those consecrated heaps were to be found in most cities in *Gaul* <sup>a</sup>. This seems likewise another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who chose to shut up those treasures in their temples, as in places of greatest safety; whereas the *Gauls* left them exposed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields, or, at most, in some lakes and groves, which were on that very account esteemed sacred (O). Even

<sup>x</sup> MAXIM. TUR. serm. xxxviii.

<sup>y</sup> CÆS. comment. DED.

STRAB. ubi supra.

<sup>z</sup> See Voss. in Maimon. Aboda Zara, c. 1.

n. 2. REINFS. apud relig. des Gaul. p. 119, et seq.

<sup>a</sup> CÆS. comment. ubi supra.

DION. Sic. lib. v. c. 2.

(O) It must be owned, however, that some of these authors give to these places the name of temples or oratories; and *Cæsar* is affirmed to have rifled them to support his army (9); but then they spoke like *Greeks* and *Romans*, among whom it was customary to deposit such sacred treasures in their most famous temples, and even to call such consecrated places by the names of *templa*: and *templo*. Thus *sa-*

*citur*, though he affirms, that the *Germans* had no temples, tells us, that their goddess *Hera* used sometimes to come out of her grove or *Cessum nemus*, to air herself; and, when she was weary of rambling, was carried back, and placed in her own *temple*, which, the same author tells us afterwards, was no more than a lake within the wood where that goddess resided (1).

The same may be said of that

<sup>9</sup> saec. II Cæsar

<sup>1</sup> De mortib. German.

*Britons  
the stand-  
ard of the  
Gaulish  
religion.*

Even among the *Britons*, who certainly had some such temples, if any other *Gauls* had, because they were the standard of the *Gaulish* religion, from whom all the others received it (for we are told <sup>b</sup>, that these used to cross over in great numbers into *Britain*, or, as some think, into the island of *Anglesey* <sup>c</sup>, and to spend there some years in the study of their religion and mysteries, as it was indeed the seat and nursery of it, and the residence of the grand druid, or chief pontif, and consequently of all the learned doctors of the *Gaulish* religion); when *Tacitus* speaks of the descent of the *Romans* into this island <sup>d</sup>, he tells us, that their first care was to destroy those groves and woods, which the druids had polluted with the

<sup>b</sup> Comment. ubi supra. p. 53, et seq.

<sup>c</sup> See *Mona antiqua*, sect. 8, et seq.

<sup>d</sup> Annal. lib. xiv. c. 3.

famed one of *Thoulose*, upon whose account the *auum Tholosanum* became famous, even to a proverb, on account of the vast quantity that was deposited in it. This place *Strabo*, speaking of it, calls a temple: There was, says he, a very famous temple at *Thoulose*, the veneration and credit of which made it grow immensely rich, because none dared to touch any part of what was consecrated in it (2); and yet the same author, when he accounts for the vast quantities of gold that were found there, from some rich mines which he supposes to have been in the neighbourhood, and which, joined to the plain frugal way in which the inhabitants lived, made it increase upon them to such a stupendous height, he adds, that they had other treasures in many such-like places, which, says he, were deposited and consecrated in whole ingots, in lakes, as in *so many sacred asyla*. So that this *Thoulosan* temple, and those other lakes he speaks of, were, in all probability, the same thing,

or meant, at most, but some more sacred and private part of the lake, to which he gives the name of temple, only on account of the deity to whom that metal was consecrated.

What confirms it still more is, that *Strabo*, speaking of the sacrilege committed by *Cæpio* (3), mentions only the lake out of which this famous *Thoulosan* gold was taken (4); and *Justin*, speaking of the *Tectosagi*, whom he supposes to have brought it from the temple of *Delphos*, says, that, being returned to *Thoulosa*, and afflicted with a grievous plague, they were ordered by their augurs to fling their ill-gotten pelf into that lake. We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of this *Thoulosan* treasure, and its being exposed to sale, in the sequel; and we only mention it here to shew upon what account *Strabo* called it a temple, though no more than a sacred lake, with a *σκεῦος*, or niche, with some emblem of a deity in the richest, and consequently, most sacred part of it.

(2) See before, vol. xii. p. 494.

(4) Geogr. lib. iv.

(3) *Hist. relig. des Gaul.* lib. i. cap. 13.

blood of so many human victims ; and would they not, upon the same account, have done so by their temples, if any such had been in this country ? And since all the other *Gauls* appear to have regulated their whole religion, and its rites, from these, it cannot be supposed, that they could, at least in *Tacitus's* time, have had temples any-where else, whatever they did afterwards, more by force than out of choice, as we shall see by-and-by (P).

BEFORE we dismiss this point, it might not be thought unseasonable to make some further inquiry into those vast piles of stones above-mentioned, which remain to this day both in *England* and in other parts of *Europe* ; concerning which so many different conjectures have been offered by learned antiquaries, and others, whilst some have maintained them to have been reared by the *Romans*, others by the antient *Gauls* and *Britons* ; one sort taking them for monuments erected in memory of some famous battle or victory, others for burying-places, and a third sort, though with less reason, as we think, for temples, or places of worship. But since that famous one of *Stonehenge*, which has been seen by all the curious, and of which we have so many descriptions in many of our *English* authors, may be justly affirmed to exceed all the rest, as well

(P) Some statues they might have, and in all probability had, before *Cesar's* time ; but it would be difficult to prove, that they bore any resemblance to those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, either as to their figure or design, or that they were set up by the priests, and not rather by the people, who are often hurried away by imitation, though contrary to the consent of their guides, who appear to have been most strict observers of the old patriarchal way of worshiping the Deity, without temples or images : we may add, that their great veneration and tenaciousness for their antient rites and customs, joined to the contempt they had for those of other nations, must have proved an effectual and lasting preservative

against their introducing them. At least it is very probable, that these statues or images we are speaking of, if there were really any such among them, might be no other than monuments of some eminent persons and transactions, such as that which *Laban* and *Jacob* reared in memory of their mutual reconciliation, or that which the latter set up in the place where he buried his favourite *Rachel* (5) ; or perhaps to point out those sacred treasures which were consecrated in the manner and places already mentioned, and to deter people from profaning or seizing upon them ; all which might be easily mistaken for statues and idols by those *Greek* and *Roman* authors who beheld or heard of them.

(5) See *Cesar.* xxxi. 45, & seq. xxv. 19, 20.

in the largeness of the stones as the perfection of its figure; and hath, by several antiquaries, and other learned men, been looked upon as an antient druidish temple<sup>c</sup>, contrary to what we hope we have already sufficiently proved in this section; we shall postpone the farther descent on that, and other such structures; till we come to the *British* history, in a subsequent chapter, where we shall give a short account of them, and offer the most probable conjectures concerning their use and design<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> De hoc vide CAMD. Britan. INIGO JONES Stonchenge. Dr. CHARLTON choir Ghaur. HEYLIN. cosmogr. KEYZLER. antiqu. septentr. and more lately, the Rev. Mr. STUKELEY'S Stonehenge, p. 1, 17, 60, et seq.

<sup>d</sup> See hereafter, c. 27. sect. 3.

### S E C T. III.

#### *How and when the antient Gauls introduced the Worship of inferior Deities among them.*

IT is plain, by what we have quoted out of *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, and others, that though the *Romans* had had a considerable footing in *Gaul* before the coming of that conqueror, yet they had not been able to persuade them to imitate them in their rearing of temples to any deity. If they had, *Cæsar* would not have failed hinting something of it, it being one of the chief maxims of his republic, to spread their religion, laws, and customs, where-ever they came: so that, if the *Gauls* had ever been forced, or prevailed upon, to build any such temples in their country, it can hardly be supposed, that he would have omitted mentioning it; he who took such pleasure to tell us how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over to the *Roman* interest, and to a fondness for some of their customs. Since then there is not the least hint of it either in that or any author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practice of this nation, we may safely conclude they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign custom, tho', could it be made appear, that any such structures had been reared then, in *Gaul*. yet would it not from thence follow, that it was done by the *Gauls*, but would appear more probably to have been done by the *Romans*, who, as we observed at the beginning of the last section, made it a part of their religion to adopt the gods, to vow temples and statuary, and afterwards to rear them in every country they conquered; whereas the *Gauls* made it a constant

*When temples, altars, and statuary, began to be rear-*

stant maxim of theirs to wage open war against, to plunder and demolish all such structures, from a principle bred amongst them, in common with the *Persees*, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place; which made *Cicero*, who was not deeply versed in the *Gaulish* religion, say, that it chiefly consisted in a hostile contrariety to all others (A).

We cannot affirm with the same certainty, that they did *Polytheism* not imitate the *Romans* in another part of their religion, the *hom intro-  
duced.* worship of a plurality of gods and goddesses, before their con- quest. We are told, that they worshiped *Mars* under the emblem of a naked sword; and that *Mercury* was in the highest veneration among them all over *Gaul*<sup>a</sup>, doubtless on account of the vast benefits and improvements which their trade, commerce, arts and sciences, had received from him, and of which we have spoken in a former volume <sup>b</sup>. Here is indeed no mention of temples or altars, but only of statues

<sup>a</sup> Comment. ubi sup. l. vi.    <sup>b</sup> Vol. vi. p. 33, (D). p. 52, & seq.

(W) Whether it was his ignorance or contempt of their principles, or done out of a design to make his client's cause appear more justifiable (1), he expresses himself in these virulent terms against the *Gauls*; that they professed no other religion than that of waging war against those of all other nations, and against the very gods themselves. He accuses them of having left their native soil, and crostled immense tracts of land, merely to go and attack the *Delphic Apollo*, and plunder the oracle of the whole world. This, continues he, is that holy nation, which had the boldness to besiege our capitol, and even the great *Jupiter* himself in it.

We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to explode the greatest part of this charge, for which that orator so foully inveighs against them. All that we shall observe here is, that they

had, at that time, neither regard for the pretended gods of other nations, nor for the pretended sanctity of their temples, but rather a singular contempt for the one, and abhorrence of the other; and this shews, that they had not as yet adopted any of the *Greek* or *Roman* rites into their religion, whatever they did afterwards.

One thing may be observed, that the general character which the authors of both these nations gave of the *Gauls*, is a continued contradiction, one while representing them as people of no religion or principles, and at other times as the most addicted to all kind of superstition of any nation under heaven: all which can be only reconciled by allowing, that they actually had a religion of their own, of which they were so tenacious, that they despised all others for the sake of it.

(1) *Orat. pro M. Fonte.*

*Their gods of extract.* reared to them ; and probably that worship might, at first, be no more than a civil one, though it grew up, in time, into downright idolatry and polytheism. These two deities, as well as *Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Venus, Diana, &c.* being all of *Celtic* extraction, as has been formerly shewn, it was much more natural for the *Gauls* to deify them, as having formerly reigned over that nation, than for the *Romans* and *Greeks* to adopt or challenge them from others as their own, and, in process of time, to strive to outvie them in those divine honours which the rest of the world paid to them. This will, in some measure, lead us to the motives of that great change, which they suffered to be made in their antient religion, for those temples which they erected, and for those sacrifices which they offered to all those deified monarchs, till at length they sunk down into the same absurd notions concerning them with the rest of the idolatrous world, and the notion of *Jesus*, or Supreme Deity, was swallowed up in that of *Jupiter*, as it had been every-where else : yet this might reach no farther than the vulgar, whilst the druids and wise men among the *Gauls*, as well as the philosophers among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, still preserved the notion of one Supreme Being, and either pitied, or perhaps laughed and winked at, the rest of the pretended deities, heathen theology, and foolish superstition.

*The druids forced to submit.* BUT neither is this account altogether satisfactory, considering the aversion and contempt which the *Gauls* had for all other religions ; and this extraordinary change will perhaps be better accounted for, if we can shew, with any probability, that they were rather forced to it by those under whose tyranny they came afterwards to groan, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affection of respect for their deceased princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to such a brave and warlike nation as the *Gauls*, among whom one constant maxim was universally followed, as we shall see in the sequel, to prefer the worst of deaths to the loss of liberty, the *Roman* yoke must appear intolerable ; and that they could not be expected to submit to it longer than they were compelled by the superior power of their tyrants : and as these made it their constant practice to introduce, either by fair or foul means, their religion, laws, and customs, where ever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, could not but be extremely averse to all such changes, and use all their power and authority, which was still very great, and almost uncontrollable (B), either to oppose them, or to prevail on the people

(B) It plainly appears, that this related to religion, was not of high power of theirs, except what very antient date ; and that they raised

people to shake off the yoke. This their history will shew they did upon all favourable opportunities that offered ; so that there was a kind of necessity for the *Romans* to find out some plausible pretence to strip them of their great sway, and force them to a blind and thorough submission. Accordingly we find, that several emperors took an effectual method to suppress the druidish power, by issuing out some severe edicts against their bloody custom of offering human sacrifices. *Au-* Their *gustus* was the first who issued out a decree against them, and *power sup-* at the same time introduced a census among the *Gauls*; upon *pressed by* which the whole nation was just ready for a revolt. But by *Augustus.* the address and authority of *Drusus*, who was left there by *His census* in *Gaul*, him, they were not only prevented from rising, but prevailed upon to assist at the dedication of *Julius Cæsar's* temple, and to build an altar to *Augustus*. However, it is plain, that the edit of the latter was not executed there; and the druids, by this time in less authority with the people, might buy it off,

\* See vol. xiii. p. 527, et seq.

raised themselves to it in process of time, by the help of the people's superstition. Antiently the women seem to have had a greater sway in all civil matters, and even about making peace and war. This privilege they had even before their first expedition into *Italy*; and it appears that they held it still, when *Hannibal* passed through *Gaul* to cross the *Alps*; for, in the treaty they made with him, it was agreed, that, if a *Gaul* offered any injury to a *Carthaginian*, he should be tried before the court of the *Gaulish* women (2). The reason of this great sway is variously accounted for: some think, that they were looked upon as inspired; others think, it was owing to their having shewn a superior degree of wisdom in quenching a civil war, which the men had kindled among themselves. The *Germans*, according to *Tacitus* (3), allowed them the

very same privileges; and we find something like this practised by the *Elians*, who, having in vain sued for satisfaction from *Demophoon* tyrant of *Pisa*, agreed with the *Pisans*, after his death, to submit their difference to a court of sixteen women, to be chosen out of sixteen cities of the *Elians*. Our author adds (4), that their decision so pleased both parties, that they appointed a perpetual college of sixteen matrons to preside over the *Juno-nian* games, and to assign the prize to whom they thought worthiest of it.

However, with respect to the *Gaulish* women, though we cannot ascertain the time when they lost this their authority, yet it is plain, by what *Cæsar* lays of that extensive one (5), which the druids had in his time, that they had found means to strip those heroines of theirs.

(2) *Plut. de mulier. Polyaen. strat. lib. vii.*  
(4) *Pausan. Eliac.*

(5) *Cæs. Comm. Lib. vi.*

(3) *Hist. lib. iv. s. 61.*

Claudius's by rearing the above-mentioned altar to him : and this is the reason why *Claudius* renewed it against them. But, whatever against the pretence of those edicts might be, it is scarce credible, that druids.

religion had any hand in them ; and they might as well have fallen foul upon all other nations under their empire, nay, and upon their own, since none was exempt from this barbarous custom, much less the *Romans*, as the reader may infer from what we have observed in several parts of their history, and elsewhere <sup>a</sup> (C).

*How and when introduced.*  
*The exorbitant power of the druids*

FROM all this it appears very probable, that these edicts against the druids, and their bloody rites, were not so much issued out to abolish their sect and religion, as to intimidate them, and suppress their exorbitant power, which, somewhat before this time, was grown to such an height, that they overruled in all courts and councils, raised whom they liked to the highest dignities, and even to the crown, and often aspired to and obtained it for some of their own order. They directed in the making of peace and war, and, even after they were conquered by the *Romans*, could stir up the people to a general revolt ; and so jealous were they grown of their usurped authority, that they punished, as we have hinted a little higher, all that disobeyed or disputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more suitable to the *Roman* policy, than to use all possible means to suppress and crush so dangerous a set of men ; and since religion was the common pretext to all their exorbitant sway, so that there was no possibility of pulling down the one without abolishing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to use all their power and address to bring about such a thorough change, and introduce their religion amongst

<sup>a</sup> See vol. xv. p. 146, (I). 181, 182, (B). 306. 354, (K). vol. xvii. p. 262. 292, 293.

(C) However that be, it doth not appear, that even these took any more effect against them than that of *Augustus*, since we find them still not only in high vogue some centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors *Severus*, *Aurelian*, and *Diocletian*. They subsisted still, even down to the times of *Solinus Polibifor*, and of *Eusebius of Cæsarca* (6), and much longer still

in their chief abode in the province of *Chartrain*, where whole towns continued in their antient paganism, even down to the fifth century (7). Neither did those edicts suppress the practice of human victims amongst the *Romans* themselves, among whom they continued to the time of *Constantine the Great*, and even down to that of *Gratian*, who gave the finishing blow to it (8).

(6) *Polybius*, c. 21. *Præp. evang.* lib. iv. c. 17.  
lib. i. c. 32.

(8) See vol. xv. p. 181, 182, (B).

(7) *Vide relig. des Gaul.*

them ; and there might not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than that which this period offered them, when the Gaulish nation, groaning under a double, and, we may add, <sup>the people to a change of religion.</sup> divided tyranny, that of their conquerors, and that of their druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no small ease to be rid at least of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, seemed the most intolerable of the two ; for it must be remembred, that the Romans seldom made use of force, when they could gain their ends by cajoling and flattery, by fair promises, or even bribes and rewards ; whereas the druids, if we may believe the Roman authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontroled sway, till, being overpowered by their enemies, and forsaken by their own people, they were at length forced to submit to, and exchange their religion and rites for those of their conquerors.

THIS at least appears, by several concurring circumstances, <sup>Gaul at length over-run with Roman idolatry.</sup> to have happended about the time of these edicts ; for, in *Cæsar's* time, who left the Gauls to the free enjoyment of their rites, and even of many of their laws and custons, there was not as yet any temple built, or any place of worship, but their oaks and groves. In the very next reign, we find the *Lugdunenses* building a stately temple to that conqueror, and an altar to *Auguſtus*, then on the throne, and a professed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under his successor *Tiberius*, their chief deity *Eſus* is transformed into *Jupiter* the god of heaven Jupiter and earth, or rather, as it should seem, divides his worship <sup>substituted</sup> with him for a while (D). Both are worshiped at first in <sup>to Eſus.</sup> groves,

(D) This is inferred from some antient bas-reliefs found in the great church of *Paris*, in which both these deities are carved one close to the other, the inscription of which is indeed to *Jupiter* ; but the ceremony of the oaky mifletō, with the words *Senani Vīlo*, shews, that *Eſus* was looked upon still as the chief godhead there represented.

We would not rely too much upon these dark and enigmatic monuments, which every antiquary wrests according to his own favourite hypothesis. Sure it is, that, in the time of *Maxi-*

<sup>mus Tyrienſis</sup>, who lived about an hundred years after *Tiberius*, *Eſus* was already transformed into *Jupiter*, and worshiped under the type of a large oak (9). The author of the life of St. *Boniface*, bishop of *Mentz*, tells us, that that prelate found no better expedient to bring his people from their old superstition to christianity, than by cutting down an oak of a very large fize, called the oak of *Jove*, and the strength of *Jove* (1). The same is said to have been done, with like success, by still later preachers (2). So long did this venc-

(9) *Maxim. Tjr. serm. xxxviii.*  
ii. 5.

(1) *Henscb. apud relig. des Gaul. lib.*  
*(a) Bzovii annal. ub ann. 1233. apud eand.*

Temples  
erected  
every-  
where.

groves, and under oaks ; and at length the former is quite swallowed up in the latter, and temples, altars, and statues, are erected to him after the *Roman* manner over all the conquered parts of *Gaul*. After a few reigns more, during which they were still greatly oppressed, and made several vain attempts to regain their liberty, especially under *Caligula* and *Claudius* <sup>c</sup>, who succeeded *Tiberius*, the whole country is filled with *Roman* temples, all their deities adopted and worshiped, and scarce any traces left of their antient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to these new deities, and perhaps also in their auguries ; which occasioned the above-mentioned decrees against them. To these we may add the great veneration which they still retained for their oaks, notwithstanding their multiplicity of temples, and which continued, according to some authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth century. One of these was dedicated to an hundred deities, as appears by the inscription engraven on a neighbouring column, which the reader will find in the note (E).

**Gauls run  
into all  
kinds of  
supersti-  
tion.**

However, the sluice thus broken, an inundation of superstition and idolatry ensued, which nothing could resist ; and the *Gauls*, having once shaken off the yoke of their druids, became so enamoured with the pageantry of polytheism, that they deified at length lakes, rivers, marshes, and even fountains, to all which they ascribed some peculiar deity, and extraordinary virtues ; upon which account it was looked upon as the highest sacrilege to fish in them, to draw or drain them, and especially to lay hands on any treasures that were committed to their care and protection (F). To all these changes the druids

found

<sup>c</sup> See vol. xiv. p. 293, et seq. et alibi pass.

ration for those trees continue, as one may say, in the heart of christianity. We may add, that the name of *Jupiter* doth not appear to have been adopted by the *Gauls*, but only that of *Jove*, which we have already shewn is of *Celtic* original <sup>3</sup>.

(E) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. *Severus*, the inscription engraven was to preserve the memory of it; ARBOREM DIVUS SEVERUS EVERITIT CENTUM DEORUM. Our author

adds, that, in rooting it up, they found an head full of gold and silver, which was laid out by that saint in the building of a church since dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb. (4).

(F) Of these lakes, fountains, &c. some were dedicated to one deity, some to another. *Tacitus* pretends to give us the reason why the *Gauls* deified them ; because, says he, they were nearer heaven, and consequently nearer

(3) See before, vol. vi. p. 47, & seq. & (P.). (4) *Jq. de Br. antiqu. Vien.* p. 4. *Tubl. au des prece. Kranc. tom. ii. p. 107, apud eundem.*

found themselves obliged to submit, to avoid the penalties of those edicts; and so compliable did they shew themselves, of the *druides*, that, from that time, whether to make their court to the *ids cur-*  
*Romans*, or to take off the odium which their name laid them *tainted*. under, they exchanged it for that of *Senani*, which, in their language, signified the same as *elder* or *venerable* with us. From hence we may date their downfall, though not their total abolition till some ages after; for, being once reduced to such a low ebb of authority, and become such servile creatures to their new and potent masters, it is not to be supposed, that these would ever suffer them to recover it again; but, if they still permitted them to make a gain of religion, it should be only in the worship and rites of those new deities, which they had now obliged them to adopt (G).

## THIS

the ear of those deities, to whom they pray from thence (5). This is a very jejune one; and it is more reasonable to suppose, that they fancied those deities to be more immediately present there. However, such regard they had for them, that the same author tells us, that the *Hermonduri* and *Catti* waged a bloody war against each other for the property of one of these fountains, which was a salt one; and that the former at length gained their point against the latter, by a vow which they made to sacrifice their enemies, and all their spoil, to *Mars* and *Mercury*: which was accordingly done; the *Catti* were all massacred without mercy, together with their horses, cattle, and all their spoil, and flung into the lake (6).

However, unless it be upon such bloody devotements, we do not find, that they offered any victims to them; but abundance of gold, silver, rich cloaths, and other costly things, they flung into them, which it was sacrilege to touch. We have

spoken of the famous lake of *Thoulouse* dedicated to *Apollo*, whose treasures, especially in gold and silver ingots, and massy utensils, amounted to immense sums, and was continually increased by fresh offerings (7). But as these places became liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as perhaps by their neighbours, they began to reposit those sacred treasures in their temples, of which they had soon after a vast number.

(G) This was an effectual means to induce them to give into all kinds of *Roman* and *Greek* superstitions, or even to outdo them in it, since it would open a new door to their interest, instead of the old one, that had been stopped up. We have taken notice, in the last note, of the immense treasures which were flung into their consecrated lakes, rivers, and afterwards into their temples; and who can imagine those druids and priests to have been as scrupulous as the stupid laity, of converting any part of it to their own uses? But,

(5) *Annat. lib. xv.*

(6) *Ibid. sub fin.*

(7) *Oref. lib. v. c. 15. Cit. de nos. deur. lib. iii. Aut. Gall. lib. iii. c. 9.*

*Multiplicity of temples, statues, &c.*

THIS multiplicity of deities, or rather of lakes, marshes, &c. consecrated to them, did not hinder them from building temples, altars, and statues to them, after the *Roman* manner, and not only in great number, but some of them very stately, and in the grand taste, as we may infer from some remains of them, and other monuments of that nation ; but yet in these they commonly sacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered their vows and rich donatives in them ; but, as to human sacrifices, they still offered them, it seems <sup>f</sup>, under their

<sup>f</sup> See *relig. des Gaul.* lib. i. c. 15.

this we must submit to our readers, who will be better able to judge of it, if we subjoin here some few more instances of their superstition ; for it were endless to mention them all, they were grown to such number and variety.

One lake they had in some part of *Gaul* nearest the ocean, which received its name from two white ravens, with whitish wings, which constantly kept about it. Incredible wonders were told of it (8). Amongst others, it was much resorted to in matters of controversy between parties. Each of the contenders brought a kind of cake, and laid it at the end of the same plank, which was set afloat on the lake, to be exposed to these ravens, whose custos, it seems, was to devour one of the cakes, and to crumble and scatter the other ; and this last gave the cause to its owner.

Another we read of at the foot of a mountain in the neighbourhood of *Savoy*, dedicated to the moon, under the name of *Hela-nus*, which signifies *splendor*. It was resorted to by all the neighbouring people once a year, who threw into it some cloaths, linen, fleeces of wool ; others

bread, cheese, wax, and the like, according as they could afford it. Here they kept a sumptuous feast, which lasted three whole days, a sufficient quantity of provisions being brought in waggons to the place. On the fourth day, we are told (9), when they were ready to return home, there constantly arose such storms of wind, thunder, rain, and hail, as made them afraid for their lives.

We have taken notice how they used the waters of the *Rhine* to discover the fidelity of their wives, and the legitimacy of their issue. They seem to have had a much greater veneration for this river than for any other. The oblations and sacrifices offered to it were of a peculiar kind : whole armies called upon it for help and victory, and the sight of it, or of any of its waters, inspired the soldiers with courage and bravery (1). Each river, fountain, lake, or pool, was looked upon as inhabited by some deity, and had some peculiar and extraordinary virtues ascribed to it, for the sake of which the credulous people resorted to them in shoals, and with proper offerings, every one according to their ability.

(8) *Strab. lib. iv. ad fin.*  
*bis. lib. v. c. 18.*

(9) *Greg. Tur. glor. conf. c. 2.*

(1) *Tacit.*

## C. XXV. *The History of the Gauls.*

oaks, and in their groves ; but whether they did it for privacy, or for fear of the *Romans*, and to avoid the penalty of their edicts, or still retained their antient notion of that Supreme Being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, we will not determine (H). To give our readers a specimen of these new buildings, we are told, that the statues of these gods, such as *Pennin*, *Mercury*, *Diana*, &c. of whom we shall speak in the sequel, were placed sometimes on a pedestal, which served likewise for an altar, sometimes on a column of a prodigious height <sup>g</sup>. In some they were exposed to the open air, and in others sheltered by an edifice of polished stones, in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no less rich and magnificent, witness that famed one called *Vasso* at *Clermont ples de Auvergne*, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty scribed. feet thick, covered, on the outside, with carved stones, and, on the inside, with small ones, nicely wrought and polished, and, on the top, incrusted with marble, and compartments of mosaic work. The pavement was likewise of marble, and the top covered with lead <sup>h</sup>. A learned French antiquary mentions eight of these stately fabrics of an octagonal form, and *Octagonal* whose eight faces were adorned with a number of *Gaulish* deities, generally eight in number, in those which he himself observed ; which made him suspect, that this combination of numbers contained some druidish mysteries, which are now quite out of our reach <sup>i</sup> (I). We shall, for brevity's sake, refer

<sup>g</sup> GREG. TUR. lib. viii. c. 15. SULP. SEVER. dial. lib. iii. c. 9, & seq. GUICH. hist. des scavant. ap. relig. des Gaul. ubi supra. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>i</sup> Supplement de l'antiq. tom. ii. See also relig. des Gaul. ubi supra, c. 16, & seq.

(H) The former seems the most probable, because they likewise chose to offer these victims in caves, rocks, precipices, and other desert and unfrequented places, which they pitched upon sometimes by mere chance, and as they fell in their way ; at other times by their auguries and lots. All which seems to intimate, that they avoided being seen at these bloody ceremonies by any other people <sup>(2)</sup>, especially the *Romans*, who had so strictly forbidden them.

(I) The author of the religion of the *Gauls* has however disproved the conjecture of that learned antiquary, by shewing (3), that this octagonal form was common among the *Romans*, as well as the *Gauls* ; and that the latter had temples of different forms, some round, some oblong, some decagonal, without any apparent mystical design. The thing is not worth disputing at this distance ; and it does not appear, that the *Gauls* had any such regard for the number eight.

<sup>(2)</sup> Vide Burchard, decret. lib. x. c. 10. Keyzler. antiq. septentr. apud relig. des Gaul. lib. i. c. 15, ad fin. <sup>(3)</sup> Ibid. c. 26.

They

refer our readers to the two authors last-quoted for a further account of those famous edifices; and content ourselves with giving them a short description of one of the most curious of them in the next note (K), and figure, by which they may frame an idea

They had indeed a greater one, if we may believe *Pliny* (4), for the number six, which was held so sacred amongst them, that they overturned the order of months, years, &c. in honour of it; but on what account they did so, doth not appear.

(K) This octagonal structure stands at *Montmorillon*, in the province of *Poitou*, and consists of two temples, one above ground, and the other under it, somewhat like our *St. Faith* and *St. Paul*, the lowest of which is much narrower than the upper, and its wall as thick again. The upper received its light from eight windows, in form of portals, under the arch of each of the eight faces; but now walled up, except that over the gate or entrance into the fabric; and another which leads to a kind of wing or portico, which projects from the fabric on the opposite side. The great overture in the centre of the roof, which resembles that in the *Rotonda* of *Rome*, gives likewise some light to the building, tho' not much, because it descends through a hole in the roof, like a cylinder, of twenty-four feet in length, and about ten in breadth. The rain that falls through it, gathers itself to the centre of the pavement, which is made with a proper declension, and empties itself through another, and much lesser hole, into the lower temple, and is sucked up by the earth,

this last having neither sink nor pavement.

The wing, at one of the sides of the octagon, is equal to it; that is, eighteen feet in breadth without and within. That which leads into the lower, is much narrower than that which leads into the upper building; and at the end of the former is a stair-cafe, that leads up to the latter. This place appears to be of the same age and structure as the octagon, and has, on the top, a kind of square tower of about the same height with the roof of the inner temple; but whether it had a bell in it, as some think, who imagine it to have been since turned into a church, is not easy to determine. This advanced building seems to have served for a kind of vestry to the priests and druids. Just over-against this, across the temple, is the gate that leads into it; and on the one side of it, in the subterranean temple, begins a covert way above six feet broad, and about six hundred in length, which leads to the neighbouring river, to which, it is supposed, the druids went to wash themselves, and their victims, whenever they performed the priestly function.

Over the gate of the temple were eight human figures, coarsely carved, supposed to have been so many *Gaulish* deities. Of these six are of the male kind, three in a group or nich, and the two others, one at each end, are fe-

(4) *Lam*, lib. xvi. c. 44.

males.

idea of the *Gaulish* taste in architecture. All that we shall add here is, that, by the multitude of niches that appear in some

males. The former are differently dressed. Those that face you, and stand farthest out, have a kind of antique mantle; the others have on a kind of tunic. One has a long gown quite down to his feet, and open from top to bottom, and all of them are girdled up. In one groupe, the figure that faces you is shod, and the other two on each side are barefooted. In the other groupe, that which faces you is unshod, and the other two shod. In the one they appear old men, with long beards; in the other, all young and beardless; so that in the first there are two old men unshod, and one shod; and in the other two young men shod, and one unshod. This odd contrast, doublets, was not without some mysterious meaning.

Of the two women, which stand on at each end, the one had a long head of hair plaited hanging on each side before her, and is dressed somewhat in the modern form; that is, in a kind of stiff-bodied gown. She holds her hands on her sides, and has a kind of mittens which cover about one half-way her arms. That, which stands on the opposite side, is quite naked, and has two serpents twisted one round each leg, and both, twining between her thighs, rear their heads up to her breasts, as if they were sucking at them, whilst she holds them by her hands, as it were, close to the sides of her belly. From this combination of eight figures over the gate of an octagonal temple, our learned author

infers, that that number was looked upon by the *Gauls* as sacred to the gods, as we hinted a little higher.

The intablature over it was not without its ornaments, which chiefly consisted of a great variety of heads oddly variegated; the meaning of which, if it was done with any, is not easy to guess. As to the figures themselves, this is the conjecture of our author, for the proofs of which we shall refer our readers to the place quoted below (5): The naked woman, with two serpents, he supposes to have represented the moon, to whom therefore he concludes the temple to have been dedicated. The three old men he takes to have been three druids, and the three young men to have been their disciples, and the number six to have been designed to signify the sacredness in which it was held by the *Gauls*, it being on the sixth day of the moon that they performed their grand ceremony of gathering the mistletoe, as we have already hinted. The serpents, sucking at her breasts, may signify properly enough the virtue which that planet imparted, not only to that plant, but to all other vegetables, as the snakes are said to renew their age with their skins. As for the other woman, he supposes her to have been designed for *Venus*, because such a kind of figure had been dug up at *Chalon*, with her tresses plaited somewhat like this. If so, we would rather suppose the three young men, which stand

*Multiplicity of statues.*

of them, they seem to have had a vast number of statues in them, which are since mostly demolished, upon their conversion to Christianity ; and some of them, since dug up out of their ruins, are so broken and mangled, that it is hard to guess, whether they were *Gaulish* deities, or statues of any other kind. Our two authors differ in their judgment about them ; but, since the *Gauls* were grown so fond of multiplying their deities, as to dedicate one oak to an hundred of them, as we lately hinted, why may we not believe, with *Montfaucon*, that they might shew the same fondness for multiplying their idols in those temples, in imitation of the *Romans*? A great many of these edifices have been preserved here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of Christianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were then demolished, of which there are still some fragments remaining, and may be seen more fully described in the authors above-quoted.

*The gods worshiped by the Gauls.*

*Jupiter.*

We are now come to speak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worshiped by the *Gauls*. We have already seen, how their antient *Esus* came to be changed into *Jupiter*, at first indeed under the symbol of an oak, and even of a shapeless stump of a tree ; but at length, as they gave wholly into the *Roman* superstition, they came to erect altars and statues to him, and to represent him after the *Roman* manner : thus, in some antient statues and bas-reliefs, he is carved with a lance in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and bosom bare ; his head is sometimes surrounded with a radial crown ; his name of *Jupiter* is never met in any of his inscriptions, but only that of *Jou*, or *Jovis*, which, being of *Celtic* extract, was designedly retained by them, instead of the *Roman*. He is likewise surnamed *Taran*, which, in the same tongue, signifies *thunderer*. We would not, however, pretend to affirm, that this last name is the *Taramis*, or *Taranis*, of *Lucan*, or that the *Gauls* did not give it to any other god but the great *Jupiter* ; but we may be well assured, that that of *Jovis* was peculiar to him, and has been preserved

next to her, to have been designed for her priests. But if the naked one, sucking two serpents, signifies the new moon, may not the other, which is dressed in a close-bodied gown reaching up to her neck, have been designed to express the old one, and to signify, that, after she is past the full, she ceaseth to communicate her influence ? for the

druids, being well versed, for those times, in astronomy, as we shall see in the sequel, and much addicted to astrology, it was natural for them to think, that as the increase of that planet did daily approximate her virtue to the earth, so her decrease did divert and elongate it from it. But whether are we running with our conjectures ?

not

not only by the antient *Gauls* and *Welsh*, but is still retained by the *French* in many of their compound words (L). In that part of *Gaul* nearer the *Alps*, he was called *Peninus*, and those high mountains *Peninae*, from the *Celtic* word *pen*, which signifies an *head*, an *height*, a *summit* (M). He was represented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on the top of mount *S. Bernard the Less*, by *L. Lucilius*, and is styled *Optimus Maximus*; whence it is concluded, that he was the same with the *Gaulish Jove*, or *Jove*. What seems to confirm this beyond all question is, that the column, on which it stood, is indifferently called the column of *Jove*, and of *Peninus*; and the carbuncle, that was placed on it, the eye of *Jove*, and the eye of *Peninus*<sup>i</sup>. But, since by the eye of *Jupiter* was meant the *Sun* from all antiquity <sup>k</sup>, and the carbuncle was a proper emblem of this last deity, why may we not as well suppose this statue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it, rather than to *Jupiter*? However that be, as this last succeeded their great *Esus*, they paid much the same worship to him, and, in particular, offered human victims to him, as the *Romans* did to their *Jupiter Latialis*; some instances of which we have given in the last section of this chapter, and several parts of their history.

THEIR next deity was *Mars*, whom they esteemed as the Mars, chief protector of the *Gaulish* nation. Their invincible war-

<sup>i</sup> *Guichenon*. history of Savoy, tom. i. lib. i. c. 4. Vide relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. c. 29. <sup>k</sup> Vide *Macrobius*. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21.

(L) Particularly in those that follow; *Joudy* or *Jeudy*, *Thursday*, or day of *Jove*; *Joumont*, *Jou-barb*, the mount of *Jove*, a mountain so called by the *Romans*; and the beard of *Jove*, an herb so called, from its resemblance to it; and many more of the like nature. As for that of *Taran*, which is still kept in many words which express any loud and fearful noise, and from which we take the Greek *ταραχή* and *ταράττω* to be derived, it is not unlikely, that it may have been also given to *Mars*, on account of the thundering noise which the *Gauls* made upon their

shields, when they invoked him, either before an onset, or after a victory.

(M) This deity is called *Apenina* by *Cato* the elder, who derives it from *Apis*, the first king of *Italy*, with whom, according to him, ended the golden age (6). *Scruius* (7) calls her *Penina*. But the figure and inscription which *Guichenon* has given us of it, shew it to have been erected to a male deity. The inscription is, *LVCIVS LVCILIVS DEO PENINO OPTIMOMAXIMO DONVM DEDIT*. The column was of marble, and about fourteen feet high.

(6) *Apud Macrobius*. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21.

(7) *C. mment*, in *Aeneid*. x.

*Their  
cruel vows  
to him;*

*and other  
barbarous  
customs.*

like temper inspired them with such a veneration for, and confidence in him (N), that, whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their possessions, and, about the time of the onset, they vowed to him all the plunder<sup>1</sup>. If they came off with victory, they frequently sacrificed their prisoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their slain enemies about the necks of their horses, in token of their valour. They even inclosed some of the most considerable ones in frames of cedar, and, upon proper occasions, shewed them to strangers, and at no rate could be prevailed upon to part with them<sup>m</sup>. Another barbarous custom they are justly branded with, of poisoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig tree, but of a quite deadly quality<sup>n</sup>. In times of sickness, or imminent danger, they immediately sacrificed some human victims to *Mars*, or vowed to do it, as soon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common with them, in pressing dangers, to vow all their enemies to that deity, and to massacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or distinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worshiped under the emblem of a naked sword, and under the name of *Mars*, or *Mavors*, or *Maur-ruisc*, which signifies warlike, or powerful. Since then we find him represented in the habit of a *Roman* warrior, with a spear in one hand, and a shield in the other, and with the surname of *Camulus* (O). We are told,

<sup>1</sup> ULP. fragm. tit. 21. Comment. lib. vi. DIOD. Sic. lib. vi. c. 9. ATHEN. lib. iv. <sup>m</sup> STRAB. lib. iv. DIOD. Sic. ubi supra. <sup>n</sup> RHODIG. lib. xxiii. c. 12.

(N) Julian the apostate, among his many other chimerical notions, attributed all the bravery and success of the *Gauls* to the influence which the providence of the Creator of all things had endued that deity with, when he put them under his protection (8). But it is far more reasonable to think, that their natural bravery, joined to their hatred of the all-conquering and enslaving *Romans*, directed them to the choice of that deity for their protector, and which they

antiently worshiped, not as a god, but as one of the attributes of the Supreme Deity, which squared most with their warlike temper, as we have had occasion to hint in a former note (9).

(O) This appears from two inscriptions which Gruter has given us, the one on a bas-relief, with figures of five gods; to wit, *Arduinne*, *Camulus*, *Jove*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*; all which have their names engraven over their heads. The inscription underneath shews it to have been

(8) Cyril. Alexandr. lib. iv. contr. Juw.

(9) Before, p. 543, note (F).

told, that the *Accitani* of *Spain*, or the inhabitants of *Cadiz*, a *Gaulish* colony, represented him surrounded with rays of light, because, says our author<sup>o</sup>, the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal spirits, which are the cause of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the sun. The variety of inscriptions, that have been dug up by the curious, shews him to have been in the highest esteem (P).

**APOLLO** was another of their deities, and in as great veneration, on account of his being the god of physic, as *Mars* worshiped was that of war. The druids, who were as famed quacks as *as the god priests*, failed not to celebrate him, as the implanter of all the *of physic*. virtues that they attributed to their *materia medica*, which chiefly consisted in vegetables, accompanied with a great deal of

• **MACROB.** *Saturn.* lib. i. c. 19.

dedicated to them by one *Quartinus*, who is there styled *Civis Sabinus Remus*; from which that great critic, not observing that the last word shews him to have been a citizen of *Rheims*, mistook those deities to be of *Sabine* extract, and *Camulus* to be the same as *Camillus* (1), one of the names which the *Sabines* gave to *Mercury*.

But there is another inscription, of older date by an hundred years, which shews, that the *Rhemenses* in *Gaul* worshiped *Mars* under that title. It runs thus: *MARTI CAMVLO OB SALTEM TIBERI CLAUDI CÆS. CIVES REMI TEMPLVM CONSTITVERVNT* (2). Hence it is plain, that if *Camulus* was known in that part of *Italy*, it was by means of this *Quartinus*, a *Rhemensis* citizen, who dedicated this inscription there to him, under the reign of *Antoninus*; whereas that city appears, by the second inscription, to have dedicated its temple in that of *Claudius*. So that, upon the whole, all these five deities here appear to

have been *Gaulish*, not only by their names, which are of *Celtic* extract, but from the resemblance of their dress, attitudes, &c. to those that have been found among the antient monuments of *Gaul*, especially in the great cathedral of *Paris* (3).

(P) We took notice formerly, that all the treasures and plunder that were vowed to him, were laid up in heaps in the next convenient place in the open fields, and were looked upon as so sacred, that no *Gaul* dared to meddle with them. Some stones have been found, with eight or nine human heads buried under them, which, by the inscription, appear to have been dedicated to him, and these heads to have belonged to those human victims, which they were accustomed to vow to him in times of peril and sickness. In some of these inscriptions he is called plainly *Mars*; in others he has the title of *Segomen*; in others *Vincius* or *Britovius*, the meaning of which names can only be guessed at.

(1) P. 40. n. 9.  
ii. c. 36.

(2) *Idem*, p. 56. n. 11.

(3) *Relig. des Gaul.* lib.

That

*His stately temple at Tholosa.* of superstitious trash, which they used in the gathering, preparing, and administering (Q). The *Aquileians* and *Tectosagi* chose him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vast territory about *Tholosa*, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is supposed to be the same that is mentioned by an antient author P, on account of *Constantine's* repairing thither, to give thanks for his late success, and the extraordinary presents he made to it; upon which occasion that author styles it the finest temple of *Apollo* that was then in the

P EUMENIUS, panegyr. Constant. sub fin.

That of *Segomen* appears to be *Celtic*, and signifies rich, or making rich. Hence the *Segones*, who inhabited the most fruitful part of *Gaul*, and were reckoned the most opulent, are thought to have had their name. That of *Vincius* seems to have been given him on account of his stately temple at *Vincia*, now *Vences*, in *Provence*; and, in all likelihood, that of *Britovius* from some other city, where he was more particularly worshiped; perhaps that of *Britonium* in *Galicia*, which was a colony of the *Gauls*, and became afterwards an episcopal see; but is now destroyed (4).

(Q) We have already given some hints of this, in speaking of their mistleto, and their time and method of gathering it. It were tedious to follow them through all their other superstitious quaekeries; but one instance we cannot omit, because it shews, not only their stupidity, but likewise their fondness for them; since this last continued in vogue, it seems, till the eleventh century.

They had an herb dedicated to *Apollo*, or *Belenus*, which they called, from him, *Belinuncia*, and

the *Romans Apollinaris*; and is supposed to have been a kind of henbane. The *Spaniards* and *Hungarians* retain still the former of these names, the one calling it *Velcno*, and the others *Beland*.

Whenevver the country laboured under a great drought, the women assembled themselves, and chose from amongst them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance. She stripped herself naked, and went, at the head of the rest, in search of this herb, which they then called *Bælisæ*. When she had found it, she plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of her right hand, and tied it to a string, the other end of which was fastened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company then cut off each some boughs, and carried them in their hands after her, whilst she dragged the plant with her foot, towards the next river, and there plunged it in the water: the rest dipped, likewise, their boughs, and sprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they set out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (5).

(4) *Idem ibid. &c. aut. ab eo citat.*  
c. 5.

(5) *Idem ibid. Burebar. decret. lib. xix.*

world. The building was a decagon, in which there was a vast number of niches and statues, and, among the rest, that of *Apollo*, represented as a lively youth ; upon which account, the panegyrist compliments that monarch with joining to the youthfulness of the god the grandeur of an emperor (R).

He was generally represented youthful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden tresses <sup>a</sup>. In some antient bustoes found of him, as well as in some antient coins, he is represented with a pole, or ring, and a link of a chain fastened to his scull, by which he was, it is supposed, suspended to the roof, in imitation of the sun, whom they fancied to be suspended by a golden chain <sup>b</sup>. But, after all, might not such hanging figures of that deity have been the effects of some vows, which the *Gauls* and others used to make to the deity in time of sickness, and who, upon their recovery, hung up the promised figure in his temple, without any regard to the ridiculous notion above-mentioned ? One head of his was dug up at the castle of *Polidignac*, which place is supposed to have been so called from *Apollo*, and is still there to be seen against the wall that surrounds it. It is but ill carved, on a bluish stone, between four and five feet in height and breadth, and is surrounded, all over, with rays, which, when the sun shines upon it, cast a kind of golden or fiery lustre, and shew, that those rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable in this antique is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open ; from which it is concluded to be here represented as delivering his answer <sup>c</sup>. And, truly, the druids were, by this time, become such zeal-

<sup>a</sup> Vide EURIPID. *Phoeniss.* AELIAN. varior. lib. i. c. 20. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. Vide & ANAXAG. & al. <sup>c</sup> SIVONI LIMAC. d'Auvergne, p. 123, & seq. CORNEIL. diction. histor. Relig. des Gaul. lib. xi. c. 27.

(R) Some words he adds, which seem to imply, as if the oracle of the god had justly promised him the empire of the world ; from which one might be induced to believe, that there had been, likewise, an oracle of that god there, in imitation of that of *Delphi* ; and that *Constantine* had been consulting it. But we would not lay too great stress on the swollen expressions of a panegyrist. However that be, as *Apollo* was the same deity with the sun, the *Gauls* worshiped him under several names, and differ-

ent forms. He is sometimes called *Apollo*, *Belenus*, and *Abellion*, which signify *fair* ; sometimes by the *Perfis* name of *Mithras* ; sometimes that of *Peninus*, of which we have spoken under that of *Jupiter* ; and at other times that of *Dolichenus*. We shall not trouble ourselves with diving for fresh etymons of all those names, which may, perhaps, have risen from the places where he was more particularly worshiped, or from other circumstances not now to be come at.

ous mimics of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that we need not doubt, but they had some one or more of these oracles among them, though we could not find any other footsteps of it (S).

*Mercury  
the god of  
trade,  
learning,  
&c.*

BUT the deity in greatest veneration among the *Gauls* was *Mercury*. We have already given some reasons for it in the *Celtic history* \*. Other deities had particular cities and provinces, where they were more particularly worshiped; but, after this deity was adopted the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was antiently esteemed the author, and chief promoter, in *Gaul*, but likewise of arts and sciences, of the highways and travelers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and robbers, statues, altars, and temples, were erected to him every-where throughout this country. He is called, by several antient authors, *Theutat*, and *Theutates* <sup>u</sup>, the signification of which name we have given, as well as that

\* Vol. vi. p. 33, (E), 52, & seq.      <sup>u</sup> LUCAN. pharsal. lib. i. Liv. decad. iii. lib. vi. c. 44. LACTANT. & al.

(S) There is an inscription, in this temple of *Polignac*, out of which the head above-mentioned had been taken, which the antiquary above-quoted judges to have been put up by the emperor *Claudius*, who was of *Lyons*, and consequently had lived in the neighbourhood of this castle, and had been there, perhaps, either to consult the oracle, or, more probably, to pray to that god for the recovery of his health, as he was a very sickly prince when he caused his name and titles to be set up there. For *Cæsar* tells us, that even in his time the *Gauls* looked upon *Apollo* as the god of physic (6); and another author adds (7), that the sick persons that addressed themselves to him for health, used to send thither that part of their body where the ailment was, carved out in wood, or cast in brâs. At *Marseilles* was found a statue like that of a *Roman* warrior, armed cap-à-pé, a-

bout eleven or twelve feet high, and standing on the crupper of a bull, between the belly of which, and the pedestal on which it stands, is carved an eagle, as it were, sitting squat; and on the pedestal an inscription importing, that *Ottavius Paternus* had dedicated it to the god *Dolicenus*. The bull and the eagle has made some antiquaries suppose that deity to have been *Jupiter*; but another author, often quoted in this section, has given some convincing proofs that it was *Apollo*: we shall refer the curious, for those proofs, to the book itself (8), to prevent running into too great a length. All that needs to be added, with respect to this antique, is, that the name, which is a *Greek* one, and signifies, according to some, an hippodrome, according to others, the posts that directed the races, seems to intimate, that *Apollo* was looked upon by the *Gauls* to preside over those exercises.

(6) Cæf. comment. lib. vi.      (7) Greg. Turc. rit. patr. c. 6.      (8) Relig. des Gauls, ubi supra.

of *Mercury*, in a former volume; and we need not doubt but they both meant the same deity, or that he was worshiped under both by the *Gauls*, since both are of *Celtic* extract, and expressive of the excellent notion they had of him, upon both accounts (T). That of *Theutat* signifying the father of his

people,

(T) To these two names, and those we spoke of in a former volume, we must add that of *Ognius*, mentioned by *Lucian*, and which, though that author gives to *Hercules*, by mistake, yet, in all appearance, belonged to *Mercury*. The description he gives of him, as he saw it in *Gaul*, being curious, though the humour of it be somewhat exaggerated, we shall give our *English* readers the substance of it.

'The *Gauls*, says he, call *Hercules Ognius*, and represent him as a decrepit old man, bald, wrinkled, and weather-beaten, like some old sailor. One would sooner take him for old *Charon*, or any one else, than for *Hercules*. But if one considers him with his lion's skin, the bow and quiver in his left, and the club in his right hand, he looks quite like a *Hercules*. What is most curious is, that the good old man holds a multitude of people tied to him by the ear; the chains are of gold and amber, and, though very fine and slight, not one of them seems to strive to break them, or even unwilling to follow him. On the contrary, they seem so pleased, and the chains so loose, that there appears a visible eagerness in them to keep close to him. His hands being both full, the painter has represented those chains as fastened to a hole bored through *Ognius's* tongue, whilst he looks back smiling on his followers.'

*Lucian*, having expressed his surprize at the oddness of the picture, introduces a *Gaul* accounting to him for it, in words to this effect: ' You will cease to be surprised at it, when I tell you, that we *Gauls* make *Hercules* the god of eloquence, contrary to the *Greeks*, who gave that honour to *Mercury*, who is so far inferior to him in strength. We represent him as an old man, because eloquence never shews itself so lively and strong as in the mouth of old people. The relation which the ear hath to the tongue, justifies the picture of the old man, who holds so many people fast by his tongue: neither do we think it any affront to *Hercules*, to paint him with his tongue bored; since, to tell you all in one word, it was that which made him succeed in every thing; and that it was by his wisdom that he subdued all hearts unto him.' Thus far *Lucian*. And it is not easy to guess whether he was imposed upon by his *Gaul*, or whether he himself introduces this story as a burlesque upon the *Gaulish* nation, who depended so far on their strength and bravery, whilst they as much valued themselves upon their eloquence, as if they had excelled the world in it; and so expose them for their veneration for *Hercules*, rather than *Mercury*. It is plain, however that these slight and brittle chains, which held so many pleased cap-

*Esteemed  
the god of  
riches.*

people, they acknowledged him under that name, at first as their founder, and afterwards boasted themselves to be sprung from him (U), in imitation of the *Thracian* kings, who were another branch of the antient *Celtes*. *Mercury* was with them the god of riches \* ; no man could attain them without his help : and hence he came to be confounded with *Pluto*, and to share in his honours and attributes ; or, if we may be allowed to guess nearer to the truth, *Mercury*, being dead, became *Pluto*, the god of riches, and of the lower regions : and hence both *Gauls* and *Thracians* claimed their descent from these two deities, after they had, by length of time, split them into two,

\* CÆSAR. comment. lib. vi.

tives fast by the ear to the tongue of the god, could not belong to *Hercules*, in any case, but to *Mercury*, the god of eloquence ; and are, accordingly, attributed to him by the generality of antient mythologists. On the other hand, the club, the quiver, &c. were indifferently given to *Mercury*, to whom, we are told, *Hercules* consecrated them, after some successful fight against the giants (9). Accordingly, we read, that the emperor *Commodus*, who affected to appear at public shews in the habit of *Mercury*, used to wear the caduceus in his hand, whilst his officers carried the club, lion's skin, &c. before him. And in giving these to that god, the meaning was plainly this, that where-ever wisdom and eloquence were, there could be neither strength nor courage wanting, because the former was ever able either to procure, or, at the worst, to supply the want of the latter.

Many other reasons might be assigned to prove, that this picture of *Ognius* represented a *Mercury*, and not an *Hercules* ; however *Lucian* came to give it to the

latter (1), wherein he has been followed by the multitude of antiquaries. As for us, we think it unnecessary to dwell longer upon it, in a work of this nature ; and those who rather choose to follow that author, have a *Hercules* here as worshipped by the *Gauls* under the name of *Ognius*, or rather, as joined into one with *Mercury* by them, as he was antitely by the *Egyptians*, and other nations. But it is plain *Lucian* had no mind to admit the latter amongst the *Gaulish* gods, when he makes him tell *Jupiter*, that he doth not know which way to summon these to the assembly, because, as he was a stranger to their language, he could neither understand them, nor be understood by them (2).

(U) We are told, that the famed *Pythagoras*, having passed over into *Gaul*, to learn the mysteries of the druids, was so taken with this notion of theirs, that he boasted the same descent, and that that god had promised to grant him whatever favour he should ask, except that of being made immortal (3).

(9) *Vide Pausan. Corinbiac. Lili. Gyrald. biss. decr. syntagm. ix.* (1) *Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dion. in Commod. lib. ii. c. 12, &c. s. q.* (2) *Ibid. ant. 7, exp. i. q. tom. i. Relig. des Gauls.* (3) *Dial. Jupit. traged.*

in imitation of their neighbours. Some inscriptions shew, that *Reckoned* not only *Mercury*, but even *Venus* and *Mars*, were reckoned *among the* among the infernal gods (W). As he was worshiped as their *infernal* progenitor, he is often joined, in those statues and inscriptions erected to him, with the goddess *Postverta*, to assist women in labour. This goddess has much puzzled all mythologists, and may be only an epithet of *Proserpine*, whom, *Strabo* says, they worshiped as their mother (X); or, perhaps, of *Diana*, who had the same office. According to all these distinctions, we may reckon three Gaulish *Mercuries*, or rather the same god worshiped under three different titles, and represented in three different forms.

As the god of eloquence, he was represented in the manner Mercu-  
we have described him from *Lucian* in a late note, as an old ry's three-  
man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's skin, holding a <sup>fold office;</sup>  
willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the <sup>1. As god</sup> of elo-  
god of merchants and travelers, he was represented naked, <sup>of elo-</sup>  
and without sex and beard, and with his winged cap, his cadu-<sup>quence;</sup>  
ceus, &c. He is under this head, likewise, represented with <sup>2. Of</sup> a purse in one hand, and sometimes with a cornucopiae in the <sup>trade,</sup> other, and with wings on his heels, as the messenger of the <sup>bigways,</sup> gods. In some statues, he has a crescent over the wings of  
his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the *Gaulish*  
worship, and that, probably, upon these two accounts: First,

\* Lib. iv.

(W) *DIIS INFERNIS VENE-  
RI, MARTI, & MERCURIO sa-  
crum* (4). With relation to his  
being the god of riches, we find  
an antient witty inscription at  
*Lyons*, in *Latin*, to this effect:  
'*Mercury promises you gain  
here, Apollo health, and Scep-  
tumanus a lodging; but he that  
brings his dinner with him,  
will fare the better. After this,  
stranger, you must look out  
where to lodge*' (5). As this  
city was one of the most trading  
ones in *Europe*, the scarcity of  
inns in it, at that time, might  
make the opulent and generous  
*Septumanus* give strangers this  
odd invitation.

(X) As she was supposed to  
assist women in labour, the names  
of *Postverta*, and *Antverta*,  
might be given her on account  
of her turning the child to the  
right position for the birth. Those  
who make two goddesses of them  
think, that the one had power to  
remedy what was past, and the  
other to prevent what was to  
come. In one of those inscrip-  
tions, under a double busto, one  
of *Mercury*, and the other of  
that goddess, she is called *Ros-  
merte*; in some others it is *Mer-  
cury*, and *Fort. Verte*, or *Fortuna  
Verte*, or happy return; as he is  
often styled in others, *Mercurio  
Negotiatori*, *Nundinatori*, &c (6).

(4) *Clem. Alexand.* from lib. i. *Dioo. Laert.* lib. viii.

(5) *Hist. de l'académ. des inscriptions*, tom. iii.

(6) *Menet*, prép. à l'*histoire de Lyon*, p. 56.

as the one was the dispenser of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth ; and, secondly, as both presided over the highways, upon which account the latter was called *Trivia* ; and both protected the roads, the travelers, thieves, sheep-herds, and shepherdesses <sup>y</sup>, as he is affirmed to have followed their life ; upon which account these likewise offered sacrifices to him <sup>z</sup>. As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been represented with a beard ; his winged cap rather resembled a disk ; and, instead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of sceptre, and in the other a purse. His body was surrounded with a kind of imperial mantle, or *paludamentum*, tied or fastened by some ornament on one of his shoulders. This we infer from an antient monument, an account of which may be seen in the note (Y), in the inscription of which he is styled *Augustus* (Z). How

<sup>y</sup> PORPH. de abst. lib. ii. MACROB. somn. Scip. lib. i. Auct. hymn. in Merc. vers. 15, 290. <sup>z</sup> EUSTAT. Odyss. ξ. Iliad. ξ.

(Y) This appears, from a large bas-relievo, between five and six feet long, and about three in breadth, and near two in thickness, dug up out of a gentleman's vineyard, near one of the gates of the city of *B:auvnis*. The inscription is, *Sacrum Mercurio Augusto C. Julius Healisus V S L M.* It is plain, from some other inscriptions in Gruter, that a bearded *Mercury* was common in *Gaul*, though not among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and the title *Augustus*, which we find in several antient medals given to other gods and goddesses, or rather to emperors and empresses deified under their names, inclines us to think, that this monument was dedicated to *Mercury* after he had been deified by the *Gauls*, and reckoned among the infernal deities. Some distinction, doubtless, there must have been of his dress, &c. under this last denomination, and this seems the most likely to have been it ; but

it is here offered only as a probable conjecture.

(Z) There have been many other conjectures offered, both concerning this antient monument, and the title there given him, as well as some others, which are met with in those old inscriptions (7) ; such as that of *Artaius*, *Ciffonius*, *Arvernius*, and some others, which we shall not tire our readers with : we shall likewise pass by some other dresses and attitudes with which the luxuriant fancies of the *Gauls* have represented him, and only add, that from what we have observed of those mounds in which the *Gauls* and *Britons* buried their dead, such as those we shall describe on *Salisbury* plain, and what *Livy* says of such a kind of *turnulus*, or sepulchral mount, which *Scipio* took notice of in the neighbourhood of *New Carthage* in *Spain*, and which the natives called *Mercury Testat* (8), one may draw a probable conjecture,

(7) See relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. c. 27, & seq.

(8) Debet. iii. lib. vi. c. 44.

that

How he was worshiped by the *Gauls* under any of these three denominations, is hard to guess; only as he was, in imitation of the *Romans*, deified as the god of traffick and riches, we may suppose they borrowed some of their rites from the worship which the *Roman* merchants paid to him there, and which is beautifully described by the poet <sup>a</sup>, who closes his account of it with this reflection, that *Mercury* could not but be inclined to forgive all the cheats and perjuries of these his votaries, when he remembred how himself had been guilty of the like <sup>b</sup>. The chief victim, with which they concluded his feast, was a sow with pig. Some other male deities they had likewise adopted, such as *Mithras* from the *Persians* (A), *Neptune*, *Erebus*, and *Orcus*, supposed both to be the same with *Pluto*, *Bacchus*, and some others, whom they took from the *Greeks* and *Romans*; concerning which we know very little, either of their worship, or of the notion which the *Gauls* had of them.

<sup>a</sup> Fast. lib. v. ver. 663, & seq.      <sup>b</sup> See hymn. in Merc. LACTANT. lib. vi. Suid. in voc. EUSTAT. Iliad. 5.

that he was buried there. We have formerly shewn, that he reigned in *Gaul* (9), which comprehended then the greatest part of *Europe*, and particularly *Spain*; and may be reasonably therefore supposed to have been there interred, after the *Celtic* or *Gaulish* manner. Other heaps of mounds there were, which likewise bore his name; but those were of a different nature, and were either such as the highways were cleared of, and laid in heaps at convenient places, or, as others think, were designed to remind people of the curses which that deity inflicted on those who mislled or abused strangers (1).

(A) It appears from several ancient monuments and inscriptions, that *Mithras*, the sun, and

*Mercury*, were worshiped among the *Gauls* as one and the same deity; at least, *Mithras* being the sun, among the *Persians*, is often represented as conjoined with him, that is, with a sun over his head, and sometimes on his breast, and with this inscription, *Mercurio soli sacrum*. Hence the author of the *Gaulish* religion has been at the pains to collect a number of other arguments to prove, that those two deities were looked upon here as one and the same, or, at most, as associated both in their virtues and in their worship. And might not this be on account of the great and constant nearness the two planets, which bear these names, have to each other (2)?

(9) See vol. vi. p. 52, & seq. & chronic. Alex. Suid. Pearson. Relig. des Gaul. Pelletier, &c al. (1) Vide Gruter. abe supra, & relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. c. 18. Nicander. 'Ephes. Scholast. Odyss. i. Argi. in epigram. Vide Theocrit. idyl. xxv. ver. c. Albric. de deor. imagin. Huc. demong. evang. & al. (2) Lib. ii. c. 36, & seq.

Goddeses.

As to their goddeses, the chief of them were *Diana*, or *Luna*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Proserpine*, *Arduina*, whom we take to be the moon, and *Cybele*, a statue of which was dug up at *Paris*, with an head crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, and was particularly in great veneration in the city of *Autun*, and whose priests were, it seems, all castrated in honour of her (B), and from thence called *Galli* (C). Before

Galli,  
eubo.

(B) This appears from what we read in the acts of *Syphorinus*, a zealous Christian since sainted, who, being brought before the governor of that city, for refusing to worship her idol, on a day in which her statue was carried about in procession, alleged, among other reasons for his refusal, that he could not acknowledge a deity whose mysteries and worship consisted in a shameful and unnatural castration. But whether these *Galli*, or priests, were *Gauls*, or sent for from *Pbyrgia*, or elsewhere; or whether the *Gauls*, who appear to have had an abhorrence for all kinds of mutilations, allowed of these *Galli*; or whether they did not rather belong only to the *Romans*, as some authors believe (3); we shall examine in the next note.

(C) That *Cybele*, or the mother of the gods, as she is called, was a deity of *Syrian*, and not of *Gallic* extract, is universally acknowledged. So that if her worship was introduced into *Gaul*, it was either by force, or in imitation of the *Greks* and *Romans*. If we consider their abhorrence of all mutilations, we shall hardly think, that they could willingly give into such a kind of worship as this, which required every priest, and encouraged every vo-

tary of the goddess to become an eunuch, as *Heliogabalus* is said to have done, in one of his mad fits (4). We are, moreover, told, that those *Galli* were had in such abhorrence, that no other people would converse with them; and that they were put upon the level with forcerers, gladiators, and hangmen (5); so that they had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddes about, and begging charity for her sake; all which was most opposite to the genius of the *Gallic* nation.

Accordingly, St. *Jerom* has a passage, which plainly intimates, that the *Romans* forced this emasculated priesthood upon the *Gauls*, and called those eunuchs *Galli*, in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, and besieged their capitol (6). And we are told, by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, that no *Roman* took that office upon him, but that they had a *Pbyrgian* male and female to perform it. This might be true, in part; and if what is reported of *Heliogabalus*, who became one of them, be to be credited, it will only shew, that he minded the laws and customs of *Rome* no more in this case, than he did in all others (7).

Before we close this note, it will not be amiss to mention a

(3) *Ibid. ibid. l.b. i. c. 33, ad fin. Pelloutier, Keyzler, &c al. in Lieb. ab. Viator. epitem. in Hes. c. 11.*

(4) *Lamprid.*  
(5) *Tertul. de resurrect. c. 16.*  
(6) *Comm.*

(7) *See his turrid actions, vol. xv. p. 350, & seq.*

Before we close this section, it will be necessary to give our readers some account of the Gaulish druids, bards, &c. and of such of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at least as far as we can gather them from antient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we should know much concerning a set of men, who made a mystery of their religion and philosophy, and a constant rule never to commit any thing relating to either to writing <sup>c</sup>.

We have already observed, that the order of the druids had *Their druidry* the sole care of all religious matters, which they so artfully and *ids.* dextrously introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation <sup>d</sup>; and this absolute sway of theirs lasted till at least some time after their conquest by the *Romans*. They were called by several names (D), besides that of druid, of which we have given the etymon in a former volume <sup>e</sup>. Their antiquity

<sup>c</sup> Cæs. comment. lib. vi. & alibi pass.

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 562,

563, (B).

<sup>e</sup> Vol. vi. p. 26, (A).

noble testimony which a *Roman* writer gives of this aversion of the *Gauls* to mutilation (8); where, having amply expatiated on their known valour and bravery, their contempt of difficulties and dangers, and even of death, he adds, ‘We never find any of them do, as some of us do in *Italy*, who cut off their thumbs, for fear of going to the wars, and upon which account they call us, in derision, *Murci*.’

To understand the sting of this saying, it must be observed, that *Murcia* was reckoned, amongst the *Romans*, the goddess of cowards and idle fellows; whence her infamous votaries were called *Murci* (9). And from this shameful custom of cutting off their thumbs, to disqualify them for service, came the old *Gallic* word *poltron*, from *pollux* and *trunco*; which is still retained to this day

by many other nations besides the *French*.

(D) One of them was that of *Semnothei* (1), given to them, doubtless, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowledge of, the godhead. *Diodorus Siculus* gives them that of *Saronides*, on account of their great regard to such old oaks as were decayed, and stripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of that word, according to *Hesychius*.

The last name we shall take notice of, was, that of *Snam*, which we hinted above was, probably, taken up by them as more pleasing to the *Romans*, it properly signifying a wise or venerable man; as their druidesses were called *senoe*, and *senes* (2). This was probably done in imitation of the sect of *gymnosophists*, who agreed with them in many things, particularly, in

(8) *A. Marcel.* in *fin.* lib. xv.

(9) *Vide Valer. Max.* lib. vi. c. 3. *Sueton.* in *vit. August.* *Arnob.* lib. i. c. 4. *Aug. de civit.* lib. iv.

(1) *Diod. Laert.* in *pregem. Sud.* in *vec.*

(2) *Mela*, lib. iii.

having

**Conformity** is looked upon of the same date with the brachmans of *India*, magi of *Perſia*, the *Chaldees* of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, **doctrines** and, in a word, with the oldest sects of philosophers <sup>f</sup>. And, **with those** indeed, considering the surprising conformity of their doctrine, **of the Brachmans, &c.** notwithstanding their vast distance from each other, we can no-ways account for it, but by supposing, that they all received it from the same hand, to wit, from *Noah*, and his immediate descendants, and carried it each to the different places of their dispersion; for they can never be imagined to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in those early times; at least the druids of *Britain*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and from whom the *Gauls* received all their religion and philosophy, cannot be supposed to have had it from any of these foreign sects, to whom they were utterly unknown (E).

**Their excessive power.** AMONG other instances of the excessive power of the druidish tribe, *Cæſar* mentions one <sup>g</sup>, by which we may guess at the

<sup>f</sup> Vide int. al. I. AERT. in proœm. ORIG. cont. Celf. lib. v. CL. ALEX. Strom. lib. iii. POLYHIST. apud eund. lib. i. CELS. apud Orig. ubi supra. <sup>g</sup> Comment. lib. vi.

having their societies composed of males and females, like the *Gaulish* druids, in studying philosophy, astrology, prying into futurity, living in celibacy, and the like (3). These were by the Greeks called *Sennones*; the *Gauls*, among whom the *mæn* was, and is still, in many provinces, pronounced like *mæn*, called them *Sennones*, and, in the Latin termination, *Sennoni* and *Sennani*.

(E) The *Gauls*, tenacious as they were till their conquest, of their religion, laws and customs, never belied their origin, but owned themselves to have received all from the *British* druids: thither they sent their own to be instructed. Here was the grand seminary where they received their instruction, and here was the seat of the arch-druid, or head, and high-priest

of their religion; to whom they appealed, as to their dernier reſort, in all doubtful and controverted cases (4). It were, therefore, absurd to suppose, as some have done, either that these traveled into such vast remote parts to learn their doctrines from the *ſemmes* of *India*, or any other sects; or much less, as others too eagerly contend, that these traveled into *Gaul* and *Britain* to learn theirs from them. And it is much more reasonable to derive that great resemblance which is observed between them all, from those antient times, when they were, in some measure, but one people, or great family; and that each carried, and carefully preserved them in those parts of the world where they settled themselves.

(3) Diog. Laert. ubi supra. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. c. 31. (4) Celf. comment. lib. iv.

rest ; to wit, that they chose the annual magistrates of every city, who had, during that year, the supreme authority, and sometimes the title of king ; and yet these could do nothing without their approbation and advice, not so much as call a council <sup>b</sup> : so that, notwithstanding their great pomp and state, says another author, they were but the creatures and slaves of the druids <sup>1</sup>. They used the same arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other cases, and were every-where esteemed as the chiefs of every *Gaulish* commonwealth, and had the sole management and instruction of youth in every thing, but the training up in the art of war ; for, in this last respect, the druids, and their disciples, were not only exempt *Exempt from going to war unless they pleased, but from all kind of tri-* <sup>from war,</sup> *bute likewise* <sup>k</sup> : and this did not a little increase their credit &c. with the people, as well as the number of their disciples ; for their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of *Gaul* ; but every man had power to stand candidate for it, and, if approved by the society, was admitted into it. As for their *Grand grand druid*, he was chosen from amongst them by the plurality of votes ; and, when any dispute arose, it was often terminated here, as in other cases, by the sword, as we shall have occasion to hint in the sequel. We have already observed, *Committed* that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any *nothing to writing*, but to couch all their mysteries and leaning *writing.* in verse ; and these, it seems, were multiplied in time to such a number, that it took some of them twenty whole years to learn them all by heart. And *Cæsar* assigns these two reasons for this custom ; to wit, that their doctrines might appear more mysterious, by being unknown to all but themselves ; and, secondly, that, having no books to recur to, they might be the more careful to preserve them in their memory <sup>1</sup> : and what contributed much to this last was, their living in separate societies, chiefly in woods, and observing a constant celibacy.

THE three grand fundamentals of their religion consisted, *The three grand articles of their religion.*

1. In their worship of the gods.
2. In abstaining from all evil.
3. In behaving with intrepidity upon all occasions <sup>m</sup>.

In order to enforce this last, on which they valued themselves most, they taught the immortality of the soul, and a life after this of bliss or misery, according as they had lived : and this inspired them with inc<sup>i</sup>ngible courage, and contempt of

<sup>b</sup> *Cæs. comment. lib. vii. Vide & Dio. CHRYSOST. orat. xlix.*

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. lib. vi. Dio, ubi supra. A. MARCEL. lib. xv. D. Sic. lib. vi. c. 9. LUCAN. lib. i. & al.*

<sup>k</sup> *LUCAN. ubi supra.*

<sup>m</sup> *Dio. LAERT. lib. i.*

death, of which we shall give some pregnant instances in their due place (F).

*Their  
great skill  
in astrono-  
my, &c.*

THEY also pretended to great skill in some branches of geography and astronomy; such as the knowing the bigness and form of the earth, the motions of the planets, their influence, and that of the stars; from which they assumed a knowlege of the divine will, to pry into futurity<sup>n</sup>, and to foretel strange events. And if that passage, which *Diodorus Siculus* has preserved to us out of *Hecataeus*<sup>o</sup>, and which the reader may find in the note (G), be to be depended upon, and that the druids of *Britain* (for that seems to be the island meant by that author) could, as with telescopes, shew the moon nearer, and discover thercin mountains, rocks, &c. it cannot but be supposed, that they had made greater progress in these arts and sciences, than

<sup>n</sup> *P. Mela*, lib. iii. c. 1. <sup>o</sup> Lib. iii. c. 11.

(F) This notion of a future life was so firmly believed by the people, that we are told they used to fling the account-books of the deceased into his grave, or, if he was burnt, into the fire, that he might make such use of them in the next world, as would make his life more easy and comfortable there (5). Several other ridiculous customs are recorded of them, with respect to this notion of a future life, which can hardly be credited, and which, for that reason, we shall willingly pass by.

(G) This passage is to the following purport: That there is, according to that author, a northern island of considerable bigness, little less than *Sicily*, situate over-against the *Celtæ*, and inhabited by those whom the *Greeks* call *Hyperboreans*. It is fruitful, pleasant, and dedicated to *Apollo*: that god, for the space of nineteen years, used to come and converse with them, and, which is more remarkable, they could (as if they had the use of

telescopes) shew the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains, &c. He concludes, that over their sacred grove and temple there presided a set of men, called (by the then *Greeks*, it is supposed) *Boreads*, who were their priests and rulers.

From the author's description and situation of this island, every body will easily perceive, that it could be no other but either *Great Britain* or *Ireland*; for the *Mona*, or *Anglesey* of *Rowland* (6), is vastly too small and inconsiderable to have been meant here. It is mentioned as known to the *Greeks*, as well it might, by means of the tin which the *Phœnicians* fetched from it, of which we shall speak in due time. The author adds, that one *Alaris*, who became afterwards a disciple of *Pythagoras* (7), went from hence into *Greece*, and contracted an intimacy with the *Delians*. And might he not be supposed to have followed that philosopher from *Gaul* thither? But we submit that to the reader.

(5) *Cæs.* lib. vi. (6) *Mona antiqu. sect. 3. ad fin.*  
*Worcester's letter to Dr. Bentley, ap. caud. ibid.*

(7) See bishop of

is generally imagined. The nineteen years converse of *Apollo*, which is the cycle of the sun, and the notion of the moon's opacity, of its mountains, rocks, &c. argue them to have been no bad astronomers; and, if they had really any instruments to draw the moon nearer, and make such discoveries upon its surface, we may conclude them to have been pretty good artists for those early times. *Pliny* adds, that they studied natural philosophy, and practised physic <sup>Praeſiſt</sup> *physic*. This last consisted chiefly in the knowlege and use of simples; but they soon found out a way to render it more intricate and mysterious, by intermingling astrology, and other superstitious trash, amongst it: the configuration of the planets must be consulted; the herb must be gathered with one hand, and not with the other; the hand must be covered with the opposite lappet of the man's robe; he must be dressed in white; his feet washed, and unshod, and a great deal more to the same purpose; but all which rather betrays that author's fondness of exposing the *Gauls*, than to inform mankind. To give one instance for all, the reader needs but hear what he says of their serpent's egg, which, as it is related by him, would scarcely, upon any other account, be worth inserting in this history, but that, whilst we give him the substance of it in the note (H), we shall endeavour to strike

P Vide nat. hist. lib. xxiv. & seq.

(H) According to his fabulous account, this egg, which was unknown to the rest of the world, was formed by the scum of a vast multitude of serpents twisted and conjured up together. As soon as they began to hiss, it was raised up into the air, and must be caught before it touched the ground; and he that caught it must immediately get on a fleet horse, and ride for his life, from the fury of the serpents, which pursued him till a river stopped them short. The egg was then to be flung into the water, with a golden ring, which they fastened about it, and must swim on the surface with it. Its virtues were then almost as numberless as those of *Fortunatus*'s cap, a great many of which our

author mentions, as well as its colour and shape; and concludes with telling us, that the emperor *Claudius* caused a Gaulish nobleman to be put to death merely for having been found with one of these eggs in his bosom, and which, it seems, he wore there with a view of gaining a lawsuit in which he was engaged (8).

What increases our wonder of this ridiculous credulity, is, that a modern author (9) has endeavoured to confirm, in a great measure, what *Pliny* has related, by assuring us, that in several parts of *Dauphiné*, especially one place he names near the confines of *Savoy*, there is such a prodigious concourse of all kinds of serpents from the 5th of June to

(8) *Plin. lib. xxix. c. 3.*

(9) *Chavier. hist. du Dauphiné.*

the

strike out a more probable and advantageous meaning of this pretended piece of superstition, than that author could, or was, perhaps, willing to do.

We must first take notice of an antient Gaulish monument in the great cathedral of *Paris*, on which this ceremony of catching the egg is represented pretty near in the same manner as *Pliny* has given it. Another has been found in *Italy*<sup>4</sup>, on which are carved two serpents, the one holding the egg in its mouth, and the other shaping and polishing it with its spittle. If the reader remembers what has been said in the cosmogony of the world, at the entrance of this work<sup>5</sup>, of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* looking upon the egg to be the principle of all things; that it was represented as coming forth out of the mouth of a serpent, the emblem of the Godhead, or perhaps rather of wisdom; and if we add what *Plutarch* observes, that the theology of the antients ascribed to the egg the priority of time, and the seed of all things; he will easily decypher a much sublimer meaning in the mythology of this egg, than that *Roman* author could, or was perhaps willing to see in it, either from those emblematic monuments, or fabulous reports, from which he took his ridiculous account: for it must be further observed, that the druids were very fond of wrapping up all their learning, and even their moral precepts, in such kinds of mysterious and enigmatic figures (I). One doctrine,

he

<sup>4</sup> *Antiq. expliq. Relig. des Gaules*, lib. i. c. 26. lib. iii. c. ult.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i. p. 27, & seq. p. 34, & seq.

the 15th of *August*, that there is „ came to dwindle, as it began to not one to be seen for the space of ten miles round the place. He adds, that the ground where they assemble is left covered with a kind of scum, which fills one with horror. But he says, that no care had been taken to inquire after the story of the egg, whether it was fact, or only an imposture of the druids. If any thing could persuade us, that the antient *Gauls* could give into such ridiculous superstitions, it would be the seeing of them so easily swallowed by the modern ones.

(I) However, we would not deny but after their power

do from the coming in of the *Romans*, they might slacken apace from their antient purity, and make a trade of such superstitious fooleries as they would have despised whilst in the height of their wealth and sway, when nothing could well tempt them to it. It is, doubtless, to these latter times, that we must suppose the antient comedy, called *Quernus*, or *Aulularia*, which exposes the druidish knavery with so much wit and sharpness, to have referred to; and perhaps, also, that which another author says of them (1), that in their lectures of morality they

(1) *Strabo*, lib. iv.

gave

he tells us, they taught, that fire and water would at length absorb all things.

BEFORE we leave this subject, we must not omit saying something of their famed druidesses, and the great esteem they *idestas*, or were in among the *Gauls*, as well as among the *Germans*. *female* We have already shewed, that antiently the *Gaulish* women *druides* bore a great sway in this country, of which the druids, in time, stripped them ; but it is likely, that the druidesses held still great part of their own credit, especially on account of their being thought endowed with the spirit of prophecy ; for we cannot find, that they were famed for any thing else ; and some of them, we find, were among the lowest rank of people (K).

THERE were three classes of druidesses in *Gaul*, the chief *Three or ders of them.* of which was of those who kept a perpetual virginity ; for these were thought to have the spirit of prophecy. The next was that of those, who, though married, were yet obliged to abstain from the matrimonial intercourse, except one single time in the whole year, in which they were allowed to go and have children by them ; after which, they returned to their office, which was, to assist the druids at their religious fun-

\* TACIT. lib. iv. c. 54, & seq. de mor. Germ. DIO, in fragm. xlxi. PLIN. & al.

gave this for a maxim, that the fertility of their fields depended upon their richness, and the largeness of their revenues.

(K) Witness *Diolefian's* hostes, who, when he was but a private man in the *Roman* army, then in *Gaul*, foretold him, that he should become emperor after he had killed a boar, or rather, *Aper*, as the issue shewed it a little time after (2). We have seen, likewise, in the *Roman* history, that their emperors were not above consulting, and being advised by them ; particularly *Severus* (3) and *Aurelian*, the latter of whom asking some of them how long the empire should last in his family, they made no difficulty to tell him boldly, that

that of *Claudius* would one day become the most illustrious (4). We shall not take upon us to inquire how they came by this extraordinary gift, or whether it was real, or a mere cheat and pretence ; only we would observe, that the latter cannot be supposed, without allowing at the same time, that the druids themselves were likewise imposed upon by them ; else it is not likely they would have allowed them to reign so long, and bear such sway in all religious and civil matters, contrary to the practice of the *Indian* brachmans, and other sects of antient philosophers, who never admitted their women into any of their mysteries (5).

(2) See vol. xv. p. 484, 485.

(3) Ibid. p. 369, (1).

(4) *Epopicus in*

*Aurel. sub fin.*

(5) *Vide Plin. ubi suprad.* Tacit. lib. iv. Strab. lib. xv.

cations.

ctions. The last were a kind of servants or attendants, on the others; and this we learn rather from some antient monuments and inscriptions <sup>1</sup>, than from antient authors, who have said little more of them, than that they were prophetesses. Both druids and druidesses pretended to a great knowlege in astrology, calculated peoples nativities, erected figures, and foretold strange things, both by that, and much more by their inhuman auguries; of which bloody custom we shall give a specimen in the note (L). But those, who were stiled prophetesses, were thought to have a gift superior to the rest, and which was looked upon as supernatural: these were called by some superior title, such as that of dame was heretofore among us, and were in the highest request, not only among their own people, but likewise among foreign nations. As for the others, they were much less regarded; and their night-assemblies about ponds and marshes, to worship and consult the moon, and some other sorceries they pretended to use, made them be looked upon as downright witches, canibals, *lamiæ, pythonisse, stræ, and every thing that is black and horrid*, by Christian authors, from the sixth century downwards <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GRUTER. p. 62. Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. c. 27.  
ibid. & auct. ab eo citat.

Idem

(L) It appears, by comparing what antiquaries have been able to collect from some antient Gaulish monuments, concerning this bloody ceremony, with what Strabo says of it <sup>{6}</sup>, as it was practised among the *Cimbri*, who were a branch of the old *Celtes*, that there was no material difference between them in this respect. We shall therefore give the purport of what that antient author hath left us of it, which is as follows:

The druidesses were, on these occasions, like the druids, cloathed in white tunics, fastened with hooks, and girt with a brass girdle, and without shoes. As soon as the *Cimbrians* had taken any captives, these women flew upon them with drawn swords in

their hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a large capacious *labrum*, or cistern, by the side of which was a kind of foot-stool, on which the druidess then officiating stood, who plunged a long knife into the breast of each of these unfortunate wretches, one after another, as fast as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood she formed her predictions. The other druidesses, who assisted, took up the breathless bodies, opened and examined their entrails, and from thence likewise foretold some new things, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

THE next order among them, in great esteem, was that of *The bards*, the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with *their* <sup>of</sup> the druids, and looked upon the former to be only a more *mo-fice*. <sup>modest</sup> name given to them; but there is a passage in *Strabo*, which quite explodes that notion, where he says <sup>w</sup>, that the *Different* druids were in the highest power, and gave laws to the *vates*, <sup>from the embages,</sup> and bards, who were every-where to give them place, when they pleased to challenge it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their consent and approbation. Besides, we are told by that, and a number of other authors, that these bards were so called from their office, which was, to sing the praises of their heroes <sup>x</sup>, and to accompany their songs with musical instruments; and that their compositions were held in the highest esteem, as the most effectual means of eternizing the memory of those who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them. One of the authors last-quoted adds, that they could at any time put a stop to a whole army's engaging, by their interposition: so great a power had wisdom and the mules over those barbarians <sup>y</sup>. It was their business to *Their of-* accompany the *Gaulish* armies with their songs, which were *fice in the generally calculated to inspire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death* <sup>z</sup>. During the onset, they used likewise to give some loud shouts, sometimes as of victory, at other times to intimate their danger, in case they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way; so that, though they did not really fight themselves, they were so intermingled with the army, that they ran, in some measure, the same risk with those that did (M). By this means, they were eye-witnesses of the combatants, and either celebrated their praises in their songs, or censured those that had not done their duty; and as these might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol those who had been faulty, or in praising either too much or too little, for favour or interest, it is thought they acquired the name of parasites <sup>a</sup>: but this seems very inconsistent with what we read of the great esteem they were in, unless we allow that word to have an-

\* Lib. iv.      x Diod. Sic. lib. vi. c. 9. LUCAN. lib. i. verf.  
447. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xv.      y Diod. Sicul. ubi supra.  
z PAUSAN. in Phoc.      a POSIDON. ap. Athen. lib. vi.

(M) This may be inferred from what we read of one of them, named *Pomponius*, a man in great esteem, both as a bard and a poet; who finding himself in great danger from the enemy, made a vow to *Mars*, their great protector, to sacrifice to him a boar, if he escaped safe (7).

(7) *Macrobius. Saturnal. lib. vi. c. 9;* *Ait. Coll. noet. Attic. lib. xvi. c. 6.*

Vates and evvates, (N). To these two orders we may add those of the *vates* and *evvates*, or *cubates*, which seem to have been still inferior to that of the bards; but whether they were so to each other, or the same under two names, is not easy to guess, with that little light we have from antient authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole is, that the druids presidèd over all religious matters, and bore a great sway in those of a civil nature. The bards were the recorders of all transactions, and treasured up in their poetic compositions the knowlege of things and persons, and communicated as much of it to the laity, by their songs, as the druids thought proper. The *vates* and *evvates* might be singers of these bardish compositions, and be further retained in the families of the great, to celebrate their praises and heroic acts; but, as the druids were more known to strangers than the rest, their name was given to all indifferently by antient historians.

*Their supposed office.*

DIONORUS and CICERO seem to mention a fifth sort, to wit, the *faronides*; but we have shewn a little higher, that it was but another name for that of the druids, as the learned BOCHART has fully proved <sup>b</sup>. As for the *flamens*, or *flamines*, though they have been supposed to have belonged to the druidish order, yet BISHOP ST. LILLINGFLEET has sufficiently disproved them to have been of *Celtic* or *Gaulish* extract. They were of the *Roman* kind, and of much later date than either druids or bards. We have spoken of them in a former volume <sup>c</sup>, and to that, and the learned prelate above-quoted, we shall refer our readers, and close this section of the *Gaulish* religion with observing, that, in spite of all the severe edicts of the *Roman* and Christian monarchs, there were still very visible traces of it, and of the very worst part of the druidish rites, practised

*The end of druidish superstition.*

<sup>b</sup> Vide & PELLOUTIER. hist. des Celt. lib. ii. c. 9.

<sup>c</sup> See

vol. xi. p. 297, (A).

(N) This word, though by length of time become a term of reproach, might not carry so harsh a meaning in our author; if it had, it is hardly credible those bards could have kept up their credit so long, and in so brave and warlike a nation. But, in our opinion, that name was given only to an inferior set of bards, who are judged to have

been a kind of clients, or *solduri*, who entered themselves into the service of some noblemen or generals, and bound themselves to live and die with them, and whose business it was to sing the praises of their patrons, in poems composed by the bards, before numerous crowds of people, who never failed to surround and listen to them (8).

(8) *Cassubien. in Atben. lib. vi.*

not

not only long after the settling of Christianity in *Gaul*, but even to the middle of the sixth century, as appears by a notable instance of it, which we shall give in the note (O).

(O) This fact is taken from *Procopius*, who was himself an eye-witness of it, and is as follows: *Theodebert I.* having penetrated into *Italy* at the head of a considerable army, and taken possession of the bridge of *Pavia*, his men offered in sacrifice the wives and children of the *Goths*, whom they had surprised, and cast their bodies into the river, as the first-fruits of that war. “For, says he, the *Franks*, though Christians, do still observe a great many of their antient superstitions. They offer up human victims, and use many execrable rites in their auguries.” And another author, who lived till the latter-end of the seventh century, has a long catalogue of such superstitions, against which, as he was a bishop, and since sainted for his piety, he forewarns his Christian flock. The reader may see the passage at large in the authors quoted below (9).

(9) *Vide Father Coint.* tom. i. & iii. *Fleury's eccl. hist.* tom. viii. *Relig. des Gauls.* l. i. c. 7.

#### S E C T. IV.

#### *Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Learning, Arts, Sciences, Commerce, and Customs, of the antient Gauls.*

WE have already spoken at large of the origin and antiquity *Their go-* of the *Gauls*, in the history of the *Celtes* their ancestors<sup>a</sup>; *vernment.* of their migrations and settlement in *Europe*, and of their antient monarchical government there<sup>b</sup>. How and when it came afterwards to dwindle, and split itself into that variety of forms in which the *Romans* found them afterwards, were in vain to inquire after, considering that they kept neither history nor records but what was couched in the songs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as possible, from public knowlege, and only sung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occasions, rather to stimulate the people to an imitation of their heroes, than to preserve any regular series of their transactions. All therefore that can be offered by way of conjecture concerning this change, from hints and scraps of foreign authors, is as follows.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. vi. p. 1, & seq. 11, & seq. 34, & seq. 23, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p.

*Various forms of it.* THE Gauls were by this time (though still under the same name, using the same language and customs, and governed by the same general laws) under different governments, some of which were monarchical, others aristocratical, others partly so, and partly democratical ; and these were, by way of distinction, called free<sup>c</sup>. Tacitus reckons no less than sixty-four of these cities<sup>d</sup>, or, as Cæsar better explains it<sup>e</sup>, regions, or districts, who were under this kind of government. These little commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but antiently every year they chose a magistrate for civil, and a general for military affairs<sup>f</sup> ; yet these, as well as those that were under a kingly government, observed one constant law, to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation ; in which, whatever related to the common interest of the whole nation, was debated and settled (A).

*Grand council of the nation.* Those of the free republics. The free commonwealths had, moreover, a law common to them all, that whoever heard any report, or common rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the common interest, they were obliged to acquaint their magistrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magistrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the rest ; for it was not lawful for any person to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council<sup>g</sup>. All that can be gathered, relating to this grand assembly, out of the same historian, the reader may see in the subsequent note (B). Upon the whole, then, this grand

<sup>c</sup> CÆSAR. comment. I. i. c. i. vi. c. 4.  
I. iii. <sup>e</sup> Comment. ibid. <sup>f</sup> STRAB. I. v.

<sup>d</sup> TACIT. ann.  
<sup>g</sup> Comment. I. vi. c. 4.

(A) And, indeed, these warlike people were in no small need of such a general council, since they made war one of their chief employments, and were no sooner free from a foreign one, but they immediately fell a quarreling among themselves : so that, to prevent these intestine broils, the chief business of that grand assembly was, to find out some plausible pretence for carrying it against some of their

neighbours, either to pull down those that were over-grown, and raised their jealousy, or to protect the oppressed, or furnish some allies with a number of auxiliaries, and such-like (1).

(B) The Gauls, says that conqueror (2), demanded that a general council of their whole nation should be summoned, and that it might be done by his consent. A council was, accordingly, assembled at *Bibracte*,

(1) Comm. I. vi. c. 4, &c. 6. Strab. I. iv. Mela, I. iii. c. 3.  
I. c. 12.

(2) Comm.

grand council was the dernier resort of the *Gauls*, wherein Grand every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, distribution of plunder, and such-like, between district and district, was finally determined. For if, for instance, after some successful victory or excursion, any debate happened about the plunder, as it seldom failed to be followed with a great deal of bloodshed, if not timely prevented (and, if *Polybius* may be credited, bloody frays often happened for such trifles as the plunder of a good store of victuals, and especially of wine<sup>b</sup>) ; the dispute Common-wealth. was deferred to the assembly of the district, or commonwealth. But whenever it happened, as it often did, between district and district, the grand council must either determine between them, or else they were sure to butcher one another, till one side was forced to give over. So that *Tacitus* had great reason to say of them, as he did of their neighbours the *Germans* ; “ If they will not be in friendship with us, let them at least fall out among themselves : fortune can do no greater service, than to set them thus at variance with each other<sup>c</sup>.” As to those small commonwealths, they seem to have had such an aversion to kingly government, that one of them, that of the *Adui* (C), ordered the great *Certillus*, the father of *Vercingetorix*,

<sup>b</sup> L. ii.<sup>c</sup> German. c. 33.

where was a vast concourse from all parts of the nation (3). And elsewhere he tells us, that he summoned that *Gaulish* council to meet in the spring ; and the *Treviri*, *Serones*, and *Carnuti*, not coming with the rest, he adjourned it to meet at *Paris* (4).

Among those who opposed his measures, was *Dumnorix*, one of the chiefs of the *Aduan* commonwealth, against whom he had sent an order to have him slain ; who, thereupon, applied himself to the council, alleging, that he was a member of a free commonwealth, and begged to be protected by them (5). Another was *Vercingetorix*, who, *Cæsar* says, flattered himself that he

should be able to unite such commonwealths to him, as disengaged from the rest of the *Gaulish* cities, and to form such a general council of all *Gaul*, as the whole world should not be able to withstand (6).

This is all that we can meet with concerning those grand councils ; but as to other particulars relating either to the extent of their power, the time, manner, and place of their being summoned, and held, and the like, history leaves us in the dark.

(C) Th<sup>e</sup> *Adui* were one of the three chief commonwealths in *Gaul* (7), and situate near *Autun*. The country is now called Lower Burgundy.

(3) *Ibid.* (4) L. vi. c. 1.  
(7) *Tacit.* l. iii. *Cæs.* comm. l. v.

(5) L. v. c. 3. (6) L. vii. c. 6.

*Intestine  
divisions.*

*cingetorix*, lately mentioned, a man in great power and credit, and esteemed the first man in *Gaul*, to be put to death, for having aspired to the kingdom<sup>k</sup>. At the same time they were so extremely jealous of each other's power, that they were obliged to enter into combinations against each other, and the little ones to put themselves under the protection of the greater ones; an instance of which we gave in the last note. *Cæsar* sometimes calls the former tributary and subject to the latter, but most commonly confederate with them. Upon his first entrance into *Gaul* he found it divided into two factions: the *Ædui* were at the head of one, and the *Arverni* at the head of the other; and both, he tells us, had for many years contended for the superiority, whilst the *Bituriges*, a people in the province of *Berri*, and neighbours of the *Arverni*, were still in subjection to the *Ædui*; and the *Sequani*, who lived in *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Comté*, and neighbours to the *Ædui*, were under the protection of the *Arverni*<sup>l</sup>.

*Improved  
by J. Cæsar.* SUCH were the unhappy divisions between the *Gaulish* commonwealths (D), which gave so great an advantage to the *Romans*

<sup>k</sup> *Vide & comment.* l. vi. c. 11.  
c. 4.

<sup>l</sup> *Idem*, l. i. c. 12. vi.

The other two were the *Arverni* and the *Rherii*. The former of these were sited on the river *Loire*; their capital was called *Arvernus*, now *Clémont*, the capital of *Guise*; and they became, in time, so powerful, that, according to *Strabo*, they made war against *Cæsar* with four hundred thousand men (8), and, a little before the arrival of that conqueror, had quite weakened their rivals the *Ædui*, by withdrawing most of their clients and dependents (9): and it was, probably, upon this juncture, that they condemned that great commander of theirs to lose his head, and chose his son in his stead.

The *Rherii* were the old inhabitants of the country of

*Rheims*, whose antient and famous metropolis still bears the same name, and is one of the greatest and most populous cities of *France*.

(D) Accordingly, we find the *Senones*, or rather *Semones*, who inhabited some part of the *Lia-nois*, joining in league with that of the *Parisians*, and both soon after putting themselves under the protection of the *Ædui*. The *Bellovacii*, a very populous commonwealth, and in great repute and authority among the *Belge* (1), were likewise allied with them. Their capital, then a very considerable city, was called *Bellovacum*, and *Cæsaromagus*; their country still retains the name of *Beauvois*.

(8) *Caes.* l. iv.

(9) *Comment.* l.

4. vii. c. 10

(1) *Idem*, l. ii.

*Romans* against them, and which they failed not to improve, according to their w<sup>nted</sup> policy, as we shall see in the sequel. *Cæsar*, finding the *Arverni* too strong for, and averse to him, entered into an alliance with the *Adui*, who were by this time become vastly inferior to them, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the *Roman* people. Their *His policy and ad-* <sup>example was soon followed by others, so that partly by ca-</sup> *drifts.*

he facilitated the conquest of that noble and warlike nation, which, had it been more united in interest, and form of its government, must, in all appearance, have proved too hard for him.

BUT, notwithstanding this great multitude and variety of *Thir petty kings.* commonwealths, it is plain, that both *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, still swarmed with petty kingdoms, that is, with districts governed by kings, whom the *Romans* stiled *reguli*, or petty kings, but the *Gauls* stiled kings (E), though their dominions

*Cæsar* reckons, moreover, five different people under the dominion of the *Nervii* (2), another antient, fierce, and warlike people of *Belgia*, supposed to have dwelt in the now diocese of *Cambray*; these were the *Centrones*, or inhabitants of *Courtray*. *Gruddii*, supposed to have dwelt about *Bruges*; the *Levavi*, about *Louvain*; the *Pleumofii*, or *Pleumafii*, whose situation is uncertain; and the *Gorduni*, situate in the neighbourhood of *Ghent*. The *Eburones* and *Condruſii*, who lived in the territories of *Liege* and *Numur*, were clients to the *Trewhiri*, or inhabitants of the country of *Triers*, the then principal nation in *Belgia prima*. The *Venetii*, or inhabitants of *Gallia Ar morita*, or *Britany*, composed so powerful a commonwealth, that our author (3) tells us, their dominion was one of the most extensive.

(E) The word *rex* seems plainly enough to be of *Celtic*

extract; to wit, from *ry*, or *regb*, prince, or lord: hence we have shewed in a former volume (4), *Rhei*, *Jove's* mother, to have had that name given her, as implying a lady, or princess, as she really was. The name of *Rhei* might therefore be given to those antient monarchs, till their vast kingdom came to split itself, as we have seen above, into so many petty principalities and commonwealths; at which time, it is probable, those petty kings came to be called *Tyrannies*, or, according to the old *Celtic*, *Tyr-rban-wir*, from their being the persons who divided the people into such districts, or communities, and settled the boundaries of each, as well as the portions of land which every family under them was to be intitled to. Hence the *tyrannoſ* of the *Greeks*, and the word *tyrant*, might at first carry a much better meaning, till their degeneracy made it to become so

(2) *L.* v. c. 11.

(3) *L.* iv. c. 2.

(4) *Vol. vi. p. 44, in fin. (K).*

*How chosen.*

minions were ever so small. These differed from the magistrates of commonwealths, in that they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, in that it was not hereditary (F), but sometimes conferred by the people upon such as were in the greatest esteem for justice, wisdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the *Bituriges* did one over the *Celtæ*, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*<sup>m</sup>; sometimes a brave and powerful man forced himself upon the throne: and even those who seem to have come to the crown by succession, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as those that were chosen by them. This is, at least, what *Ambiorix*, king of the *Eburones*, owns,

<sup>m</sup> *Livy*, l. v.

odious, that they changed it for those of princes, dukes, earls, &c<sup>(5)</sup>.

The author of the *Mona antiqua*, above quoted, thinks the name and office of those *tyrants* to be of much older date; and that, in all probability, some such power or dignity is tacitly implied in one of the *statutes of the sons of Noah*, called *de iudicis* (6). We have formerly given our sentiment concerning that rabbinic book (7) so much discredited by some, and so strongly defended by our learned *Selden*. But, without having recourse to such questioned authorities, reason plainly tells us, that from the first dispersion there must have been some such *tyr-rhanwirs*, or land-assigners, as the word implies, to prevent the continual quarrels that must inevitably happen for want of them.

*Moses* further observes (8), that the three families of *Noah's sons* were, after the flood, divided

after their tongues and families, *begojebem*, in their nations, that is, into separate communities, over whom the chief, or head, presided, and was the *rhey*, or lord, and *tyr-rhanwir*, or assigner of their proper lands in each settlement; and who should be fitter for such an office, than those who bore the greatest authority?

(F) At least *J. Caesar* mentions several eminent private men, whose ancestors had been formerly invested with the regal dignity, and, among these, *Casticus*, whose father had been many years king of the *Sequani* (9); *Piso*, whose grandfather had reigned in *Agustania* (1); and *Tasgetius*, whose ancestors had been kings of the *Carnutes* (2), and whose territories retain still the name of *Chartrain*. So that they seem rather to have been magistrates for life, than real kings, especially as their power is affirmed to have been limited by the people.

(5) See *Rowland's Mona antiqua*, p. 41, & seq.  
*Gol.* c. 1. (7) *I'ol.* i. p. 259, & seq.  
 (1) *L. ii. c. 3.* (2) *L. v. .. 8,*

(6) *Hirtman. Frauc-*  
 (8) *Genesi x* (9) *L. i. c. 2.*

with relation to himself. “ The constitution of our government, says he, is such, that the people have no less power and authority over me, than I have over them.” This form has been, indeed, much admired by *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, *Cicero*, and especially by *Plato*, as by far the safest, and most excellent; because, as the last of these rightly observes, should kingly government be left without a bridle, when it hath attained the supreme power, as it stands upon such slippery ground, it easily falls into tyranny. “ For this reason, says he, it ought to be restrained, as with a curb, by the authority of the nobles, and of such chosen men as the people have empowered for that end and purpose.”

IT is not easy to guess how many of these kingdoms and commonwealths there were in *Gaul*; but both were equally courted by the *Romans*, and for the same reason; to wit, to withdraw from, and weaken the force of those that opposed their conquests. These petty kings, especially, were often corrupted by dint of gifts, promises, or some fine titles, such as *Caesredd* that of *friends and confederates of Rome*, to embroil the *Gaulish* *ruptured by affairs*, and foment dissensions among their little kingdoms and *J. Cæsar*. republics: even the poorest and most inconsiderable amongst them were thought worth their while to bring over to them; and if they found them busy and active in their interest, they failed not to reward them in such a manner as was most likely to draw others into the same treacherous practices. Among those whom *Cæsar* mentions among the friends and allies of *Rome*, was *Catamantales*, king of the *Sequani*<sup>p</sup>, the grandfather of *Piso*, mentioned a little higher, who reigned in *Aquitain*, and whose name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and *Olevico*, king of the *Nitivbriges*, or people of *Age-nois*, who had that title bestowed upon him by the *Roman* senate<sup>q</sup>. Among those who made the noblest resistance against *Several of the Romans*, was *Divitiacus*, king of the *Sueffones*, a brave <sup>them fire-</sup> people of *Gallia Belgica*, who was one of the most potent <sup>nuously op-</sup>princes of all *Gallia*. His territories were large and fruitful: he had twelve considerable cities, one of which, *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*, *Cæsar* afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, as we have elsewhere shewn<sup>r</sup>, notwithstanding they had brought five hundred thousand fighting men against him. This prince's dominions is said<sup>s</sup> to have extended even to *Little Britany*. He was succeeded by *Galba*, at the time when *Cæsar* invaded them<sup>t</sup>. Thus much for the *Gaulish* government,

<sup>a</sup> Comment. l. v. c. 8.      <sup>b</sup> Vide HOTTO MAN. Franco-Gall. in fin. c. i.      <sup>c</sup> Comment. l. i. c. 2.      <sup>d</sup> L. iv. c. 3.      <sup>e</sup> L. viii. c. 6.      <sup>f</sup> See before, vol. xiii. p. 164, & seq.      <sup>g</sup> L. ii. c. 1, & seq.

*The cause  
of their  
quick and  
easy con-  
quests.*

which we shall close with a severe reflection which that conqueror makes upon it, and which will shew how much their intestine feuds contributed to his conquest of them. “ Among the Gauls, says he <sup>“</sup>, not only all their cities, cantons, and districts, but even almost all families, are divided and torn by factions. These are generally caused and fomented by their princes and demagogues, who exercise a kind of arbitrary power and authority over their inferiors and dependents, and manage all public matters with an uncontrollable sway.” *Tacitus* observes much the same thing <sup>w</sup> of it; so that, in spite of all their bravery, their ruin seems no less than inevitable, when so torn and dismembered from within; and invaded by such powerful and politic enemies from without.

*Their laws  
unknown  
to us.*

WHETHER these disasters were occasioned through the want of a good body of laws, or through the neglect and violation of them, is not easy to determine. We have, indeed, observed, in a former volume, that *Mercury* is said to have civilized the *Celtic* nation, in many respects, and, amongst other things, that he gave them a set of laws <sup>x</sup>. Another author gives the credit of this to one *Samothres*, a man of profound learning and wisdom among them, and said to have been the founder of the *Celtic* monarchy <sup>y</sup>. But what those laws were, if any such were, indeed, compiled for them, we are wholly in the dark (G). If we may, however, guess from some instances

<sup>u</sup> L. vi. c. 11. <sup>w</sup> Annal. l. i. c. 11. <sup>x</sup> See vol. vi. p. 23. & 52. <sup>y</sup> See *Lewis's hist. Brit.* and the authors quoted by him, book i. ch. 2.

(G) The druids and bards, who had the keeping and interpreting of them, were, indeed, too cautious to divulge them to strangers, or even to any of their nation, except to those of their own order; since they observed the same silence with relation to all other branches of learning, which they carefully concealed from the people. But, whatever that system of laws may have been, it must have suffered a total change, upon the abolition of the monarchy, and the dismembering of the whole into so many petty kingdoms and com-

monwealths. And, indeed, by all we can gather from *Cæsar*, or any other ancient author, they seem so far from having been tied by any common body of laws, that, except that of holding a general assembly every year, and another of permitting all private quarrels and contests to be decided by single combat, of which more hereafter, and which every community was obliged to permit, they rather appear to have been wholly governed by the decisions of the council, whether of each district, or of the whole nation, unless

stances of their history, they seem to have held one general *A strange maxim of the Gauls.* maxim ; to wit, that the longest sword had the best title ; and that it was the design of the Supreme Being, that the strongest should strip the weakest ; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him. The following instance, *out of Livy*<sup>2</sup>, is a pregnant one, that this was an established principle amongst them. The reader will see it in the note (H).

NEITHER

<sup>2</sup> LIVY, l. v. c 35, & seq. PLUTARCH. in Camil.

where kings bore an absolute sway, if any such there were ; for, as far as we can find, most of this sort were as much subject to the people, as they to them.

(H) The *Senones*, of whom we have spoken a little higher, finding themselves too much freightened in their territories, fell foul upon the city of *Clusium*, whose territories happened to lie very convenient for them ; upon which, the besieged applied to the *Roman* senate for help, who being, at that juncture, unwilling to enter into a war with the aggressors, contented themselves with sending three young patriots of the *Fabian* family, in a friendly embassy to them. These opened their commission before the general assembly of the *Gauls*, which was, in substance, to require the *Senones* to cease all further hostilities against the *Clusians* ; otherwise the senate would be obliged, against their will, to support the oppressed, against whom they could allege no cause of complaint. To this the *Gauls* answered, with their usual politeness, to the following effect ; to wit, that though they were not acquainted with the *Romans*, they could not but have a great notion of their bravery, seeing the *Clusians* had implored their assistance under

their present unhappy situation.  
 " Your principals, continued they, having chosen to send an embassy to us, rather than their forces, to support their allies, we do not refuse the peace which you offer to us, provided the *Clusians*, who hold more lands than they cultivate, agree to yield some of them to us, who are in want of them. This is the only condition upon which we can make peace with you, and we desire a positive answer before your departure. If the *Clusians* will not agree to it, we are ready to give them battle, even now, before you, that you may be able to inform your countrymen, how much the *Gauls* are superior to other nations, in point of bravery."

To this the ambassadors replied, without seeming to understand the force of the last words, that they could not but look upon it as a piece of great injustice, to insist upon a people's yielding the territories they were lawfully possessed of, and to wage war against them, because they refused to do so. Whereupon *Brennus*, the *Gaulish* leader, without farther ceremony, answered, that the *Gauls* carried their right at the point of their sword ; and that

*Decided  
their law  
suits, &c.  
by single  
combat.*

*Appealed  
to that  
from any  
court, juri-  
stice;*

NEITHER was this maxim of theirs confined to foreign conquests, but extended itself to the decision of private right among themselves ; for when any debates arose amongst them, about their possessions, about any injury or affront given or received, especially among those of the better sort, in case the council or public magistrate did not give sentence to the satisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by single combat. Neither could their magistrates deny them that liberty, when once insisted upon by either party ; nor could the opposite decline the challenge, without giving up the point, and being branded with ignominy. Antiently, indeed, that is, whilst the whole *Gaulish* nation were under a monarchical government, the druids and bards (who, as we have formerly hinted, were the keepers and interpreters of their laws, and presided in all their courts and councils with such an uncontroled sway, that it was the most dangerous thing to contravene their decisions), such disputes may have been, and, it is most likely, were actually decided by these courts and councils ; but after they came to be separated into so many different governments, they began to look upon such subjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to substitute this way of single combat to it, not only as the shortest, but as the more honourable, and more agreeable

that the brave had the best title to all things. " You yourselves, " said he, have made no scruple " to strip the *Albanians*, *Fide-  
nates*, *Volsii*, &c. of the greatest part of their territories ; " and yet you did nothing, in " all this, that we pretend to " censure, as either strange, or " unjust : for you only followed the prime and most ancient of all laws, which obliges " the weak to give way to the strong. This law seems to be derived from the Deity itself, " and extends down to the very brutes, amongst which, the strongest naturally seek to subdue the weakest. Cease, " then, to take the part of the besieged *Cingians*, let the *Gauls* shoud one day think them-

" selves obliged, in their turn, " to shew the same compassion " towards those whom you have " oppressed." This was, indeed, such an argument as the *Romans* could never answer, but tacitly approved, and followed, though they had not the ingenuity to own it, as the *Gauls* did, upon all such occasions. What the success of this embassy was, is foreign to our present subject : we have given a full account of it in a former volume (3), and only repeat it here to shew, by what laws this nation was chiefly governed ; to wit, that of the strongest arm ; and that if ever they had any other laws, they suffered them to be superseded by this, which they falsely called the law of nature.

(3.) See before, vol. xi. p. 531, & seq.

to that received maxim of theirs, that Providence was engaged to side with the right party ; and that success was a sure token that the conqueror had the best title to the thing in dispute. And as the party who thought himself injured had a right to appeal to this way of duel, to justify his dissatisfaction, even though the king himself had given sentence against him, and his opponent was obliged to submit to it ; so if the case of the two contenders was so intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they used to adjudge them to this method of ending the contest. Even the very witnesses, if their depositions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themselves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by single combat, was looked upon as of greater weight and authority than any sentence that was passed either by king, or court of judicature (1).

To such a degree of fondness for these single combats were *Strange* they grown, that the very candidates for places of honour or *fondness* trust, when their pretensions or merit were esteemed nearly *for duels,* equal, had recourse to it ; and, even among the druids themselves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any dispute arose about the number or validity of the votes of those who had the choosing of him <sup>a</sup>. And, what was still more prodigious, these challenges were often sent for mere punctilio, and trifling piques, especially at their feasts, and drunken revels, and many times out of mere ostentation, and to make parade of their strength

<sup>a</sup> Comment. I. vi. c. 13. TACIT. ann. I. xxiii. c. 57. N. DAMASCEN. VEGET. de re milit. & al.

(I) Accordingly, we read of two contending brothers in *Spain*, between whom *Scipio* would fain have compromised their dispute about the succession ; who told him, with one accord, that they would submit to no judgment, either of God or man, but to that of *Mars* (4). *Herodotus*, who often confounds the *Scythians* with the *Celtes*, tells us, that they were wont to keep, and shew to the strangers, that traveled through their countries,

the heads of those whom they had thus overcome in single combat, in quarrels about property, honour, and such-like (5). The same custom was also practised among the *Germans*, who are reported to have lulled *Varro* asleep, by complimenting him with having found out the means to end quarrels and disputes by the way of justice, which they were wont to decide by the sword (6).

(4) *Livy*, I. xxvii. c. 22.

(5) *Herodot.* I. vi. c. 68.

(6) *Velleii*

*Pater.* I. i. c. 116.

and bravery. We shall give two or three instances out of *Livy* in the note (K), which will sufficiently shew how fond and tenacious they were of this general law of deciding all controversies by the sword.

*Still preserved among the French.*

How long this duelling humour has been preserved among some of our neighbours, and how little to their credit, in spite of their specious pretence of honour, we need not here observe : their ancestors, it is plain from their history, made war their chiefest trade, and highest glory ; and if they carried that favourite passion to excess, this may be said, in extenuation of it, not only that the same warlike phrensy reigned all over Europe, and far beyond, but, likewise, they were under a kind of necessity of indulging it to the utmost, in order to put a stop to the encroachments of a neighbouring nation, who aimed at no less than the enslaving of all the world (L). No wonder,

(K) Speaking of the funeral obsequies which *Scipio Africanus* performed to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the Spanish wars, he tells us, that there came vast crowds of persons of distinction to *Carthagoena*, a city in Spain, said to have been built by *Asdrubal*, to honour that ceremony by single combats. "These," says he, "did not fight like common gladiators, either by force, or for money, but of their own accord, and free will." Some were sent thither by their princes, to display their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight there out of ostentation; and others, because they could not refuse the challenge that was sent to them. Amongst them were some, who, having law-suits, or some controversies with others, agreed among themselves to put off the decision of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the estate or

thing in dispute should fall to the conqueror (7). The other instance, which we have out of the same author (8), is of some Gaulish mountaineers, who were generally looked upon as some of the rudest and fiercest of that nation, whom *Hannibal* had taken prisoners; these the Carthaginian general ordered to be brought at the head of his army; and, having provided them with a sufficient number of Gallic arms, offered them their liberty, upon condition that they should engage in single combat, and vanquish every man his antagonist; promising, moreover, that every victor should be presented with an horse, and a set of warlike accoutrements. This they readily accepted, and, in sight of the whole army, fought with such intrepid bravery, that the spectators knew not which to admire most, the victor, or the vanquished.

(L) The Gauls, as well as Germans, Spaniards, &c. had the more reason to oppose the Ro-

(7) *Livy*, l. xxviii. c. 21.

(8) *L.* xxi. c. 42.

*mans,*

wonder, then, if in such a case they used all possible means to inure themselves to martial deeds, to inspire their youth with a contempt of death, and thirst after glory and liberty, and to prefer an honourable death to an ignominious slavery. This became, accordingly, such a settled maxim among them, that they seemed to have no other concern in this world, than either to preserve their liberty, or to avoid slavery by a noble death<sup>b</sup>. Whenever, therefore, we shall see their descendants encourage these kinds of single combats from the same laudable motives, we shall readily own them to tread in the steps of their warlike ancestors. But if their views rather tend to rob other nations of their liberty, than to preserve their own, they will be justly chargeable with having improved the *Gallic* ferocity, by the superaddition of the *Roman* ambition and tyranny. But to return to the antient *Gauls*:

THEY had such a singular contempt of life, when not accompanied with liberty and martial deeds, that either upon the *loss of liberty*, age, wounds, or any chronic diseases, they either put an end to their days, or else prevailed upon their friends to do it, esteeming this last state as much a kind of slavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they *found themselves so strightly besieged by their enemies, that sperate behaviour.*

<sup>b</sup> TACIT. ann. I. ii. c. 15.

*mans*, with all their might, because they knew, by the experience of other nations, that, where-ever these new conquerors got the better, they overturned their fundamental laws, put an end to all their public councils, gave them new governors and magistrates, disarmed the people, loaded them with such heavy taxes, and subjected them to such a new form of government, as appeared to them intolerable.

To all these we may add a much greater instance of the *Roman* tyranny; which was, that when any of these brave nations, that had been unfortunately brought under their heavy yoke, made any attempt, as

it was natural and laudable in them to do, or were even but suspected by their despotic masters to have a design, to regain their liberty, they were sure to be made such dreadful examples to the rest, as can hardly be mentioned without horror. We shall refer our readers to the *Roman* history, for numberless instances of their cruelty to those brave nations, and only observe here, that nothing could more effectually inspire such a brave warlike one as this of the *Gauls*, with a spirit of liberty, and detestation of the *Roman* tyranny, than those dismal catastrophes of their unfortunate neighbours, which they had before their eyes.

they

they could hold out no longer, instead of thinking how to make the most honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care, many times, was, to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into slavery. In the field, when they were forced to make such a hasty retreat, that they could not readily procure carriages for those who were not able to follow them on foot, as the sick, wounded, and the like ; they made no scruple to dispatch them out of hand. And this was so far from being reckoned an hardship on them, that it was what they begged, with the greatest vehemence and earnestness ; of all which we have seen very many instances through the course of this work, and shall beg leave to subjoin in the note two more, very remarkable in their kind (M).

IX

(M) The first is of their famous, and, till then, successful general, *Brennus*, who, being dangerously wounded in that unfortunate expedition which he undertook against *Greece*, and seeing his army destroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly by hunger, cold, and other accidents, called together the broken remnant of his troops, and advised them to choose *Cicborius* for their leader, who should first dispatch him, and all the sick and wounded, and afterwards lead them back into their own country. The thing was accordingly executed by him, and twenty thousand of that unhappy people were put to death. *Brennus*, only, chose to die by his own hands, as the most glorious death of the two, in his opinion (9). The other is of those *Gauls*, who, being on the eve of giving battle to *Antigonus*, and being threatened by their aruspices with a total overthrow, went first, and killed their

wives and children, and then resolutely marched to meet that glorious death, which their sooth-sayers had foretold to them (1). With the same spirit of liberty did those act, who were unfortunately taken prisoners by their enemies, before they had time to dispatch themselves : for if once the conqueror began to treat them as slaves, to load them with chains, or condemn them to hard labour, they seldom failed taking the first opportunity of putting an end to their slavery by a voluntary death ; even the very loading them with chains, as was commonly used by all nations, has raised this spirit in them to such an height, that they have rushed upon, and butchered, one another, by mutual consent (2). Neither was this love of liberty confined to the men, their women are no less famous for it in history ; nor did they come short of the *Spartan*, and other female heroines, but rather ex-

(9) Excerpt. ex *Diod. Sic.* l. xxii. ap. *Iega!*. *Hesych.* p. 158. Vide *Pelloutier*. *Biss. Cels.* l. iii. c. 12. *Justin.* ex *Tig.* l. xvii. c. 8. *Parian.* in *Ploc.* c. 23.  
(1) *Justin.* l. xxvi. . . 2 (2) *Ibidem ibid.* *Vida & Fiorum*, l. ii. c. 11. iv. 12.

IN the mean time, it will not be improper to take notice of Strabo's judicious reflection<sup>1</sup> which *Strabo* makes upon this excessive judicious love of liberty, and contempt of death, which reigned among the *Gauls*; to wit, that it very much facilitated the conquest of that nation; because their pouring thus furiously their numerous troops upon such an experienced enemy as the *Romans* were, under *Cæsar*, their want of conduct and circumspection, made them rather increase the number of the vanquished, than stop the progress of the conqueror; whereas those in *Spain*, by dividing their forces, and a prudent choice of the most advantageous grounds, and strongest passes, and disputing with them every such place, inch by inch, made their conquest more difficult, and longer in completing<sup>2</sup>. This remark is certainly very just, and the *Spaniards*, by joining policy to their valour, put off their slavery some few years longer; whereas the *Gauls*, trusting too much to their number and bravery, were more speedily reduced: yet were the former wanting in a main point of politics, as we have observed in their history<sup>3</sup>, and divided into too many states and interests; whereas, had they joined their forces against the common enemy, they might, in all likelihood, have baffled all the *Roman* valour and policy. For, as the same historian observes, in another place<sup>4</sup>, it was by this way of conquering a little state after another, that both the *Carthaginians*, and, after them, the *Romans*, made themselves masters of that country.

THIS is not a proper place to inquire into the causes that occasioned the loss of liberty to the *Gaulish* nation: it will more properly be done, when we have brought their history down to that sad catastrophe. The point we are upon is, their valour, and love of their country, laws, and liberty, in which noble virtues no nation ever distinguished themselves more than this, or was more dreaded by the *Romans* for them. Witness that law which the latter made, and is recorded by

<sup>1</sup> *c. STRAB.* l. iv.  
l. iii.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 490.

<sup>3</sup> *c. STRAB.*

celled them, in this desperate kind of fury; insomuch that, when they have perceived their men to give ground, they have fallen out, armed with axes, and such other weapons as came first to hand, and, with most hideous outries, fallen foul both on the

fugitives, and on their enemies; on the first, as betrayers of their country; and on the others, as invaders of their liberties. We shall give some remarkable instances of this female valour under the next head.

several of their own writers<sup>f</sup>, whereby all dispensations formerly granted to priests, old men, and invalids, were to be made void, in case they were threatened with any tumult or danger from the *Gauls*; which law is, moreover, taken notice of by *Cicero*<sup>g</sup>, and by *Cæsar* himself<sup>h</sup>; so that there was a time when they were more afraid of the *Gaulish* valour, than of any other nation, or even their neighbours the *Germans*, whose superiors they proved themselves so far in this point, that they forced their own colonies upon them beyond the *Rhine*, whenever their vast increase made their own territories too strait for them. We shall conclude this article with a remarkable passage or two out of *Justin*, as follow<sup>i</sup>:

*Justin's account of their conquests, &c.* “THE *Gauls*, finding their multitudes to increase so fast, that their lands could not afford them sufficient sustenance, sent out three hundred thousand souls to seek for new habitations: part of these settled in *Italy*, and these both took and burnt the city of *Rome*; another part penetrated as far as the shores of *Dalmatia*, and, having destroyed there an infinite number of barbarians, settled themselves at last in *Pannonia*. A bold, hardy, and martial nation this, who ventured (next after *Hercules*, who, by the like attempt, raised himself to the highest pitch of reputation, and title to immortality) to cross the almost inaccessible rocks of the *Alps*, and places scarcely passable through their excessive coldness; where, having totally subdued the *Pannonians*, they waged war with the neighbouring provinces for many years.”—And a little after,—“Being encouraged by their success, others subdivided their parties; some took their way to *Græcia*, some to *Macedonia*, destroying all before them with fire and sword. And so great a terror did the name of *Gauls* spread round about them, that several kings, not in the least threatened by them, came, of their own accord, and purchased their peace with large sums of money.”—And in the very next book he adds, that “So great was the fruitfulness of the *Gauls* at that time, that they filled all *Aisa* with their swarms; insomuch that none of the eastern monarchs either ventured to make war without a mercenary army of them, or, if driven out of their kingdom, fled to any other but to them, for refuge.”

*The bravery of the Gaulish women.* We shall have the less room either to doubt of, or to wonder at, what we read in antient authors concerning the singular valour, and love of liberty, of the *Gaulish* nation, if we

<sup>f</sup> *LIVY*, l. viii. *APPIAN* l. ii. *Vide & PLUT.* in vit. *Marcel.* & *Camil.* & *TACIT.* de morib. *German.* <sup>g</sup> *Philippic.* ii. <sup>h</sup> *Comment.* l. vi. <sup>i</sup> *Hilt.* l. xxiv.

consider, that it was as remarkable in their women as in their men ; so that both sexes had it, in some measure, transfused in their blood ; they sucked it at the breast, and learned the first rudiments of it in the very nursery. We have hinted a little higher, what pains these viragoes took to keep up their men from giving ground to the enemy, and with what intrepid fury they fell, indifferently, upon those who turned their backs upon them, and upon those who pursued them : we shall now, according to our promise, add some few instances more of this female bravery, from undoubted authority.

THE Ambrones, says Plutarch <sup>k</sup> (a Gaulish people, who Some re-lived near the foot of the Alps, between Switzerland and Pro- markable vence), having been defeated by Marius near Aix in Provence, instances were pursued by the Romans quite to their carriages : there <sup>of it.</sup> they found the women armed with swords and hatchets, who, mingling themselves with victors and vanquished, did, with one hand, strive to wrench their bucklers from them, and, with the other, to dispatch them, and never let go their hold but with their lives. This might be imputed to their fury and despair ; but, when they found themselves lost beyond recovery, they sent to demand of the conqueror three things ; Conditions to wit, first, Their liberty, that is, that they might not be proposed to condemned to slavery : secondly, That their chastity might Marius to be preserved inviolate : and, thirdly, That they might be em- surrendr. ployed in the service of the *Vestals*. These conditions having Despair on been rejected by Marius, they were all found, on the next rejecting day, either hanging on trees, or wallowing in their own blood, <sup>them.</sup> with their children butchered by them, and by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume<sup>l</sup>, another, and even more dreadful instance of this love of liberty, in the Cimbrian women ; the circumstances of which are so shocking, that we hope we may save ourselves the trouble of repeating them here. The same desperate resistance Julius Cæsar is reported to have met with from the Helvetian women, when, having defeated their husbands, he came to take possession of their camp, and their baggage : for both the women, and their young sons, defended themselves to the last, choosing rather to be cut in pieces, than to be carried into slavery <sup>m</sup>. The Dalmatian women are likewise reported to have set fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themselves,

<sup>k</sup> In vita Marii. Vide & OROS. I. vi. c. 16. FLOR. I. iii. c. 3. VAL. MAX. I. vi. c. 1. ad fin. HIERON. epist. ad Geront. <sup>l</sup> Vol. xiii. p. 18, & seq. Vide & anct. sup. citat. <sup>m</sup> PLUTARCH. in vit. Cæsar.

and their children, into it ; whilst others hurried themselves, and them, into the next river " (N).

*Their martial discipline.*

WHAT their military discipline was, is hard to guess : by what we have hitherto seen, it seems to have been very imperfect ; and their falling, in such vast multitudes, upon the enemy, with more fury than discretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous hosts as occasion required, but trusting altogether to their numbers, and reckless bravery, sufficiently shews them to have been greatly wanting in this respect : and this seems the true reason why they had such ill success, whenever they engaged with other nations, especially the *Romans* (O). Their chief talent

" *Dio Cass.* in excerpt. *Valef.* I. lvi. & lxxvii.

(N) The same we read of those of *Istria*, *Illyrium*, *Spain*, and other *Gaulish* nations (3), as well as those of *Germany*, who retained more of the old *Celtic* ferocity, than any of the rest : of these last we shall give a remarkable instance, as they shewed this love of liberty, not in the heat of despair, but in cool blood ; for a number of these, being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, and scorning to be reduced to a state of slavery, had it offered to their choice, whether they would be publicly sold, or be massacred ; but, unanimously, preferred the latter. The emperor, however, not taking them at their word, caused them to be exposed to sale ; upon which, they all rushed into a voluntary death, many of them having first sent their children before, in the same way (4). The same spirit may be said to have run through all the descendants of the ancient *Celtes* (5), and extended even to their children. The au-

thor last quoted mentions a stripling, in *Spain*, who, seeing his whole family taken prisoners, and having, by chance, stumbled upon a sword, fulfilled the orders which his father had given him, to free them from their misery, and put them all to death with it. He mentions, likewise, a woman, who ventured to free a number of other prisoners in the same way : so that we may conclude this article with what *Orosius* says of the *Gaulish* nation ; when, speaking of those *Istrian Gauls* who chose to burn themselves, rather than capitulate with the besiegers, he adds, that there was neither man, woman, nor child, that did not prefer death to slavery (6).

(O) One might, at least, have expected that those continual wars, which they waged with these last, and their being so constantly hired as auxiliaries, sometimes by them, and oftener by other warlike people, would have, in time, rendered them the

(3) *Afghan. Illyr. Orosi. &c.*  
I. lxxvii.

(5) *Strato.* I. iii.

(4) *Dio Coss.* in excerpt. *Valef.* I. lvi. &  
(6) *L. v. c. 14.*

talent seems to have consisted, principally, in invading, rather than defending, in pouring in their numberless troops *ne of en-*  
 with incredible fury and speed, and spreading terror wherever they came ; in surmounting all the difficulties, and *en-fighting,*  
 during all the hardships, that fell in their way, and falling up-  
 &c.  
 on their enemies with dreadful shouts, and desperate eagerness,  
 maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almost peculiar to them ; and, when all these failed, as it often did whenever they were engaged with troops that were better disciplined, and trained up in all the politic arts, and stratagems of war ; their last resource was, to signalize their valour, and love of liberty, by such desperate exits as those we have lately hinted. Much of their success was owing to their horse, and armed chariots, in both which respects they displayed such a wonder-

most expert nation in the art of war, considering their hereditary fierceness, intrepid valour, contempt of death, thirst for glory and conquest, and their invincible dread of slavery; all which were strongly rooted in them by education, and continual exercise in martial deeds : for, besides what we have lately said of their excellent way of training up, and inuring their youth to the military trade, we must remind our readers of an excellent method they learned of their ancestors, the *Celtas*, which was, to have their martial laws couched in some kinds of verses, or songs, set to proper tunes, and adorned with all the suitable embellishments of rhetoric and poetry. These the youth were obliged to learn by heart, and to sing upon proper occasions ; so that they had learned all the rudiments of military discipline long before they were able to bear arms (7); and it is not unlikely, that they likewise initiated them in the practice before that time.

In these songs, or poems, were, moreover, recorded the actions of the great and brave, the victories which they gained over their enemies, the names of those who signalized themselves in them, and the monuments which were erected in memory of them. For as these bards and songsters never committed any thing to writing, or (if they did, for their own sakes, and the better remembraunce the vast number of such pieces, which time, and their continual wars, must of course occasion, yet) they never let them go out of their keeping, they were wont to rear up monuments, which were nothing but rude heaps of huge stones, artfully, and by main strength, laid one over another, without any inscription : so that the people were obliged to have recourse to those poems for the meaning of these monumental heaps ; of which the reader will find many instances in the authors quoted below (8).

(7) See before, vol. vi. p. 29.  
*Eng. Kylc antiqu. septentr. German. antiqu. buff.*

(8) *Ruvandus; Mona antiqua. Strabon's Euseb. antiqu. Gallois. Cluver. Ital. & ful*

*Dexterity* ful dexterity, as, joined to their bravery, seldom failed of doing considerable execution. When they came to be divided and armed into small kingdoms and commonwealths, their method was, *chariots*. to divide their armies, in time of action, in the same manner, *An excellent method* that the merit and prowess, as well as the faults and misbehaviour, of every nation and tribe, might be better known, and among them. that every man might be thereby excited to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. But this, though excellently well designed at first, was attended with great inconveniences, and often threw things into confusion, either for want of a general discipline, or through the jealousy and misunderstanding between their commanders, and especially from the time the *Romans* undertook the conquest of *Gaul*, through the treachery of those who had been corrupted by them.

*Superstitious observations before they engaged.* ONE thing more we must not omit, concerning their military discipline, which is, their extreme superstition, in which they seemed to outdo all other nations : they were very careful in observing the moon, in particular ; and avoided, as much as possible, engaging the enemy before it was past the full. An eclipse of it was looked upon as such a bad omen, that no appearing advantage, how great soever, or, indeed, any thing but absolute necessity, that is, nothing but their being attacked, and forced either to defend themselves, or die, could induce them to fight ; and then they engaged more like desperadoes, than regular troops. They gave, moreover, particular heed to their druids and aruspices, who, in their auguries, are branded with using some very inhuman ceremonies, of which we have given some hints in speaking of their religion. If the augury promised them success, those diviners used to march before them with songs, and dances, and musical instruments, until the onset began ; but if it proved otherwise, they forbore fighting, if possible, till they met with a more favourable one : but dreadful was their case, whenever they were forced to engage after a sinister omen, or threatening augury ; for then such panic horror and despair reigned through their hosts, that they rather strove to avoid slavery by a speedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy, and give the lie to their knavish aruspices, and their conjuring tricks.

*Their armour, weapons, &c.* THEIR weapons and armour, as they were antiently in use among the *Celts*, we have elsewhere given an account of ; but whether through a shew of bravery, or a contempt of those which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others in their wars with the *Romans*, but

their bows and arrows, the sword and lance, which last was either longer or shorter, according to their fancy, and the shield ; and yet it was with these weapons that they performed such astonishing feats, as made them, a long time, a terror to their enemies. They despised the helmet, cuirass, and other such defensive armour, and rather chose to fight half, <sup>Contempt</sup> <sup>of defen-</sup> and some quite naked. They were utter strangers to those <sup>five arms,</sup> <sup>w.wlike</sup> machines which other nations used in sieges ; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather laid <sup>engines,</sup> <sup>&c.</sup> their chief stress on a brisk and fierce attack, which they began with throwing clouds of stones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants ; after which, they scaled them, with the utmost fierceness and rapidity. This fierceness often proved fatal to them, especially when they have chanced to meet with a stout repulse, as they frequently did, from the Romans ; for, in all such cases, they lost all their courage, and presence of mind, and suffered themselves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence (P). But we have, by this time, followed them long enough in that bloody track ; let us now take a view of them in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and sciences, trade and navigation, &c.

WE begin with their language, which being universally allowed to have been the old *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, of which we have given a full account in a former volume<sup>P</sup>, we shall have the less to say of it here, except it be so far as relates to the changes it underwent after it divided itself into as many dialects as the whole nation was into little states. There is scarcely any doubt but this old *Celtic* was the common language spoken all over *Europe*. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which barely to abstract, would carry us too far, and be thought, perhaps, too dry a subject for the greatest part of our readers ; but he has further confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the *German* language was originally a dialect of the old *Celtic*<sup>q</sup>. We shall have occasion to mention some of his proofs, in the

<sup>P</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30, & seq. <sup>q</sup> *PELOUTIER.* hist. Celt. l. i. c. 15.  
See also before, vol. vi. p. 31, & (C).

(P) Those who chose rather to surrender, laid down their arms, and presented their left shoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked bosoms, in token of submission ; after which, they scattered some of their mo-

ney, plate, and fine cloaths, amongst them, to bribe their conquerors. These instances, however, of submission, were but scarce and rare amongst them, in comparison of those in which they preferred death to slavery.

history of the antient Germans immediately following : in the mean time, so far as relates to the *Gauls* we are now treating of, it is manifest, that they all used this language, and that it was that same which is still preserved in several parts of *Europe*, particularly in *Biscay*, *Britany*, *Cornwal*, and *Wales*, but no-where more purely than in *North Wales* (Q).

*Latin*, *Greek*, *European* languages were manifestly dialects, more or less distant, of this old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, but that even the *Greek* ed from it. and *Latin*, and other antient ones, had such a surprising affinity with it, as if they had split themselves from the same block, and that very many of them plainly appeared to be of *Celtic* extract (R). We may add what *Quintilian* observes of the antient *Latin*, that till about the middle of the consular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expressions, having in

(Q) What occasioned this to be called in question, by several learned men, was, that *Julius Cæsar* (9) in his division of the *Gauls* into the *Belgæ*, *Aquitani*, and *Celtæ*, affirms, that they differed not only in their custoins, but language. To which we may add what *Strabo* (1) and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (2) say of them, that they were not of one language, but differed a little from one another; or, as we take their meaning to be, used different dialects of the same language: for so it will appear plainly, to those who shall take the pains to trace those antient dialects to their true origin, as it was brought from the *Gauls* into our isle, and is still retained in its pristine purity, in that part of it called *North Wales*, and compare it with those alterations which, in time, it underwent, in those other parts of *Europe*, where it is still preserved, tho'

nothing so pure and unmixed, such as are *South Wales*, *Cornwal*, *Ireland*, the isles of *Man* and *Anglesey*, and some parts of the highlands of *Scotland* amongst us, and in *Britany*, *Biscay*, and some other parts of the continent: such a scrutiny will easily discover, not only the true original mother from her spurious offspring, but the different channels by which this odd and corrupt mixture conveyed itself into the latter.

(R) Of this we have interspersed some instances, in a former volume (3); but shall, for the satisfaction of our *English* readers, add a few more, and place them so, that they may have so much of them at one view, as will clearly make out what we have laid; and refer them, for a more copious number, to the authors quoted below (4).

(9) *Comment. l. i. c. 1.* (1) *L. iv.* (2) *L. xv.* (3) *Vol. vi. p. 30, &c seq.* (4) *Pearson. antiqu. nat. C. it. ad fin. Monas antiqu. p. 11. pref. praef. p. 43, &c seq. 2-2, 3-3, 315, &c seq. Huet's thes. ling. p. 11. Lluyd's lexic. Aijjtar. antiqu. scriptur. in addend. Edward's specim. ling. C. it. & Leibr.*

in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, most of them *Gaulish*; so that if those which have been since lost, or changed, were to be added to those which still remain, the conformity would appear yet greater. And if those *Gauls* who were afterwards conquered by the *Romans*, had not,

## \* L. i. c. 5.

|                         |                              |                          |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Tir, terra.</i>      | <i>Mur, murus.</i>           | <i>Calau, calamus.</i>   |
| <i>Mor, mare.</i>       | <i>Marw, mori.</i>           | <i>Arva, arma.</i>       |
| <i>Engil, ignis.</i>    | <i>Trew, tribus.</i>         | <i>Gayau, hyems.</i>     |
| <i>Awyrr, aer.</i>      | <i>Offrail, offertorium.</i> | <i>Llyvr, liber.</i>     |
| <i>Aur, aurum.</i>      | <i>Anival, animal.</i>       | <i>Nyver, numerus.</i>   |
| <i>Avon, amnis.</i>     | <i>Tirua, turma.</i>         | <i>Gu-veil, gemelli.</i> |
| <i>Gbwyrdr, vitrum.</i> | <i>Terwin, terminus.</i>     | <i>Priu, primus.</i>     |
| <i>Efynnon, fons.</i>   |                              |                          |

The same may be said, also, of the heathen gods, whom we have shewed, under a former article, to have been of *Celtic* extract, as well as their names, which are thus etymologized:

|                             |                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Jupiter, Jovis,</i>      | { <i>Ieuanc, Juvenis princeps</i> , the youngest of Saturn's sons.                                                    |
| <i>Tonans,</i>              | <i>Taran, thunderer.</i>                                                                                              |
| <i>Mars, Mavors,</i>        | { <i>Marwyr ruyk</i> , warlike, powerful; whence, probably, <i>Maurice</i> .                                          |
| <i>Neptune,</i>             | <i>Nosddyfn, swimming on the waves.</i>                                                                               |
| <i>Mercury,</i>             | { <i>Merk wr</i> , a merchant; or <i>March wr</i> , a swift runner, or messenger.                                     |
| <i>Talamon, al. Atlas,</i>  | { <i>Telmon</i> , a tall man, such as he is feigned to have been.                                                     |
| <i>Hermes,</i>              | { <i>Armes</i> , a diviner; in which art he is said to have excelled all the rest.                                    |
| <i>Teutat,</i>              | { <i>Dbew-taith</i> , the traveler's god; or from <i>teu tat</i> , the father of the people.                          |
| <i>Hercules,</i>            | { <i>Erchyl</i> , horrid, dreadful, whether on account of his deeds, or of that attitude in which he was represented. |
| <i>Vulcan,</i>              | { <i>Wael gain</i> , or <i>ginta</i> , the inventor of steel, or steel armour.                                        |
| <i>Apollo,</i>              | <i>Ap haul</i> , ap heulir, the son of the sun.                                                                       |
| <i>Titan,</i>               | <i>Ti taan</i> , the house of fire.                                                                                   |
| <i>Triton,</i>              | <i>Trwydon</i> , a wanderer on the waters.                                                                            |
| <i>Rhea, Jove's mother,</i> | <i>Rbiys</i> , a princess, or lady.                                                                                   |
| <i>Juno,</i>                | { <i>Jovanc</i> , a young prince; or from <i>Gluin</i> , fair.                                                        |
| <i>Venus,</i>               | <i>Ghuin</i> , white, fair.                                                                                           |
| <i>Diana,</i>               | <i>Di anuf</i> , spotless, chaste, untouched.                                                                         |
| <i>Minerva,</i>             | { <i>Min arsf-u</i> , the temperer of sharp tools and weapons.                                                        |

partly

partly out of necessity, partly out of mere complaisance, adopted a great number of words and idioms from their conquerors, we might still behold a much greater nearness between the *Low Briton*, *Biscayaneer*, *Irish*, &c. and the pure *North Welsh*. So that the only reason why these last have retained it in such purity, must be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themselves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the *Israelites*, during their long abode in *Egypt*, preserving their original *Hebrew*, which they suffered to be greatly corrupted, and, amongst a great part of them, almost lost, in a seventy years captivity. Now, as it is universally allowed, that most of the *Asiatic* tongues, such as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Armenian*, &c. borrowed most of their radical or primitive words from the *Hebrew*, so this old *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, which was the language of *Gomer*, and his descendants, who first inhabited *Europe*, was the mother of most of the *European* languages, at least as far as *Scythia* and *Sarmatia*, which were peopled by *Gog* and *Magog*, two other branches of *Japhet's* offspring: and as there is such a vast affinity between those two mother-tongues, we mean the *Hebrew* and *Gomerian* \*, or ancient *Celtic*, it is not to be wondered, if we find the same resemblance diffusing itself through all their derivatives; such as the *High* and *Low Dutch*, the *Latin* and *Greek*, the *Arabic*, *Persian*, &c. and, particularly, between the *Greek*, *Roman*, and old *Celtic*, as the authors last quoted have sufficiently shewed, as well as accounted for.

*The notion of their speaking Greek, exploded.* We have been the more particular on this subject, because several learned men have maintained, that the *Gauls* commonly used the *Greek tongue* \*. Nothing can be more wild, or more contrary to all that we meet with in antient authors concerning the *Gaulish* language, than such an assumption, which may be easily overthrown by one or two express passages we meet with in *Julius Cæsar*. The one is, that in a conference which he had with *Divitiacus*, an *Heduian* or *Gaulish* lord, he was obliged to make use of an interpreter; and yet *Cæsar* was a perfect master of the *Greek* \*. The other, which is still more express, is, that when that conqueror found himself under a necessity to write to *Quintus Cicero*, who was then besieged in his camp, he made use of the *Greek tongue*, lest his letter should fall into the hands of some

\* Vide EDWARDS's specimen. LLUYD's grammar. PEZRON. antiqu. nat. Celt. HICKES's thesaur. Mona antiqua, p 278, & seq.

t Vide HOTTOMAN. Franco-Gallia, c. 2. " Comment. l. i. c. 19.

of the *Gauls*, and discover his designs to them<sup>w</sup>; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of that nation. *Strabo* doth indeed tell us, that the *Majillians* cultivated all sorts of polite literature, and, particularly the *Greek*, to such a degree, that the rest of the *Gauls* were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, insomuch that they began to write their contracts and bargains in it<sup>x</sup>. But then it is plain, first, that he only speaks of those *Gauls* who were neighbours to *Marseilles*, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited several learned men out of that famed city to instruct their youth, or sent their children to be educated there: secondly, If the rest of the *Gauls* afterwards followed their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own: and, thirdly, That this fashion of learning and using the *Greek* tongue did not begin till *Strabo's* time (S).

<sup>w</sup> L. v. c. 12.

<sup>x</sup> L. iv.

(S) Accordingly, St. *Jerom* tells us, upon the authority of a passage which he has preserved out of *Varro*, that the *Majillians* spoke three sorts of languages, the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gaulish* (5). Hence we may conclude, that the *Greek* tongue was only introduced among the learned, but was not the original language of the *Gauls*. We might further confirm this from a number of antient monuments, and especially from the antient names of provinces, cantons, rivers, cities, mountains, &c. but we think the case sufficiently plain, without any such further proofs. The *Greek* characters, indeed, were in use among them in *Cesar's* time, as we shall hint under the next head; but as for their tongue, it plainly appears to have been brought into use much later still, and that only among the learned and polite. As to

the present language of that country, those who are ever so little skilled in antient ones, may easily perceive it to be a medley of other tongues, the greater half of which is taken from the *Latin*, as the *Romans* were very industrious to propagate and cultivate it in all their conquered dominions. The rest is plainly a mixture of the old *Celtic*, of the *Frank* or *German*, as this afterwards greatly deviated from its original; and the rest seems to be of *Greek* extraction. For it has been observed, by judicious men of that nation, that many *Greek* words have been adopted by them into common use, which were not borrowed from the academics of the druids, who, for ought that appears, knew little of it, but from the schools of the *Majillians* we have lately spoken of.

(5) *Hieron. opera*, tom. ix. p. 135. Vide *Lotman* ut. l. p. 3, & *Pellicier* ii. c. 10.

*The genius  
of their  
file, and  
language.*

BEFORE we dismiss this article of the *Gaulish* language, it will not be amiss to make a short remark on its pretended rudeness and harshness, against which both *Greek* and *Roman* authors have raised such an unanimous outcry. According to them, it was enough to hear a *Celte* or *Gaul* speak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greatest part of their words, especially of their proper names, of men, women, towns, rivers, &c. were so very harsh, that they could not be pronounced by strangers, or written in other languages, without great difficulty; neither could they be inserted in a poem, without murdering the verse<sup>a</sup>. A foreigner could hardly hear them spoken without having his ears grated, or almost flayed with them<sup>b</sup>. The emperor *Julian* says, that it resembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of some wild beast<sup>c</sup>. There must needs be allowed to be some exaggeration in these expressions, considering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears to those who are unaccustomed to, or ignorant of it. It is not to be questioned, but even the *French* and *Italian*, emasculated as they have been of late, appear so at first hearing: it must, however, be confessed, that, with respect to the *German*, there is less of the hyperbole; and perhaps the antient *Gaulish* might originally have a great deal of that kind of harshness, which guttural and some other hard consonants, as well as too great a colluviae of them, will naturally cause, unless softened by the interposition of vowels. We do not, therefore, pretend wholly to disbelieve the latter; but would only observe, that there is a vast difference between those two languages in this respect; and that the true *Celtic*, or *North Welsh*, though seemingly crowded with a number of consonants, has yet a peculiar sweetnes, and is much more adapted for music and poetry, than we are ready generally to imagine: and, for proof of this, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume<sup>d</sup> (T).

THE

<sup>a</sup> PLIN. jun. l. vii. epist. 4.      <sup>b</sup> DIOD. Sic. l. v. OVID. de trist. eleg. xii. ver. 55.      <sup>c</sup> Misopog.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. vi. p. 30,  
& seq. (B).

(T) Here it will not be amiss to remind the reader, that their custom of couching and preserving all their laws, records, history, &c. in verse, inured them to a stile more swoln, figurative, and emphatic, than that of other nations; on the other hand, their

fierce and warlike disposition might, in all probability, make them fonder both of that, and of their sonorous and masculine language, than of the smoother *Greek* and *Roman* prose. To which we may add, that their natural aversion for the *Roman* nation

THE Gauls had originally no characters of their own, but *Their writers* adopted, in process of time, the Greek ones ; yet, as we have *ting and* already hinted, they did not do it till very late, and till their *charac-* commerce with other nations obliged them to it ; their *contem-* *ters.* *of writing* *among the laity.* contempt of foreign learning was a great obstacle to it, and their druids or bards, whose interest it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this their prejudice against committing any thing of moment to writing, under pretence that it rather tended to destroy than preserve the memory of them, as it was likely to be a kind of discouragement to them to learn them by heart out of their poetical compositions ; whereas this last, they pretended, was the most effectual means of preserving them, both from oblivion, and from falling into the hands of strangers : so that it was looked upon as a dishonour for any of them to learn to read or write (U). And even after they began to introduce the use of letters, in their contracts, and the like civil concerns, the druids never suffered them to commit any thing relating to their history, laws, and much less to their religion, to writing<sup>4</sup>. Hence

<sup>c</sup> Comment. I. vi. c. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. STRAB. I. iv.

nation might not contribute a little to this opposition, especially as they had reason to consider all their sweetnes of language, stile, and behaviour, as to many snare to entrap people out of their liberty. If we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* (6), their stile was not only swole, concise, and Laconic, but intricate and obscure, full of synecdoches and hyperboles : which the reader will find, perhaps, better accounted for by what we shall say, in the sequel, concerning their manners and customs ; in which, as well as their lostiness and pomposness of stile and language, they seem to have been more closely imitated by the Spaniards, than by any other European nation.

(U) *Aelian* has preserved us a passage out of *Andretion*, to this

purpose (7), that the antient *Ipiracians*, and, in general, all the barbarian nations, settled in Europe, were not only quite ignorant of letters, but had a singular contempt for them, tho' they were commonly used by those that settled themselves in Asia. The same is affirmed of the *Huns*, by *Procopius* (8) ; and this humour seems to have been so deeply rooted among them, that even *Theodoric* king of Italy could never be prevailed on to learn to write his own name, tho' he had spent a considerable part of his younger days among the *Romans* ; but is reported, whenever he was obliged to sign an edict, to have only made use of a golden plate, that had the four initial letters of it, *Tecd*, engraven upon it, and which he traced with his pen (9).

(6) Lib. v.

(7) Var. hist. I. viii. c. 6.

(8) Get. I. iv. c. 13.

(9) Excep. 227. incip. ap. *Valegium, ad caic. Aemilian. Marcell.*

*Origen* might well tell his antagonist <sup>c</sup>, that he never heard of any of their writings ; and hence that scarcity of materials we meet with, in relation to their history, since they had no records but those songs and verses, which they carefully kept from strangers ; and perished, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or, at least, with their old heathenish religion, upon their embracing Christianity (W). It were to be wished, *since their conversion*, that the Christian priests and monks had not imitated, so closely, this druidish policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monasteries ; especially in *Gaul* and *Germany* : for they seem so well to have cultivated this prejudice against it, among the laity, that they were forced to have recourse to them whenever any will, grant, or public act, was to be made ; and then both the persons concerned in it, and the witnesses, set their own marks, and the scrivener their names to it. But, with respect to the mercantile part, among whom &c. used the Greek character seems to have been that which was in use among them, according to *Cæsar*, *Straato*, *Pliny*, and others, above quoted ; and was brought into practice from *Marseilles*, which was a colony of the Greeks, or Gallogreeks. How their conquest, and intercourse with the Romans, afterwards introduced their character amongst them, is obvious to every one, and we need not dwell any longer upon it.

*The probable origin of their poetry.* As to their poetry, since it is altogether lost, we can say little of it : yet it will not be amiss to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern historian <sup>f</sup>, who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expresses it, the reigning

<sup>e</sup> Con. Cels. I. i.

<sup>f</sup> PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. I. ii. c. 10.

(W) It is probable, indeed, that upon their conversion to the gospel they might, by degrees, be so far shamed out of this superstitious fondness for concealing their laws, history, &c. that they might suffer them to be committed to writing from thenceforward : but as for those hymns, and poetic compositions, which we are speaking of, it is not to be supposed, that they were ever preserved, seeing both parties, that is, both the new converts, and those who remained in their ancient idolatry, were equally

concerned to suppress them ; the latter out of their natural zeal to conceal them, and the former on account of those praises that were sung in them, to their false deities, heroes, &c. and of those abominable and inhuman rites that were performed in the worship of them. *Jornandes* tells us, indeed, that those which were in use among the Goths, were still extant in his time. If they were, it is plain they have since perished ; and, most probably, for the very reason just now assigned.

ignorance,

ignorance, and contempt of letters, gave birth to those poetical compositions in *Europe*. This was, indeed, the most effectual method to preserve the memory of such momentous truths and facts as they either could not, or cared not to commit to writing, and which, by this means, were not only easily learned and remembred, but, likewise, concealed from other nations. And such fondness did both *Gauls* and *Their ex-Germans* conceive for these kind of performances, especially as *tremendous* they were set to proper tunes, that they seemed to relish nothing else, and shewed a natural contempt for those of the prosaic sort. And this humour still prevailed so strongly, even as low as the ninth century, that when *Lewis the Debonnaire* undertook to have the *Saxons* instructed in the holy scriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into *Saxon* verse <sup>a</sup>. The same was done by *Ottofridus*, with respect to the four gospels, which he caused to be translated into *German*, and put into verse : for as they could neither read, nor cared to learn, they consented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verse, and set to music for them, and they permitted to sing them on proper occasions. Some such compositions *Charles the Great* is said to have found among them, which were very antient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their antient kings, and which he caused, likewise, to be transcribed, for the same end <sup>b</sup> (X).

WE need not here repeat what we observed, in the last <sup>Arts and Sciences.</sup> section, concerning their skill in astronomy and geometry,

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Du Chesne* rer. Francar. tom. ii. ap. Pelloutier, ubi sup.  
<sup>b</sup> EGINHARD. in vit. Carol. Magn. c. 29.

(X) We have already hinted, more than once, what were the chief subjects of those antient poetic compositions : as to their metre, and other particulars relating to them, we are wholly in the dark, unless we guess at them by some of a more modern date ; such as those which the author of *Mons Antiqua* has given us (1) out of *Taliesin* ; who was poet laureat to *Mordwyn*, about the time of *Sufin* the monk's coming into *England*. But neither from these, nor from the

character which antient authors have given us of the old *Caulish* language, can we conclude them to have been either smooth or elegant, except with respect to the loftiness of their expressions and figures : yet would it not be fair to conclude, that they were all of the same kind ; and we should have framed but a very wrong idea of the *Greek* poetry, if we had had no other poems to judge by, than those of a *Pindar*, *Lycophron*, and some others of their bards.

*Eloquence  
much in  
vogue in  
Gaul.*

from which we may justly infer, that if they were masters of those two sciences, they must, of course, have cultivated many others, especially such as are depending on, or leading to them ; but to what a number, or degree, cannot be easily determined, any more than what new ones those were which they afterwards learned from the *Massilian* sages. As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, as we have shewed above, eloquence was that wherein they prided themselves most, and which, indeed, was most natural to them. They received, from their infancy, most of their instructions from those poems which were composed by the bards and druids ; they heard them, upon all public occasions, either read, or sung ; and as the greatest part of them were of the heroic kind, so it inured them to a pompous and high-flown style. We have seen, that they represented *Mercury*, the god of eloquence, with the symbols of *Hercules*, to shew what vast power that art had over them, above all others. These emblems they seem to have taken from the *Romans* (Y) ; and though they were so far from imitating them in their long-winded periods, flow and pompousness of words and figures, but affected, in the main, a concise and nervous style, yet they could not forbear being taken with such artful declamations, and pieces of oratory. This is, at least, what *Cerealis*, a *Roman* general, upbraided them with in *Vespasian's* time<sup>1</sup> ; and *Cato* the censor tells us, that the *Gauls* made this eloquence, and exercise of arms, their chief study (Z).

WE

<sup>1</sup> TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 73.

(Y) It is known, that the *Romans*, in all places of their public exercises, placed *Mercury* and *Hercules* in full view. The *Greeks* usually set a *Cupid* between them, to shew, that love hath its origin from the other two, that is, from strength and eloquence (2) ; and we read, that the *Magyarians* had but one temple for those two deities (3), or even represented them under one and the same emblem (4).

(Z) And, indeed, nothing could be more natural, or necessary, in

such a country as this, where every little kingdom and commonwealth had its particular council ; before which all matters relating to peace and war, and every affair, both public and private, were debated by the partie concerned, besides the grand council of the whole nation, where the rights, privileges, pretensions, and other concerns of every private state, were to be considered, and finally determined, as we have seen before. But, after all, we would not ven-

(2) *Euplat.* in *Cyprian.* 8.

(3) *Pausan.* in *Aegean.*

(4) *Aristot.* *orat in*

*tute*

We have already taken notice, from the great regard they *Commerce.*  
paid to the god *Mercury*, as he was the god of traffick, that  
they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is,  
moreover, proved, from a great number of antient inscriptions,  
and, particularly, a famous one set up by the *Paris* mer-  
chants, and dedicated to *Jupiter the Good*. The reader will  
see it in the note (A), together with an hint or two of some  
curious

ture to affirm, that this art was equally cultivated all over *Gaul*; it is more likely, that the countries, still unconquered by the *Romans*, retained still something of their natural ferocity, and contempt for such arts and sciences as were most admired among foreign nations: and we may very well suppose, that the *Druuids*, where-ever they still bore any sway, did all they could to cherish this antipathy. And it is, perhaps, in order to lessen this aversion, as well as to inspire those that were subdued, with a greater love to this art, that several emperors thought fit to found academies in several parts of *Gaul*, with considerable rewards and honours to those who gained the prize of it.

We are told, that that of *Au-  
tun* had, in *Tiberius's time*, forty thousand students (5). We read, besides, that other public schools were erected at *Lyons*, *Bourdeaux*, *Toulouse*, *Narbonne*, and other places, besides that so famed one at *Marseilles*, of which we have already spoken (6). Hence we need not wonder, that this country has been since so celebrated for the great number of its rhetoricians and orators (7); and if it has not been equally famous

for their excellency in this kind, as for the number of them, it is because it has happened here, as it doth every-where, and in most other studies, many labour hard at them, but few are qualified for them (8).

(A) The inscription runs thus : TIB. CAESARE AVG. JOVI OPTVM. MAXVM. M. NAVTAE PARISIACI POSVERVNT. From the disposition of some of the letters, which, for want of room at the end of the line, are put just under it, instead of beginning the next, our author supposes the *Gauls* to have had the antient way, which is ascribed also to the *Greeks*, of writing βαστενδὸς, that is, as the oxen plowed, backwards and forwards (9). He endeavours to confirm his notion by some antient coins, whose legend runs, in some, from the right to the left; and, in others, from the left to the right. We do not, however, mention it here, as if we were satisfied, that he has fully proved it from either, but only to excite our curious antiquaries to a more exact inquiry into it from such old coins and monuments, as may fall in their way.

Our author further pretends, that the *Celtes*, or antient *Gauls*,

(5) *Tacit. ann. l. iii. c. 43.* c. 6. & *Auson. professor.*

(6) *Sueton. in Calig. c. 20. Juven. sat. l. i. Juv. sat. iv. ver. 23.* (7) *Hieron. adv. Vigilant. & spiss. ad Rustic.*

(8) *Palliotier. hist. des Celte. l. ii. c. 10. ad fin.*

(9) *Paujan. l. v. Vide Relig. des Gauls. l. iii. c. 14.*

curious conjectures, which a modern author has drawn from it, which would be too long for us to dwell upon.

THE whole country seems to have been divided into three estates ; to wit, 1. the druids, with their underlings, the bards, &c. 2. the nobles ; and, 3. the mercantile part, which was, by far, the greatest. The two former had their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the spoils of war ; and were so opulent, that riches seemed to flow upon them on all sides ; so that their chief business, especially in time of peace, was to encourage arts and sciences, as the best means to preserve, if not to increase, their opulence. What seems most surprising, if what an antient author tells us may be depended upon, is, that some of the *Gaulish* nations interdicted the use of gold and silver, which was to be all dedicated to *Mars*, and so become sacred and inviolable ; and allowed of no coin, but that which was made of copper and brass<sup>k</sup>. His words are to this effect : The *Cordissi* (he means the *Scordisci*) spoken of in a former volume<sup>l</sup>, consecrate all their gold, and suffer none to be used in their country : but they would do better to proscribe their sacrileges, instead of that metal. For it is not to their credit to forbid the use of it, whilst they commit so many unjust robberies to procure iron and copper. For, whenever they chance to want any of these, they make no difficulty to take up arms, and never lay them down till they have procured a sufficient quantity of them. This passage will farther serve to convince the reader, that the war which the *Gauls* waged against the temples of other nations, was not owing to their greediness after those treasures that were stored up in them, but from the aversion they had,

<sup>k</sup> *ATHENAEUS*, I. vi. c. 5.

<sup>l</sup> See vol. xii. p. 451, & seq.

brought the Greek letters with them from *Phœnix*(1), contrary to the general consent of antient authors, who affirm, that they borrowed them from the *Greeks*. As his arguments for it seem very far from conclusive to us, we have followed the current opinion, until something more evident strikes out from those hints he has given us ; which is far from being impossible, considering the difficulty there is to

imagine how it was possible for the druids to retain in their heads such a vast variety of the most copious and important subjects, by dint of memory, and without having some kind of books, or writings, to refresh it, or to have recourse to, when that failed ; and how easily might they conceal such an help, if any such they had, as they did so many other things, from the rest of the world ?

(1) *Ibid.* I. i. c. 4.

in common with the *Persees*, spoken of in a former volume <sup>m</sup>, against all such buildings, they being looked upon by both as derogatory to the Supreme Being, who cannot be confined within walls, but fills, with his presence, both heaven and earth. But it is too likely, that this contempt of these two superior metals vanished away, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, especially upon their becoming subject to that of the *Romans*; who, as we observed before, made no scruple to rifle those treasures <sup>n</sup>, which, before that time, lay exposed to the wide world untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into slavery with it, as *Herodian* reports them, and especially *Severus*, to have done by the *German* nation.

THE *Gauls*, as well as all the other northern people, made *Hunting*; hunting a considerable diversion; and, indeed, considering *and other* the vast forests which the country abounded with, and which *exercises*, bred vast multitudes of wild beasts, such as bears, wolves, wild boars, foxes, &c (B). if they had not made it their business

<sup>m</sup> See vol. v. p. 149.

<sup>n</sup> Sueton. in Cæsar.

(B) *Cæsar* (2), *Pliny*, and other authors (3), mention several other wild beasts which used to be hunted by the *Gauls*, of which we know nothing now but the names; and some of them, by the description there given us, seem to have been of a very strange kind, if there ever were any such in being: such are the *alces*, the *bonafus*, the wild *afs*, &c. The *alces*, according to *Cæsar*, had no joints in his legs, and was forced to sleep leaning against a tree. The same animal is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Solinus*, without that particularity. The *bonafus*, according to some authors (4), had an *horse's* face, and the rest resembled a bull, its horns bending so far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the same wonders they relate of some of their birds, one sort of which cast such a bright light from their feathers (5), that travelers made use of them to see their way in the darkest nights: but enough of these fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called *urus*, and which, *Cæsar* says (6), was a little less than the elephant, tho' it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or sledge (7); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds: besides badgers, otters, and other such, not worth mentioning.

(2) *Comm.* l. vi. (3) *N. H.* l. viii. *Pausan.* in *Bæot.* (4) *Ariost.*  
bæt. animal. l. ix. c. 45. *Plin.* lib. j. p. a. (5) *ostrin* p. 73. *Vide*  
& *Strab.* l. iv. (6) *L.* vi. c. 22. (7) *Martial.* epig. l. ii. *Paul.*  
*Dac.* n. *Longibard.*

*Various kinds of game.*

*Poisoned darts.*

*Hunting-feast to Diana.*

*Warlike, and other exercises.*

business to hunt and destroy them, they must, in time, have been over-run with them. But, besides these, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmless animals : they made, likewise, fowling a diversion, and were, it seems, so dextrous at it, that they killed them flying, with a dart thrown by hand ; though they are likewise said to have use the sling, and the bow and arrow, and had a way of poisoning those darts and arrows which they used in hunting, with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, *lineum*, or *limeum*<sup>r</sup>, which some have taken for *ellebore*<sup>s</sup>, some the nightshade. *Strabo* says, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whose fruit, he had somewhere read, resembled the *Corinthian* chapter. The wound failed not, it seems, to kill the creature, and make its flesh more sweet and tender ; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The professed huntsmen held a feast every year to *Diana*, and, among other offerings, each of them presented her with a purse, in which was a certain sum for every beast they had taken during that year ; such as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and so proportionally for the rest. Their devotions being ended, they adjourned to a sumptuous entertainment, and concluded the day with it<sup>t</sup>.

OTHER exercises, of the manly kind, they were, likewise, very fond of. We have often observed, what excellent horsemen and charioteers they are said to have been, above all other nations in *Europe*, which skill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly, we find, they had their hippodromes, horse and chariot-races, tilts and tournaments ; at all which the bards assisted, and, with their poems, songs, and musical instruments, in which they celebrated the praises of

<sup>o</sup> *STRABO*, l. iv. <sup>r</sup> *AUL. GELL.* noct. Attic. l. xvii. c. 15.   
*PLIN.* ubi supra, l. xxv. c. 5. *Geogr.* l. iv. <sup>s</sup> *ARRIAN.* de venat. <sup>t</sup> *EPHOR.* ap. *Strab.* l. iv. *DAMASCEN.* ap. *Stob.* serm. xxxvii.

For all these kind of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the sport, and generally hunted on horseback, unless it be some of those creatures, which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to hunt on foot (8). So fond were

they of their hounds, that the ancient *Burgundian* laws obliged a man, publicly convicted of stealing of one of them, to pay five shillings, one half to the owner, and the other to the public treasury ; and, if insolvent, he was obliged to kiss the dog's posteriors (9).

(8) *Arrian.* de venat. &c al., (9) *Vide Pollonier.* ubi supra, l. ii. c. 12.

those who had formerly won the prize, inspired the new candidates with a noble ardor to signalize themselves upon all such occasions. And happy were they looked upon, who could obtain a place in those records of fame. All their exercises in general tended to render them lighter, stronger, harder, and long-winded ; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their belly within the compass of a girdle of a certain size, either by fasting, running, riding, swimming, or any other laborious diversion : for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a disgrace to them, but they were, likewise, fined for it <sup>a</sup>. Swimming was also an excellent expedient, not only to harden their bodies, but to fit them for passing the widest and rapidest rivers ; in which they were so very expert and famed, that they could cross the *Rhine*, *Danube*, and *Rhone*, without breaking their ranks <sup>b</sup>.

THESE may be looked upon as some of the laudable and *Feastings*, beneficial diversions ; but they had a most predominant one, frequent which can scarcely be ranked in that class, and yet seemed generally to accompany all the other public ones, or, rather, <sup>and sumptuous.</sup> the others served only to introduce this ; we mean their feasts, in which they were generally very profuse, though very negligent in the order and decorum of them <sup>c</sup>. All their public assemblies and exercises, all their feasts, birthdays, weddings, burials, and anniversaries of them, were always accompanied with such sumptuous banquets, in which they intermixed with their good cheer both vocal and instrumental music. The nobles, especially, were most fond of them, because their greatness and interest consisting chiefly in the number of their clients, vassals, and *solduri*, there was not a more effectual way, either to secure the old, or procure new ones, but such kind of entertainments : for the *Gauls*, as well as the *Germans*, and other northern nations, were such excessive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than these kind of feasts : and to what height these were carried, may be seen by some few instances we shall give in the note (C). To these feasts, those who were

most

<sup>a</sup> CÆSAR, ubi supra. MELA de sit. orb. I. iii. AMM. MARCEL. I. xxv. & al. <sup>b</sup> TACIT. Germ. c. 14, & seq. <sup>c</sup> Vide XENOPH. exped. Cyr. I. vii. ATHEN. ubi supra. PLUT. sympos. vii. c. 9. VARRO, & al.

(C) We read of the famed *Luernius* king of the *Auvergnians*, afterwards defeated by *Fabius Maximus*, that he made an inclosure of twelve furlongs square,

*A descript-  
tion of  
them.  
Accompa-  
nied with  
hard  
drinking;*

most famed for valour and wisdom were always reckoned the chief guests, because their example bore the greatest sway in all such elections. The reader may not be displeased, perhaps, to see a short description of these feasts of the ancient Gauls, out of *Posidonius*, who had himself been in that country: we shall give it in the note (1). It was likewise customary to drink hard at these kinds of feasts; yet it seems, ac-

in which he entertained all comers, during several days, with all manner of exquisite meats and liquors (1); and of one *Ariamus*, who caused lodges to be erected upon the high road, each of which could entertain four hundred persons, and treated them in the same sumptuous manner a whole year (2). Neither suffered they any strangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of these feasts, or were travelling, that way, to pass by without being invited, or even compell'd to come, and take share of them; and, if their time could not permit them to stay, they obliged them to drink a glass or two (3).

The same *Lurinius*, we are told, having given one such feast, and invited a famed bard to come and sing his praises, as it was usual for them to do; the bard, coming just at the latter end of it, was to deeply affected at the disappointment, that he tried, in vain, to sing out his designed panegyric: he was, at length, constrained to change it into deep lamentations, for being forced to take up with the reliques of so sumptuous a banquet (4).

(D) According to him, their tables were very low; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat and hard, and easy to break

into pieces; but devoured a great deal of flesh, boiled, roasted, and broiled; which they did in a very slovenly manner, holding the piece in their hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the coryphæ, or chief of the feast, who was either one of the richest, or noblest, or bravest, sat in the middle, with the master of the house on his side: the rest took their places next, each according to his rank, having their servants behind them, holding their shields. The guards had their table over-against them; and, after their masters had done, the servants were, likewise, regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a dish, till the coryphæ had tasted of it (5).

*Diodorus Siculus* says, that the Gauls used to eat sitting upon the ground, which was covered with skins of wolves and dogs; and the dishes were brought by the children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a stove, or fire-place, which abounded with spits, pots, pans, and other such kitchen-furniture (6).

(1) *Tacit. ubi sup. c. 21.* (2) *Posidon. ap. Arben. l. iv. c. 12.* (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Ibidem ibid. Appian. in Gall.* (5) *Arben. l. iv. c. 13.* (6) *L. v.*

cording to the same author, that the coryphees, or head-guests, always began first, and put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round : for, it seems, they all drank out of the same vessel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuse when it did. And hence, in all probability, the custom of drinking to one another, which was, it seems, common to the *Perians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*<sup>w</sup>, as well as the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, and northern people. The misfortune was, that at these feasts they used to begin to talk of affairs as soon as the cups went round ; and as they generally sat at them till the next morning, they so heated themselves with liquor and wrangling, that they seldom ended *sometimes* without duels, the *Gauls*, says our author, setting so little *with* value upon their lives. If the feast proved a peaceable *one*, it *fighting*, was generally accompanied not only with music and songs, as *music, dan-* *cing, &c.* we observed above, but with dances likewise, in which the dancers were armed cap-à-pé, and beat the measure with their swords upon their shields. On certain festivals, likewise, *Masque-* *rades.* such as that of *Mithras*, they used to dress themselves in the skins of such beasts as were dedicated to him, and accompany the processions that were made on that day : others *were* led themselves in masquerade-habits, some of them very indecent, and played several antic and immodest tricks ; and this custom was retained so long among them, even since their conversion to Christianity, that some of their councils and bishops not only censured and condemned them, but appointed fasts, and proper prayers, to be used on those days<sup>x</sup>, to divert them from that heathenish custom.

THEIR chief liquors were, beer and wine, the former the *Strong li-* *most common of the two* ; for they did not begin to cultivate *quors.* the latter till very late. *Strabo* observes, of the *Insitanians*, that one such feast as those we have spoken of, used to exhaust all the vintage of that year<sup>y</sup> ; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the *Germans*, and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. Their martial *Contempt* temper inspired them originally with such contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at first, to their *wives, old men, and slaves*. The *Germans* and they are justly blamed for it by the *Romans*, and a great piece of pride and folly it was in them, to choose to purchase the conveniences of *tum, &c.*

<sup>w</sup> Diod. Sic. I. v. Vide & Polyb. I. ii.  
Gaul. I. ii. c. 34, & seq.

<sup>x</sup> Relig. des

<sup>y</sup> Lib. iii.

life at the expence of blood and wounds, rather than by the sweat of their brow<sup>a</sup> (E).

*Their vices.*

We shall conclude this section with a short review of the other vices and virtues which are recorded as being peculiar to the antient *Gauls*. As for their vices, they are reducible to these three, which are attributed to them by the generality of antient writers ; to wit, drunkeſſes, lazineſſes, and fiercenſes ; all which we shall have the leſſe occasion to dwell upon, because we ſhall occaſionally give ſo many pregnant iſtances in the course of their history. As for drunkeſſes, we cannot ſee why that vice ſhould be reckoned more peculiär to them, than to their neighbours the *Germans*, who vaſtly exceeded them in it. Besides these, *Plato* has given us a liſt of other people who were equally guilty of it ; to wit, the *Lydiāns*, *Persians*, *Carthaginians*, *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Spaniards*<sup>a</sup> ; and we need not direct our readers where to look for ſome others, who may juſtly come under the ſame cture (F).

*Drunkenness.*

How-

<sup>a</sup> German. c. 14. & 23.  
I. x. CLEM. ALEX. paed. I. ii.

<sup>a</sup> De leg. I. i. Vide & ATHEN.

(E) The fame may, indeed, be ſaid of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as vaſtly below the care of a warlike nation ; but one may ſay, in general, that when the *Romans* came to pour their conquering ar- mies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure those things by their labour, which they were formerly wont to get, either by the ſword, or by commerce : neceſſity ſoon made them feel the ſweet of en- couraging agriculture, and all other kinds of trades ; and by degrees, likewiſe, of the liberal arts and ſciences ; in both which branches they became, in time, as expert and famed as any other nation. So that one may ſafely look upon their conquest by the *Romans* to have been the mother of all theſe.

(F) The truth is, the *Gauls* were more envied for their bra- very, both by *Greeks* and *Romans*, and were, therefore, made oftener the ſubjeſt of their reſlec- tions. Accordingly, *Livy* and *Plutarch* (7) pretend to have it from antient authors, that thoſe *Gauls* who lived near the *Alps*, having once tasted the *Italian* wine, became ſo enamoured with it, that they immediately reſolved to go and conquer that coun- try. And *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that they were ſo fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, that is, one of their ſlaves, for a gallon of wine (8) ; which made the merchants very ready to fu niſh ſuch customers with that beloved commodity, both from *Greece* and *Italy*. It is likewiſe pretended, that they were more than ordinarily greedy

However, though this abuse has been somewhat exaggerated, yet we own, that there must have been some foundation for it, since *Charles the Great* was forced to make some severe laws against it ; one of which obliged the judges on the bench, and the pleaders, to continue fasting ; others, which forbade the forcing of any one to drink more than he cared for ; others, which forbade the soldiers, whilst in the field, to invite any man whatever to drink, under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink water till they had been sufficiently punished for their fault <sup>b</sup>. This vice, it seems, was so universal, that even the *Mysians*, a kind of monkish tribe among the *Scythians*, who were obliged to abstain from all flesh, wine, and strong liquors, and the *Scythians* and *Thracians*, who were destitute of them, had yet a way amongst them of intoxicating themselves by the smoke of some odiferous weeds, something, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them exceeding cheerful and merry, tho'

<sup>b</sup> Vide addit. Carol. Mag. ad leg. Salic. an. 803. & PELLOUTIER. ubi supra, l. ii. c. ult. <sup>c</sup> HERODOT. l. i. MELA, l. ii. PLUT. de fluv. MAX. TYR. l. xi. SOLIN. c. 15.

of it, on account that it made them fight more courageously, or rather furiously, and more apt to despise all manner of dangers and fatigues ; and yet, in fact, nothing is plainer, than that, if those authors have not exaggerated their accounts, the *Gauls* could not encounter a worse enemy than wine proved to them, upon all occasions, since, according to them, it seldom failed throwing whole armies of them into disorder and confusion ; and, which is still worse, by baiting them with some large quantities of that liquor, it either so overcame them, that they fell down dead-drunk, and exposed, as it were, naked and defenceless, to their enemies, by which means they have been

all cut in pieces ; or, as it often happened, it set them a fighting one against another, so that they became an easier prey to them (9). One would, therefore, be apt to think, that, after they had so oft and severely smarted for their greediness after that destructive liquor, their kings and generals would have made some wholesome prohibitions against so dangerous a custom : and what may incline us to believe they did so, is, that though the *Greek* and *Roman* authors charge the *Gaulish* people, in the lump, with this vice, yet the instances they give are but few, and applied sometimes to one nation, sometimes to another of them.

(9) Vide Justin. ex Irag. l. xxiv. c. 7, & sqq. Appian. Celt. Plutareb. Liv. ubi supra, &c al.

without being attended with the ill-effects which are commonly caused by excess of wine, &c<sup>4</sup>.

*Idleness.*

THE laziness, imputed likewise to them, appears, by what we have said a little higher, to have been rather owing to their pride, than to any dislike they had to labour, under an honourable title: for it is plain, that in their exercises, as well as their wars, they accustomed themselves to hardships and fatigues of any kind; so that if they neglected agriculture, and handicraft-trades, it was rather because they looked upon them as a kind of slavery unbecoming their martial genius. And it was upon this account that they so readily rushed upon any desperate death, to avoid being taken prisoners, especially by the *Romans*, who, they knew, were wont to make slaves of them, and condemn them to the hardest and meanest employments (G).

*Ferocity.*

As to their last vice, to wit, their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the less occasion to wonder at it, if we consider, that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death: for how can it be expected they should be tender of other peoples lives, that were so careless, and even lavish of their own? And if slavery appeared so terrible to them, that they preferred any death to it, might they not deem it a mercy in them, to massacre their prisoners of war, or sacrifice them to their gods, rather than to make slaves of them? But we observed before, that this excessive love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other nations, especially upon the *Romans*, not only with a jealous eye, but with an invincible hatred, as they observed them so diligent and successful in enslaving all they could. And this might not add a little to their native

<sup>4</sup> POSIDON. ap. STRAB. I. vii. Vide & CASAUBON. in loc. & PELLOUTIER. ubi supra.

(G) It is true, indeed, that, after their conquest, they have taken up with a laborious life, cultivated their lands, vineyards, and useful trades: yet the same spirit reigns still among their gentry and nobility, both in *Gaul* and *Germany*; where they retain still a contempt for all the laborious and mercantile part, and choose rather to live in a shameful sloth, and even poverty, than support themselves and

families, by any other way than that of arms. They are even known to carry this punctilio of honour so far, as to look upon it as dishonourable, to the last degree, for a nobleman, in how low circumstances soever, to marry the daughter of a mechanic, or even merchant, tho' her fortune were ever so large, and capable of enriching him, and his family.

fierceness, and to that cruelty with which they thought they ought to treat such open invaders of public liberty, as well as those who basely assisted them in it. This will appear still more probable, if we come now to examine some of those social virtues for which they were famed, even by the confession of their enemies, such as their hospitality, frugality, justice, and fidelity.

It will, doubtless, be thought strange, that a nation, so cruel to their enemies, and so touchy and fierce among themselves as to have recourse to single combat upon every trifling affront, should yet be so famed for their hospitality and humanity, not only to strangers, but to such as refused themselves among them ; and yet they are highly cried up for this admirable virtue, both by Greek and Roman authors. It was, it seems, a constant custom among them, to invite their strangers to all their feasts, and, after it was over, to inquire who they were, and wherein they might be served<sup>c</sup>. This was practised, according to the same author, by the very *Celtiberians*, who were looked upon as some of the cruelest among the *Gauls*, insomuch that they came in crowds to invite a traveler to their houses ; and happy was he thought whom he chose for his host : it he pitched upon one whose circumstances would not permit him to afford him a very long *taining* entertainment (for they generally treated them very sumptuously), he always took care to turn him over to another that could do it. If any *Gaul* was convicted of having refused this courtesy to a stranger, he was not only looked upon with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magistrate : witness that law which was enacted among the *Burgundians*, *Laws a-* which laid a fine of three crowns on all such inhospitable de- *gainst the* linquents ; and one of double that sum to any *Burgundian* that *inhospita-* should direct a stranger to the house of a *Roman*. In some *btc.* other places they added a corporal punishment to the fine ; and *Tacitus* does that justice even to the *German* nation, as to give several instances of their tender regard to strangers<sup>d</sup> : and *Cæsar* adds, that they esteemed all such persons as sacred and inviolable, and to whom every house was to be opened, and every table free<sup>e</sup>. They even conducted them from one territory to another, and punished those upon the spot, from whom they had received any damage or ill treatment<sup>h</sup> (H).

We

<sup>c</sup> DIOD. SIC. I. v. <sup>f</sup> German. c. 21. <sup>g</sup> Comment. I. vi.  
<sup>b</sup> ARISTOT. de mir. aud. N. DAMASC. ap. Stob. serm. clxv.

(H) They even punished the murderer of a stranger more severely than that of one of their own nation ; to wit, the former by

*Fidelity and justice.* WE have no less pregnant proofs of their justice and fidelity : witness the confidence which the emperors, princes, and commonwealths, placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendship, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewise in the former choosing them for their life-guards. And if they could be thus faithful to such of the *Roman* emperors as *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Claudius*, and others ; we need not doubt of their being so to other nations, to whose service they had not such a natural reluctance : though it must be owned, that the *Germans* gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in those monarchs than the *Gauls* had done ; and, perhaps, on this very account, that they did not shew such a natural aversion to the *Roman* yoke as the *Gauls* did, who took all opportunities that offered to shake it off. But before even the time of *Augustus*, we find the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in great credit and trust with *Juba* king of *Mauritania*<sup>1</sup>, with *Herod* king of

<sup>1</sup> CÆSAR, comm. l. ii. c. 40.

by death, and the latter by banishment. As for those who took refuge amongst the *Gauls* (and a more safe and steadfast sanctuary they could not meet with in any other nation), they were sure to be protected and maintained, according to their rank. Hence that great number of distressed kings, princes, and others, who fled thither preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence ; of which we have already had occasion to speak in some former sections of this history ; and with what faithfulness they were protected by them, may, out of many more instances, be inferred from that which we shall give our readers, to avoid dwelling too long upon so known a subject.

*Torifin* king of the *Gepidae* had a noble refugee at his court, named *Ildigus*, who had a lawful right to the crown of *Lombardy*, but had been excluded

from it, after the death of king *Vaces*, by *Aduin*, who seized upon it. This last caused *Ildigus* to be demanded of the *Gepidae*, and procured his demand to be backed by the emperor *Justinian*'s ambassadors. *Torifin*, who had just concluded a peace with the *Romans* and *Lombards*, called a council of all his nobles, and acquainted them with *Aduin*'s request, and the danger he was in, if he refused. Upon this, that truly august assembly unanimously agreed, that it were better that their whole nation, men, women, and children, should perish, than to give way to such a sacrilegious demand (1).

Even among the ruder *Slavonians*, who lived on the other side the *Elbe*, it was permitted to set any man's house on fire, who refused sanctuary to a stranger ; and, in such cases, every one strove to punish the violation of hospitality (2).

(1) Procep. Hist. Goth. l. iii. c. 35. & iv. c. 27.  
22. c. 2. Peilatius. l. ii. c. 16.

(2) Helvold. chro. Sla-

*Judea*<sup>k</sup>, with *Cleopatra*<sup>l</sup>, and with most princes far and near ; an account of which has been given in every proper place of this work (1).

Of their frugality we have likewise given several instances, *Frugality*. such as their contempt of gold and silver, of trades and manufactures, and the like ; the antient plainness of their diet, dres, houses, &c. Their cloathing was a kind of vest and *Dress*. breeches, light and neat ; they wore their hair long, had a collar about their neck, and bracelets about their wrists, and above the elbow. Those who were raised to dignities, wore them of gold, the rest of brass. The druids were always cloathed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all public occasions, appeared with their arms<sup>m</sup>. We know *Marria-* little of their marriages, except that they do not seem to have *ges*. allowed polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives : at least this plainly appears from a passage of *Pomponius Mela*, who, being a *Spaniard*, must understand the *Gaulish* laws and customs better than any *Greek* or *Roman* author that has written of them. We shall give the substance of it in the note ; first, because it contains some curious particulars about the *Gaulish* funerals, with which we shall close this section ; and, secondly, because the author does

<sup>k</sup> JOSEPH. bell. Jud. I. i. c. 21. <sup>l</sup> Idem ibid. c. 5.  
<sup>m</sup> STRABO, I. iv. PLINY, I. xvi. c. 24. De diis Germ. & al.

(1) They have, indeed, been branded with the reverse vice, by several *Greek* and *Roman* historians (3); and it must be owned, that they have sometimes receded from their fidelity, notwithstanding their valuing themselves so much upon it, above all other nations ; and we have formerly given several instances of it, though, for want of knowing what motives induced them to it, we have been obliged to condemn them for actions, which, if those authors had rightly informed us of the true springs of, might have passed uncensured. Neither *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*, nor *Romans*, were famed for their

strict adherence to their treaties, any more than scrupulous about the means of obtaining them : and *Cæsar*, for instance, has laid the blame on the *Gaulish* perfidy, which *Cato* has bravely retorted upon him (4). And who knows what provocations they may have had, whenever they have departed from their usual fidelity and justice ? But, not to dwell too long upon uncertainties, we may affirm, that, in the main, they long enjoyed that noble character, however their conquests afterwards, and since them their unmeasurable ambition, have hurried them into the quite opposite extreme.

(3) *Cæsar*, ubi supra, I. iv. c. 12. *Polyb.* I. ii. *Livy*, I. xxv. c. 33. *Vide Patr.* & al. (4) *Vide Sueton.* in *Jul. Cæs.* c. 24. *Plut.* in *ed.* *Cato Min.* *Die Coff.* & al.

*Funerals,  
&c.*

therein clear that nation from having entertained the *Pythagorean* doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which other writers have absurdly charged them with, and which we promised, in a former section,\* to disprove (K). That they burned the dead bodies, appears from those urns which contained their bones and ashes, with some other trinkets which they mingled with them, of more or less value, according, as may be supposed, to the condition of the deceased ; but that they likewise buried without burning, may be also gathered from those entire bodies which have been found in many places in *Gaul*, *Germany*, and especially in the mounds of *Salisbury* plain, of which we shall give a fuller account in a subsequent chapter : for as the *Gauls* received their religious laws and customs from the *British* druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in them in both countries.

(K) " Among other tenets, " which the druids hold, says " that author (5), there is one, " which they endeavour to in- " culate into every *Gaul*, in or- " der to inspire them with greater " bravery ; namely, that of the " immortality of the soul, and " a future life. Accordingly, " says he, when they burn the " bodies of their dead, and bury " their ashes, they bury, like- " wise, with them, their books " of accounts, and the notes of " hand of the moneys they had " lent whilst alive, that they " may be of service to them in " the other world. Sometimes, " likewise, their near relations " and friends have flung them- " selves into the funeral pile, to " go and live with them there. " Has this doctrine of a future " life any thing in common with " the *Pythagorean* transmigra- " tion ? Could these account- " books, receipts, and notes, be " of any service to souls which " pass in other bodies, either " of men, or brutes ? Can those, " who affirm it, imagine that

" souls, thus transmigrated, into " whatever body it be, could be " still the same persons, whom " those accounts concerned ? And " would those friends have been " such fools, as to choose to die " with them, for the sake of liv- " ing with them hereafter, had " they had the least notion of " such a transmigration ? How " could they ever expect that " happiness, if they really be- " lieved, that, upon their going " out of this world, their souls " were to enter into fresh bo- " dies, of either men, women, " brutes, or vegetables, the one, " perhaps, in one corner of the " world, and the other in an- " other ? What likelihood is " there, that the *Gauls*, so jea- " lous of their liberty as they " were, would, by thus rushing " into immediate death, run the " risk of passing into the bodies, " I will not say either of plants, " or brutes, but even into those " of slaves, or of women, over " whom they had the power of " life and death ?"

## S E C T. V.

*The History of the antient Gauls, from the Roman Invasion, and their Conquest by Julius Cæsar, to the Irruption of the Franks.*

WE shall have the less room to inlarge upon this subject, first, because we have little or no account of this nation before they were visited by the *Romans*, but what we have given an account of in some part or other of this chapter; and, secondly, because what happened to them from that time to the irruption of the *Franks*, has been fully spoken of in the *Roman history*. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and short, for the sake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may save our readers the trouble of collecting the particulars of it out of our former volumes, by having recourse to every index, we shall give them here a summary *A summary* them in one view, and in as succinct a method as we can, *of the* with proper references to the respective places where Gaulish those facts have been more fully discussed, and add to it an *history*. account of such other transactions as have not yet, or have been but slightly touched upon. All which we shall endeavour to couch, as well as it can be done, in a chronological order, and as near as we can to its epocha, according to such of our chronologers as may be best depended upon. We shall only add here, that the *Gauls*, being a strong and hardy people, and multiplying so fast, that their country could not contain them, was one constant cause of their excursions into *Their fre-* other countries far and near, and in such vast multitudes, that *quent send-* they spread terror where-ever they came. It often happened, *ing of co-* likewise, that these colonies, thus settled in a foreign country, *lonies a-* were so molested by their neighbours, that, to prevent their *broad.* being dispossessed, they sent into their native country for fresh assistance, and easily obtained it, the *Gauls* being always ready to pour out their numerous swarms, upon all such occasions, to prevent any of their old colonies being driven back to them. Hence their vast multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceness, and cruelty to those who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable necessity, upon all such expeditions, either to conquer or starve, added not a little to the dread of their name. We shall pass by those which they antiently made out of *Europe* into several parts of *Asia*, where they settled themselves in several fine countries, and under different names,

names, and for which we shall refer our readers to the *Celtic history* in a former volume<sup>a</sup>.

*Gauls under Bellovesus &c. in Ne-*  
THEIR earliest, and most considerable sally we have recorded, is that which they made into *Italy*, under their famous leader *Bellovesus* (A), who, crossing the *Rhone*, and the *Alps*, till then unattempted, defeated the *Hetrurians*, and other *Italy*. other opposers, near the *Tesino*, settled, and spread themselves over that part of *Italy* called *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, then inhabited by the *Hetrurians*, about the year of *Rome* 160<sup>b</sup>.

1256. *Bef. Christ 622.* THE *Cænomani*, who dwelt between the rivers *Seine* and *Loire*, made the second grand expedition under their general *Elitonis*, and settled in the *Bresciano*, *Cremonese*, *Mantuan*, *Carniola*, and *Venetian*<sup>c</sup>. The time of this and the next is uncertain.

THE third was made by the *Lœves* and *Ananes*, the former of whom settled in *Novara*, on one side of the *Po*; and the latter in *Piacentia*, on the opposite side.

IN a fourth, the *Boii* and *Lingones*, having passed the *Pennine Alps*, settled on the south side of the *Po*, between *Ravenna* and *Bologna*.

IN the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of *Bellovesus*, the *Senones*, seated between *Paris* and *Meaux*, were invited into *Italy* by an *Hetrurian* lord, and settled themselves in *Umbria*.<sup>d</sup> *Brennus*, who was their king, had laid siege to *Clusium*; and here it was that he gave that noble answer to the three *Fabii*, who were sent from *Rome* to expostulate with him, of which we have had occasion to take notice in a former section. We have seen, in a late volume<sup>e</sup>, that the treachery of the *Fabii*, in entering and de-

<sup>a</sup> See vol. vi. p. 11, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> LIVY, l. v. c. 3, 4, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. 31, & seq. See PROL. l. iii. c. 1. LACCURI de colon. Gall.

<sup>d</sup> See vol. xi. p. 532.

(A) *Ambigatus*, then king of *Celtogallia*, finding his kingdom overstocked, sent his two nephews, *Bellovesus* and *Srgovesus*, each at the head of a numerous army, to go and seek some new settlements. The first crossed the *Alps*, and the latter the *Rhine* and *Hercynian forest*, and settled in that part of *Germany* since then called *Boemia*, and *Bohemia*, from the *Boii*, who accompanied him

in that expedition, as shall be further shewn in the next chapter. Hence, however, it plainly appears, that it was their vast increase, that obliged the *Gauls* to send such numerous colonies abroad; and not, as *Livy* (1), *Pliny* (2), *Plutarch* (3), and other writers, have misrepresented it, their thirst after the *Italian wine*, that invited them to cross the till then unattempted *Alps*.

(1) Lib. v. c. 33.

(2) Lib. xii. c. 1.

(3) De vir. illigfr. tom. ii. p. 214.

sending

fending that city, and of the *Romans* in countenancing, instead of punishing it, so exasperated the *Gaulish* general, that, raising the siege of the place, he immediately turned all his force against the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to *Rome*, whose inhabitants were struck with such terror at his approach, that they abandoned it to his mercy. When *Brennus* entered the place, which appeared to *Brennus* him like a very desert, he secured all the avenues round the <sup>enters and</sup> *capitol*, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered by <sup>plunders</sup> *Rome*. his men, who presently after reduced it to ashes, and all its stately temples and palaces into an heap of rubbish. We shall not repeat the particulars of this expedition; but refer our reader to the account which we have given of it in the *Roman* history above quoted <sup>c</sup>, where he will find at length the whole *Gaulish* army intirely cut off by the brave *Camillus*.

THE next expedition was still more unfortunate; for those *Gauls*, who had settled themselves in those parts of *Italy* we <sup>An unfortunate ex-</sup> have lately spoken of, led but an uneasy life there, being continually harassed by the *Romans*; upon which, they sent into *Gaul* for fresh reinforcements; but these came in such vast numbers to their assistance, that they became more dreadful to them than the *Romans*: so that they made no scruple to turn their arms against them, and, having killed their two leaders, easily put the whole army to flight. The *Romans*, however, <sup>The Ro-</sup> were in no small dread of them, when they found how active <sup>a</sup> men <sup>were in Italy</sup>, and what vast armies they could draw out of <sup>lured</sup> *Gaul*; and it was to dissipate that fear, that they perpetrated <sup>of</sup> that horrid piece of superstition at *Rome*, which we formerly mentioned, of burying a *Greek* and a *Gaulish* man and woman alive in the ox-market. But they did not trust to this so far as not to make vast preparations, when they heard that the *Gæsatæ*, another brave *Gaulish* nation, were invited, by their <sup>The Ga-</sup> *Italian* countrymen, to their assistance. These were of a fater <sup>join</sup> fiercer nature than any of the rest; they scorned all kind of <sup>against</sup> defensive armour as mean and cowardly, and generally chose <sup>them</sup> to fight naked. Had but their martial skill been as great as their courage (B), it is likely they might, at that juncture, <sup>have</sup>

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid* p. 537, & seq.

(B) We have purposely omitted several defeats, which they met with in some other expeditions, and which the reader

will find in the places of the *Roman* history quoted below (4); where he will find, that the *Romans* were by that time so well

(4) See before, & xii. p. 29, &c., 42, & seq. &c., & seq. 12, & seq.

*The Romans in great fear of the Gauls.* have disabled the *Romans* from ever conquering any more nations : for their approach had spread such a terror all over the Roman territories, that they raised one of the vastest armies that ever had been known amongst them. If we may believe a prodigious army.<sup>5</sup> Polybius<sup>6</sup>, it consisted of no less than eight hundred thousand men, horse and foot. The *Gauls*, however, nothing terrified at it, though they had but fifty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, forced their way through them, and entered their territories ; but, being as inferior to them in military discipline, as they were in number, they met with a total defeat : forty thousand of them were killed on the spot, and ten thousand taken prisoners, and amongst them *Concolitanus*, one of their kings ; whilst the other, named *Aneroestus*, and by far the most experienced warrior, only escaped to a neighbouring village, and there killed himself, as did most of the officers who followed him, according to the *Gaulish* maxim, of preferring death to slavery.

*The Romans in great fear of the Gauls.* NOTWITHSTANDING all these successes, the *Romans* had no small reason to fear, that the *Gauls* would, at length, be made sensible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial discipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become, in time, as expert soldiers as they (C) ; in which case, they could not but become a very formidable enemy to their nation, considering their hatred to it, their hardiness, intrepidity, and readiness to join every foe against them. The assistance they gave *Hannibal*, as he was crossing their country, and over the *Alps*, of which we have given an account elsewhere<sup>7</sup> ; and, after him, to *Mago*, and the *Carthaginians*, during their war ; their being so frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other states and kingdoms, most of

<sup>f</sup> Lib. ii. c. 22. & seq. & alibi pass.

<sup>g</sup> See vol. xi. p. 235, & seq. (I). 245,

apprised of their superiority to them in this point, that they generally trusted to it, and with good success ; since it appears, by all these instances, that it was by this that they gave them such frequent and surprising defeats.

(C) We are told (5), that their very weapons, especially their swords, were so wretchedly tempered, that, upon the very first

onset, in which they constantly charged with incredible fury, they used either to break, bend, or be so blunted against the *Roman* javelins, as to become useless ; so that, before they could have time to sharpen or straighten them, the enemy presently closed in upon them, and, throwing by the javelin, and shortening their swords upon them, stabbed them, like so many sheep.

(5) *Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in Marcell. Orof. &c al.*

them

them at war with *Rome*, and among which they were sure to perfect themselves more and more in the martial trade, whilst they themselves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifest danger ; these considerations obliged them, *Resolve to* at last, to retaliate upon them, and invade their country, *invade* upon the first favourable opportunity, and before they were *them*. become too expert in the art of war for them : but, before we come to speak of this, it will be necessary to say something of their other expeditions and exploits, in *Asia*, *Macedonia*, and other countries.

THE first of this kind was in the year after *Pyrrhus* passed *A three-* into *Italy*<sup>b</sup>, when the *Gauls*, finding themselves again over-*fold excurs-* stocked at home, sent out three vast colonies to seek new ha-*tion of the* bitations. *Brennus* (perhaps a descendent of him who had about two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into *Italy* *Year of* we have lately mentioned) was the chief adviser of this expedi-*the flood* *2069.* tion, and head of one of the *Gaulish* armies ; *Cerebrius* com-*Bef. Christ* manded the second, and marched into *Thrace* ; and the third, *279.* under the command of *Belgius*, marched into *Illyricum* and *Macedonia* : as for *Brennus*, he was entered into *Pannonia*, *Brennus* or *Hungary*, a poor country in comparison to those which *enters* *Belgius* had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himself with *Hungary*. immense plunder ; so that, envying his success, he resolved to join him, and share it with him. *Belgius* being soon after de-*Belgius* feated to such a degree, that we hear no more of him, or his *defeated in* men, he hastened thither, under pretence of revenging and *Illyricum.* assisting him : and it is not improbable, that the remainder of *Brennus'* *ill succ. is.* *Belgius's* army listed themselves under him. The army with which he entered into those two provinces, consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse : but a revolt happened in it, in which *Leontinius* and *Lutarinius*, the two chief leaders of it, carried off twenty thousand men, and marched into *Thrace*, and, joining themselves to *Cere-* *thrius*, seized on *Byzantium*, and the western coasts of *Pro-* *pontis*, and there settled, and made the adjacent parts tributa-*ry to them.*

To retrieve this loss, *Brennus* sent for fresh supplies from *Sicily*, *for* *Gallia*, enlisted some *Illyrians*, and, with a new army of one *fresh force* hundred and fifty thousand foot, and above sixty thousand *from Gall.* horse, entered *Macedonia*, defeated *Sosthenes*, and ravaged *Success in* the whole country. He next marched towards the straits of *Macedo-* *Thermopylae*, with an intent to invade *Greece* ; but was stopped *nia.* by the forces which were sent to defend that pass against him. This obliged him to get him some guides over those moun-

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. l. i. c. 6. Vide PAUSAN. PHOC. JUSTIN. l. xxiv. & seq.

*Marches  
towards  
Delphi.*

*Seized  
with a  
strange  
panic.*

*Their  
dreadful  
defeat, and  
end.*

*Brennus's  
left ad-  
vicer, and  
died.*

*The whole  
array po-  
tient.*

tains, over which *Xerxes* had passed his forces before ; upon which, the guards retired, to avoid being surrounded by him. He then ordered *Aichorius*, the next to him in this expedition, to follow him at a distance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched strait towards *Delphi*, with a design, as is supposed, to plunder that rich city and temple ; but met, it seems, with a terrible repulse, from a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed a great number of his men ; and from a dreadful earthquake, which overwhelmed another part of his army : so that the remainder, being seized with a panic fury, fell upon, and murdered each other, all that night. The next morning they found their mistake, and near one half of their army destroyed, and the Greek forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and in such numbers, that, though *Aichorius* joined him in due time,

yet were they not able to make head against the *Greeks*, but were defeated, with a terrible slaughter. *Brennus* himself was desperately wounded, and so disheartened at his miscarriage, that he assembled all his chiefs, and, having advised them to slay all that were wounded and disabled, and to make as good a retreat as they could, he put an end to his life. *Aichorius*, immediately after, led the remainder of this shattered army back, as well as he could ; but their long marches through enemies countries, the oppositions and hardships they met with from them, and the grievous calamities which accompanied them, did, it seems, so thoroughly exhaust them, that not one of them returned from that expedition<sup>1</sup> : a just judgment, indeed, upon them, if they really went with that sacrilegious design which is charged upon them by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, and in which we make no doubt but they have as much exaggerated their punishment in their above-mentioned defeat, as they have their guilt, as the reader may see by what is added in the note (D).

WHILST

<sup>1</sup> Iudein ibid. Vide & *MEMNON*. excerpt. ap. *Phoc.* c. 19, & seq. *Elog.* *Diod.* *Sic.* l. xxii. *Liv.* l. xxxviii. *CALLIMACH.* hymn. in *Delum.* *Suid.* in voc. *Iāλαζις*.

(D) We promised, in a former section, to explode the virulent charge which *Cicero* lays against the *Gauls*, and their religion, founded chiefly on this action of their plundering the *Delphic* temple, and that of their besieging the capitol, and, as he adds (to aggravate it the more), the great *Jupiter* in it ; from which he infers, that their religion consisted only in a diametrical opposition to all others, and in waging war against the gods of other nations, &c. and that the *Gauls* were a most irreligious,

WHILST this expedition was carrying on in *Greece*, the *Anakter* other colonies under *Leonorius*, parting from the others who colony in were settled in the *Propontis*, marched into the *Hellefpon*, *wade the* and made themselves masters of *Lysimachia*, and the *Thracian Hellef-* *Chersonesus*. Here some great misunderstanding happening pont.

ligious, wicked, and dangerous people, not fit to live ; and much more to that purpose.

Now, if it be true, that the *Gauls*, before their conquest, did worship the one Supreme Being, and, like the *Perſis*, *Brachmans*, and other antient nations and philosophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or represent him by idols of any kind, as we have formerly shewed they did, then will their destroying those temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treasure, if they had really done so b; this of *Delpbi*, stand justified, and i:ther deserve commendation, than such a black reproof. The plunder of such superstitious treasures, o men of their principles; and for the support of a numerous army that stands in need of it, will be justly deemed applying them to a better use.

But it plainly appears, from the majority of those authors quoted above, that they did not plunder the *Delpic oracle*; but that they were scared from it by a storm and earthquake, which threw them into such a panic, as made them be easily overcome by those *Greek forces*, which came, with great fury, to defend their country and oracle against them; upon which it is supposed, that all these disasters befel them as a just judgment for their sacrilegious design against that temple and treasure : but this last is at best but a surmize, founded on a wrong, tho'

common notion, that such disasters always argued some atrocious crimes in the sufferers : all which is here dressed up, by authors who were professed enemies to the *Gaulysh nation*, and have, doubtless, exaggerated both at their pleasure, tho' without any real foundation.

*Justin*, and after him *Cicerio*, indeed, accuse them of having plundered the *Delpic treasure*; and the last adds, that they carried it home too; but, being grievously plagued for their sacrilege, they were advised to throw their ill-got pelf into the lake of *Iboulous*. This, though plainly opposite to all those authors, who have written of that exp:ition, seems to us only an invidiou. improvement on the account they have given of it, in order to bring a scandal on that vast treasure which was consecrated and reposed in that lake, and which *Strabo* and *Athenaeus*, on the authority of *Potilonius*, tell us, was (so far from being fetched from *Delpbi*) dug up out of some rich mines in that neighbourhood, as we have already had occasion to observe in the last section. If any thing, therefore, could be objected, with any seeming justice, against the *Gauls*, it was their sending such powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither *Grecs* nor *Romans* could have any pretence to find fault with that, which was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.

*Some set-  
tled in Ga-  
latia.*

between those two chiefs, they parted their forces ; the former returned to *Byzantium*, and the latter staid where he was. They did, however, rejoin their forces some time after, and passed into *Asia*, being invited thither by *Niconedes*, whom they assisted against his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions ; in acknowledgement of which, he assigned them that part of *Lesser Asia* which we described at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called *Gallogracia*, and *Galatia*. Thither came also a great number of those other Gauls who had settled in *Thrace*, and who were driven from thence by *Antigonus Gonatus*, who had seized the kingdom of *Macedon* upon the death of *Sophenes*. A greater number of them dispersed themselves about in other countries, and either perished, or so intermingled themselves, as not to be heard of any more ; so that of this great and threatening Gaulish army, none remained but those who settled in *Galatia*<sup>k</sup>. These, likewise, in time, increasing in number, and being strengthened in their territories, endeavoured, according to custom, to enlarge them where they could, and to send their colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (E), which did not a little annoy and alarm all their neighbours ; but they were at length suppressed by the proconsul of *Asia*, *Corn. Manlius Vulso*, who gave them several defeats, and obliged them to live quietly, and keep within their old limits<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> *Ibidem ibid.*

<sup>l</sup> *Liv. l. xxxvii.*

(E) *Justin* tells us, that all *Asia* swarmed with them, and that there was hardly an eastern prince at war, that did not hire them as mercenaries (6). This was, in particular, the case of *Antiochus Hierax*, in his war against *Selucus*, whom he defeated at *Anycra* (7) by the help of the Gaulish auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have cost him dear : for these, having heard a rumour, that *Selucus* had been slain, formed, it seems, a project to murder him, and seize upon his kingdom ; so that he found no better way of saving himself,

than by giving them all the treasure he had (8).

The scene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed into *Mesopotamia*, it is not improbable, that the battle of *Babylonia* happened between the Babylonish Jews and the Gauls, in which eight thousand of the former defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thousand of the latter (9) : for Babylon was then a province of *Mesopotamia*, and *Antiochus* then in confederacy with the numerous Gauls.

<sup>6</sup> *Liv. xxv. c. 2.*  
<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem ibid.*  
<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem l. xxvii. c. 2.*  
<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem viii. 20.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem ibid.*  
<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem l. xxvii. c. 2.*  
<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem l. xxvii. c. 2.*  
<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem viii. 20.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem ibid.*  
<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem l. xxvii. c. 2.*  
<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem l. xxvii. c. 2.*  
<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem viii. 20.*

THEY are, however, affirmed by some authors to have been subdued about fifty<sup>2</sup>three years before, by *Attalus* king of *Pergamos*<sup>m</sup>; and if so, they must have found out some means of recovering their liberty, to have been so powerful in *Manlius*'s time; unless we suppose these authors to have confounded the *Gauls* with the *Galatians*. However that be, these last were still, above 130 years after, governed by their own tetrarchs, one of whom, named *Deiotarus*, was, for his services done to *Pompey the Great*, created king by him (F), and had the *Lesser Armenia*, and some other territories, added to his own<sup>n</sup>. Thus much may suffice for the *Gaulish* expeditions abroad. It is time now to return to those at home, and to give an account of their conquest by the *Romans*.

Year of  
the flood  
2160.  
Bef. Christ  
188.  
~~~~~

We hinted a little higher, that the *Romans* were grown so *Marcius* fearful of the *Gauls*, that they thought it proper, in order to *subdues* humble them, to lead their armies into their country. After *part of* many attempts, not worth mentioning, the person that opened the most effectual way into *Gaul* was the great consul Q. *Marcius*, surnamed *Rex*, to whose lot this province was fallen, as well as the supreme power, by the death of his colleague in *Numidia*. *Marcius*, the better to carry on his design, opened a way between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, a work of immense labour, in which he was stoutly opposed by the *Gauls*, especially the *Stæni*, who lived at the foot of the *Alps*<sup>o</sup>, and who, *The dread*-finding themselves overpowered by him, set fire to their *ful end of* houses, killed their wives and children, and threw them and *the brave* themselves into the flames. *Marcius*, having accomplished *Stæni* his work, planted a colony, for the security of it, in the country of the *Völcae Tectoagii*, between the *Pyrenees* and the city of *Thoulouse*; and built a city in it, and called it *Narb*, *Narbonne* *Marcius*, since *Narbonne*, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of such a considerable part of *Gaul*, and the opening and securing such a way between the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*, as it laid the foundation for the conquest of the whole country, was thought so considerable a service to *Rome*, that the senate ordered him a triumph for it<sup>p</sup>. His successor,

*Gaul.*

*built by*  
*Marcius.*

<sup>m</sup> Idem, l. xxxiii. STRAB. l. xiii. SUID. POLYÆN. &c.  
<sup>n</sup> STRABO, l. xii. EUTROP. l. vi. <sup>o</sup> STEPH. de urb. <sup>p</sup> Fast. capit. CIC. pro Fonteio. See before, vol. xii. p. 449, & seq.

(F) This is the same *Deiotarus* that soon after dispossessed the other three tetrarchs, and seized upon all *Galatia*. For this he was summoned before

*Julius Caesar*, upon which occasion *Cicero* made a speech in his behalf, which is still extant, under the name of *Oratio pro rege Deiotaro*.

Scaurus's success in Gaul. *Scaurus*, not only conquered some other nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Gentisci* and *Carni* (G); but, to facilitate the sending of troops from *Italy* thither, he made some excellent roads between them, which before were almost impassable <sup>q</sup>, and was likewise honoured with a triumph.

*The sacred* In the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, taking the treasure of alarm at these successes, took up arms against them, and gave Thou-  
louse several considerable overthrows; in one of which the plundered. *Tigurini* (H), having surprised them, made them, and their general *Popilius*, pass under the yoke <sup>r</sup>. The *Cimbri*, in particular, had retaken some parts of *Gaul* from the *Romans*, and, especially, the famous city of *Thoulose*; upon which, Year of the flood 2247. *Cepio* marching his army to retake it, it opened its gates to him; notwithstanding which, he not only gave it up to be plundered by them, but carried off all that vast treasure that had been consecrated there by the *Gauls* <sup>s</sup>, and of which we have lately given an account, to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, and the same of silver, even according to the most moderate accounts of it; and, in spite of his treachery, avarice, and sacrilege, was continued pro-  
Bef. Christ 101. *The Gauls* consul of the *Narbonnese Gaul*. This vile action so exasperated revenge the *Gauls*, that they joined with the *Cimbri*, and, taking the advantage of the squabble that was between the general and Roman his colleague *Mulius*, they fell upon them so furiously, that they gave them such an overthrow as they had scarcely ever met with, killed eighty thousand men, besides forty thousand servants and sutlers, in one day; only ten men, of their whole army, escaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave *Sextilius*, who saved himself by swimming over the *Rhine*. The *Gauls*, who, according to custom on such occasions, had devoted all the spoil, threw all the silver and gold into the *Rhine*, drowned all the horses, and murdered all the prisoners they had taken. What consternation this loss threw the city of *Rome* into, and what punishment was inflicted on the sacrilegious *Cepio*, we have elsewhere shewn <sup>t</sup>. As to the victorious allies, they held a general council, whether to march immediately into *Italy*, or reduce those provinces which the

<sup>q</sup> See before, vol. xii. p. 495, & seq. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 469.  
<sup>s</sup> Ibid. p. 494, & seq. <sup>t</sup> Ibid. p. 498, & seq.

(G) These inhabited part of *Noricum*; and the name of the latter is still retained in the province of *Carniola*.

(H) The two former are only

different names for the *Germans*, as we shall see in the next chapter. As to the *Tigurini*, they inhabited that part of *Switzerland* called *Zurich*.

*Romans* held in *Gaul*: they agreed, however, to consult the brave *Æmilius Scaurus*, whom they had taken prisoner in a preceding action, and who, *Roman* like, strove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic; but was, for his bold speech, stabbed to death by *Boiorix* king of the *Cimbri*<sup>u</sup>.

THE *Roman* senate, expecting nothing less than a fresh *irruption* of the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, thought fit to recal *Marius* in a *fresh* from his successful expedition against *Fugurtha*; and, having *confermation*. honoured him with a triumph for it, appointed him general against the enemy, and *Sylla* to serve under him. They both set out accordingly, and *Sylla* gained several advantages against the *Tectosagi*, and took *Copillus*, one of their kings, prisoner, whilst *Marius* resolved not to engage such a numerous army as appeared against him, till he had received sufficient reinforcements to his own. In the mean time, the *Marci*, *Marci* join another people of *Germany*, had joined the *Cimbri*, with a design to enter *Italy* with them, and *Sylla* was sent to oppose them; but they; but he, instead of engaging them, found means to gain the former over to the *Roman* interest. The *Cimbri*, by *Sylla*, enraged at this, ceased not to infest the *Roman* general till they forced him to remove to *Aqua Sextia*, now *Aix* in *Provence*; who in his way was briskly attacked by the brave *Ambrones*, now the canton of *Bern*, to whose valour had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave *Cepio* and his colleague. They fought with the utmost fury and intrepidity, indeed; but wanted discipline; so that, not being able to stand the shock of such regular troops as they engaged, so dreadful a Ambro-slaughter was made of them, that the next river ran stained with their blood. Here the *Ambronian* women likewise figured. *Valour of their women.* nalized themselves, ran with their axes against the pursuing *Romans*, and made a stout opposition. But, being at length overpowered, and offering to surrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied them by the enemy (I), they mur-

<sup>u</sup> *Ibid.* p. 499.

(I) These conditions were, as we hinted in a former section, that their honour should be preserved; that they should not be sold into slavery; and that they should be employed in the service of the *Vestals*. These conditions being denied, they would have contented themselves with

the first; but, that being inhumanly refused, their love of chastity made them prefer such an honourable death, as could not but cast a more shameful brand on those who stiled them barbarians, and yet used such brave matrons in so inhuman a manner (1).

(1) *Vide Plut. in Mariis. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 1. Frontin pl. 1. t. iv. cap. 2. v. deder*

dered all their children, and themselves ; so that not one of them was found alive <sup>v</sup>.

AFTER this defeat, the *Gauls* seem to have been quiet for some time, whether too much suppressed by the *Romans*, or that they left it to the *Germans* to harass them, as they in fact did, and gave the consul much trouble, though to very little effect, they being constantly overcome, as often as they engaged him ; but he met, soon after, with a more dreadful enemy in *Sylla*, and *Rome* was so rent, and in such conflagration, on account of those two factions, as we have seen in the *Roman history*, that they rather sought the friendship of the *Gauls*, than their reduction. But *Sylla* found means, by his address, to draw them to his side <sup>x</sup>. Hence it is likely, that he suffered them to live in peace during the whole time of his dictatorship ; for we hear nothing relating to them during that time, nor for some space after his death, though the scene of war was by this time removed into *Spain* and *Portugal* by *Sertorius*, and where he had very great success against *Pompey*, who was sent against him <sup>y</sup>. This war was no sooner ended there, than a new one began in the heart of *Italy* under *Spartacus*; who was at the head of an army consisting chiefly of *Gaulish* slaves, and whom he designed, after some notable successes against the two consuls, to have led back over the *Alps* into their own country. But this they stiffly refused, and were soon after totally defeated by *Crassus*, who was sent against them, and *Spartacus* himself slain, after having fought with incredible bravery, and sacrificed heaps of *Romans* round about him : forty thousand of the *Gauls* were killed on the spot ; the rest fled into *Lusitania*, where they were soon after cut off by *Pompey* <sup>z</sup>. Whether the *Transalpine Gauls* had any hand in this rebellion, does not appear. In that famed conspiracy of *Catiline* they were indeed invited into it by some of his partisans, in hopes of drawing some considerable helps from thence ; but the ambassadors of the *Allobroges* (K), then at *Rome*, who had been also tampered with, made such a full discovery of the whole design to their protector Q. *Fab. Sanga*, and he to the consuls, that it was happily prevented and disconcerted <sup>a</sup>.

*Spartacus  
and 40000  
Gauls  
slain.*

*Cæsar's  
swift en-  
trance into  
Gaul.*

FROM hence it seems as if the *Gauls* had lived all this long while in quiet and good friendship with *Rome*, whatever feuds there might be among them in the heart of their country : the *Gaul*.

<sup>v</sup> See vol. xiii. p. 13.      <sup>x</sup> Ibid. p. 32, & seq.      <sup>y</sup> Ibid. p. 101, & seq.      <sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 124, & seq.      <sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 140.

(K) These inhabited the regions at the foot of the *Alps*, known now by the names of *Savoia*, *Dauphine*, and *Piedmont*.  
*Helvetii*

*Helvetii* were they which kindled that fresh war which brought *Cæsar* over the *Alps*, and ended in the conquest of that brave and warlike nation. *Orgetorix* was the first cause of it, who, *Orgetorix* whether through want of room, or a desire to exchange his in- <sup>the cause</sup> clement country for a better, or for some other cause not men- *of it*. tioned by any writer, had engaged a vast number of his coun- trymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in search of new conquests. *Julius Cæsar*, to whose lot the whole *Cæsar's* country of *Gaul* was fallen, made such haste to come and sup- <sup>swift</sup> pres them, that he was got to the *Rhone* in eight days, broke <sup>march,</sup> down the bridge of *Geneva*, and, in a few days more, finished <sup>works,</sup> the famed wall between that city and mount *Jura*, now *St. Claude*, which extended seventeen miles in length, was sixteen feet high, fortified with towers and castles at proper distances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (L). Whilst this was doing, and the reinforcements he wanted were coming, he amused the *Helvetii*, who had sent to demand a passage through the country of the *Allobroges*, till he had got his reinforcements, and then flatly refused it to them; where- upon a dreadful battle ensued, in which they lost one hundred and thirty thousand men, in spite of all their valour, besides a <sup>and success</sup> number of prisoners, among whom was the wife and daughter <sup>against the</sup> *Helvetii*. of *Orgetorix*, the leader of this unfortunate expedition. The rest submitted, and begged they might be permitted to go and settle among the *Aedui*, from whom they originally sprung; and, at the request of these last, were permitted to go (M).

This

(L) If his own account of it may be relied upon (2), he did not set out till the beginning of April; and yet this huge work was finished by the ides or 13th of the month: so that, subtracting the eight days he was a com- ing, it must have been all done in about five days: a prodigious work! considering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had given him an helping hand.

(M) The *Aedui* were situate between the rivers *Seine*, *Loire*, and *Saone*, and were the only allies *Cæsar* then had. Theirs being a fruitful country, they

had promised to supply him with corn; but made so many delays, that he began to suspect their fidelity, and to find himself in great distress for want of it. *Divitiacus*, one of the lords of it, was then in his army, with *Liscus*, one of their magi- strates: *Cæsar* examined them both about it separately, and the latter told him, that *Dunmorix*, the younger brother of *Divitiacus*, designing to seize upon the supreme power, had allied with the *Helvetii*, and sent that corn to them, which should have been conveyed to him. *Divitiacus* confirmed what *Liscus* had

(2) *Comment.* l. i. c. 1, & seq.

said,

This action and victory, joined to the policy and incredible dispatch with which *Cæsar* had carried it against them, gained him such reputation, and, at the same time, struck the *Gauls* with such a dread, that they strove who should pay him the first homage and congratulations, and procure his friendship. So that we may look upon it as the basis of all his glory and conquests in this country.

*His address among them.* WE formerly took notice of the sad divided state he found them in at his first coming among them, their vast variety of governments, their jealousy over each other, the overgrown power of some, and the reduction of others into a state of dependence next to slavery : *Cæsar*, who knew best how to make the most of these intestine broils, soon became the protector of the oppressed, a terror to the oppressor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among those who applied to him for help, were his allies the *Aedui*, against whom *Ariovistus*, king of the *Germans*, joined with the *Arverni* (N), in their late wars, had taken the country of the *Sequani* from them, and obliged them to send hostages to him. *Cæsar* forthwith sent to demand the restitution of both, and, in an interview which he soon after obtained of that haughty and treacherous prince, was like to have fallen a sacrifice to his perfidy ; upon which, he bent his whole power against him, forced him, against his will (O), out of his strong intrenchments, and gave him a total overthrow. *Ariovistus* escaped, with difficulty, over the *Rhine* ; but his two wives, and a daughter, with a great number of *Germans* of distinction, fell into the conqueror's hand. *Cæsar*,

Ariovistus defeated. said, but without naming his brother ; and, when *Cæsar* would have punished him for his perfidy, generously interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (3).

(N) The *Arverni* were seated on the *Loire*, and were so called from their metropolis, *Arvernnum*, now *Clémont*, the capital of the *Guéenne*s. They were once the most powerful people of the *Gauls* ; their territories are said to have reached from the ocean to the *Rhine*, on one side, and the *Pyrenées*, on the other (4).

The *Sequani* were neighbours to the *Aedui*, and inhabited that

part of *Gallia Belgica* called *Upper Burgundy*, now *French Comté*.

(O) *Cæsar*, who lost no advantage he could get on an enemy, had intelligence, that some *German* prophetesses (and such were in high esteem among them) had foretold, that they could not be victorious, till after the new moon ; or rather, he knew that was a superstitious notion common among them, and all the *Gauls* ; and this it was made him so eager, and *Ariovistus* so averse, to come to blows before that time.

(3) *Ibid. Vide supra, vol. xii. p. 160.*

(4) *Strabo, l. iv.*

after

after this signal victory, put his army into winter-quarters, whilst he went over the *Aips* to make the necessary preparations for the next campaign<sup>b</sup>. By this time all the *Belgæ* in Belgæ con-general were so terrified at his success, that they entered into *federate* a confederacy against the *Romans*, as their common enemy, *against the Romans*, of which *Labienus*, who had been left in *Gaul*, sent him word; upon which, he immediately left *Rome*, and made such dispatch, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival, the *Rheni* submitted to him; but the rest, appointing *Galba*, king of the *Sueones*, general of all their forces, which amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men, marched directly against him. *Cæsar*, who had seized on the bridge of the *Axona*, now *Aisne*, led his *slaughter* light horse and infantry over it, and, whilst the others were *incumbered* in crossing that river, made such a terrible slaughter of them by *Cæsar*, that the river was filled with their dead, insomuch that their bodies served for a bridge to those who escaped. This new victory struck such terror into the rest, that they dispersed themselves; immediately after which, the *Sueones*, *Belluvaci*, *Ambiones*, and some others, submitted to him. The *Tribes* *Ner-vii*, indeed, joined with the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui*, *vii. &c.* against him; and, having first secured their wives and children, *subdued*, made a stout resistance for some time; but were, at length, defeated, and the greatest part of them slain. The rest, with their wives and old men, surrendered themselves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns, as formerly. The *Adiutaci* were next subdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (*P*), were sold for slaves, to the number of fifty thousand. Young *Crassus*, the son of the *triumvir*, sub-Crassus's dued likewise seven other nations, and took possession of their *successes in cities*; which not only completed the conquest of the *Belgæ*, *Belgium*, but brought several nations from beyond the *Rhine* to submit to the conqueror. The *Veneti*, or antient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Britany*, who had been likewise obliged to send

<sup>b</sup> Comment. l. i. c. 1, & seq. See before, vol. xiii. p. 162, & seq.

(P) These were the remains of those *Cimbri* whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*, and had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage. They made a sham submission to *Cæsar*, and surrendered their

arms to him; but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell foul on the *Romans* in the night: upon which he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the sword, and sold the rest for slaves (5).

Veneti  
subdued,  
and sold  
for slaves.

The Mo-  
rini and  
Menapii  
ravaged  
by Cæsar ;  
who car-  
ries his  
arms into  
Germany.

A famine

and revolt  
in Gaul.

UPON his return into Gaul, he found it labouring under a great famine, which had caused a kind of universal revolt, in the country of the *Eburones*, now *Liege*, were betrayed into an ambush by *Ambiorix*, one of their chiefs, and had most of their men cut off. The *Aduatichi* had fallen upon *Q. Cicero*, who was left there with one legion, and had reduced him to great straits : at the same time *Labienus*, with his legion, was attacked by *Indutomarus*, at the head of the *Rheni* and *Senones*; but had better luck than the rest, and, by one bold sally upon them, put them to flight, and killed their general. Cæsar acquired no small credit by quelling all these revolts; but each victory lost Pompey the lives of so many of his troops, that he was forced to have recourse to Pompey for a fresh supply, who readily granted him two of his own legions to secure his Gaulish conquests<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 163, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 166, & seq.

(Q.) These are the territories now called *Ferouennes*, *Cleves*, *Gelders*, and *Juliers*. Those of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* are now the

*Eureux* and *Lifieux*. As to the *Unelli*, their abode is differently guessed at, but without any certainty.

BUT it was not long before they, ever restless under a fo- *and to re-*  
 reign yoke, raised up a new revolt, and obliged him to return *past into*  
 thither. His fear lest *Pompey* should gain the affections of the *Gaul in*  
*Roman* people, had obliged him to strip the *Gauls* of their gold *the depth*  
 and silver, to bribe them over to his interest ; and this gave *of winter.*  
 no small handle to these frequent revolts which happened  
 during his absence. He did, however, soon reduce the  
*Nervii, Aduatici, Menapii, and Treviri*, the last of which  
 had raised the revolt, under the command of *Ambiorix* ; but  
 he soon found the flame spread much farther, even to the  
 greatest part of the *Gauls*, who had chosen the brave *Vercingetorix* their generalissimo. *Cæsar* was forced to leave *Insubria*,  
 whither he had retired to watch the motions of *Pompey*, and,  
 in the midst of winter and snow, repass the *Alps*, into the  
 province of *Narbonne*, where he gathered all his scattered  
 troops with all possible speed, and, in spite of the hard wea-  
 ther, besieged and took *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons* ; and de-  
 feated *Vercingetorix*, who was come to the relief of that place.  
 He next took the city of *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the *Makes a*  
 strongest in *Gaul*, and which had a garrison of forty thousand *dreadful*  
 men, of whom he made such a dreadful slaughter, that hardly *slaughter*  
 eight hundred escaped. Whilst he was besieging *Gergovia*, *at Avari-*  
 the capital of the *Arverni*, he was informed that the *Nitobri-*  
 ges, or *Agenois*, were in arms, and that the *Ædui* were send-  
 ing to *Vercingetorix* ten thousand men, which they were to  
 have sent to reinforce him. Upon this news, he left *Fabius*  
 to carry on the siege, and marched against the *Ædui*. These, *Ædui*  
 upon his approach, submitted, in appearance, and were par- *make a*  
 doned ; but soon after that whole nation rose up in arms, and *sham sub-*  
 murdered all the *Italian* troops in their capital. *Cæsar*, at *mission to*  
 this, was in great straits what measures to take ; but re- *bim.*  
 solved, at length, to raise the siege of *Gergovia*, and at once  
 attack the enemy's camp, which he did with some success ;  
 but when he thought to have gone to *Noviodunum*, or *Noyons*,  
 where his baggage, military chest, &c. were left, he heard *Carry off*  
 that the *Ædui* had carried it off, and burnt the place. *La- his milita-*  
*bienus*, justly thinking that *Cæsar* would want his assistance in *rychest, &c.*  
 the condition he now was, went to join him, and in his way  
 defeated a *Gaulish* general, named *Camulogena*, who came to  
 oppose his march ; but this did not hinder the revolt from  
 spreading itself all over *Celtic Gaul*, whither *Vercingetorix* had  
 sent for fresh supplies, and, in the mean time, attacked *Cæ-*  
*sar* ; but was defeated, and forced to retire to *Alesia*, a strong *Vercinge-*  
 place, now *Alise* in *Burgundy*, as is supposed. Hither *Cæsar* torix de-  
 hastened, and besieged him ; and, having drawn a double cir- *feated.*  
 cumvallation, with a design to starve him in it, as he was  
 likely

likely to have done, upon that account refused all offers of a surrender from him. At length, the long-expected reinforcement came, consisting of one hundred and sixty thousand men, under four generals: these made several fruitless attacks on Cæsar's trenches; but were defeated in three several battles, which, at length, obliged *Vercingetorix* to surrender at discretion. Cæsar used all his prisoners with great severity, except *and surrenders at discretion.* the *Ædui* and *Arverni*, by whose means he hoped to gain their nations, which were the two most potent of *Celtic Gaul*, as he actually did; for both of them submitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he spent the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one of the hardest he ever had, so he gained more glory by it than any *Roman* general had done before<sup>c</sup>: yet could not all this procure him from the servile senate, now wholly dedicated to his rival, a prolongation of his proconsulship; upon which, he is reported to have laid his hand upon his sword, and said, that That should do it<sup>d</sup>.

Cæsar's resolution against the senate.

*This two generals subdue several Gaulish nations.*

Cæsar's cruelty to the Uxellodunians.

He was as good as his word, and the *Gauls*, upon their former ill success, resolving to have as many separate armies as provinces, in order to embarrass him the more, Cæsar, and his generals *Labienus* and *Fabius*, were forced to fight them one after another; which they did, however, with such success, that, notwithstanding the hardness of the season, they subdued the *Bituriges*, *Carnuti*, *Rheni*, and *Bellovaci*, with their general *Correus*, by which he at once quieted all the *Belgic* provinces bordering on *Celtic Gaul*. The next who followed were the *Arviri*, the *Eburones*, and the *Andes*, under their general *Dunnirinus*. The last place which held out against him was *Uxellodunum*, which was defended by the two last acting generals of the *Gauls*, *Drapes* the *Sennonian*, and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*. The place being strong, and well garrisoned, Cæsar was obliged to march thither from the farthest part of *Belgic Gaul*; and soon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he caused the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms, to be cut off, to deter the rest from revolting afresh. Thus was the conquest of *Gaul* finished from the *Indunians*, *Alps* and *Pyrenees* to the *Rhine*, all which vast tract was now *Cæsar's conquest of Gaul.* reduced to a *Roman* province under the government of a *prætor*. The sum of all the provinces, cities, and prisoners taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and *Plutarch*, the reader may see in the *Roman history* above quoted<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. xiii. p. 174, & seq. <sup>f</sup> Cic. ad Attic. l. v. epist. 15, & seq. Vide & Plut. in Cic. & Cæs. <sup>g</sup> Vol. xiii. p. 178, & seq.

THUS ended, in a great measure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation, and with it their singular valour, as *Tacitus* observes, in the life of *Agricola*. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, we are told<sup>b</sup>, were permitted to remain free, such as the *Nervii*, *Ulbanienses*, *Sueffones*, and *Leuci*; and others retained the title of confederates to *Rome*, to wit, the *Edui*, *Lingones*, *Rheni*, and *Carnutes*: as to the rest, who were reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, we may guess at their miserable condition, by what *Critognatus* the *Arvernian*, as quoted by *Cæsar*<sup>1</sup>, tells us of it. “ If, ” says he, you would know after what manner distant nations are used by the *Romans*, you need but look at our neighbouring *Gaul*, now reduced into a province, which, having its laws and customs changed, and being brought under the power of the axes, is oppressed with perpetual slavery.” To understand rightly the difference of these three conditions, or, more properly, degrees of slavery; the first was, the having a number of soldiers quartered upon them, to keep them in awe (R); the next was, when the province was laid under tribute, in which case they were compelled to endure a vast numer of tax-gatherers, which, like so many leeches, or harpies, sucked out the very vitals of the country (S). The third was, when they were deprived of the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magistrates; but had governors set over them, with full power and authority (*cum imperio & securibus*) over their lives and estates, and sent to them from *Rome*. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they so often revolted; for, as *Tacitus* himself observes, in the reign of *Tiberius*, the continuance of those

<sup>b</sup> *PLIN.* hist. l. iv. c. 11.<sup>1</sup> Comment. l. vii.

(R) In which case, if these provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it seems, no great armies quartered in them; since *Josephus* tells us (6), that, in *Titus*'s time, they had no more than twelve hundred soldiers in garison in all *Gaul*; altho', adds he, they had fought for their liberty against the *Romans* above eight hundred years, and had near as many cities, as the *Romans* had then soldiers there.

(S) We are told, accordingly, that, after *Julius Cæsar* had finished the conquest of *Gaul*, he laid it under a tax, or tribute, of HS. *quadringenies* (7), that is, about a million of *English* crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in subsequent reigns, may be easily guessed, by their frequent revolts, and continual complaints against those extortions and oppressions; some instances of which we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by.

(6) *Antiq.* l. ii.(7) *Eutrop.* l. vi.

taxes, the extortions of usurers, and insolence of the soldiers, were become so intolerable, that it drove the *Gaulish* cities into a fresh rebellion. And *Suetonius*, in the life of *Nero*, tells us, that the world, having for near thirteen years groaned under his tyranny, at length shook it off, the *Gauls* setting the first example to all the rest.

*Gallia di-  
vided into  
sixteen  
provinces.  
Year of  
the flood  
2326.  
Bef. Christ  
22.*

GAUL was soon after divided into sixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the note (I); each of which groaned now, more or less, under the *Roman* tyranny, according as they were more or less favoured by the emperors, or by the praetors sent thither to rule them. However, neither under *Cæsar*, whilst he lived, nor even under his successor *Augustus*, do we read of any considerable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a census, which is the first we read of made out of *Italy*, and which could not but be galling to them, they seem to have submitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when *Drusus* was sent thither to stop the incursions which the *Germans* were frequently making upon them (U), and had there begun a second, and perhaps a more strict

(T) *Viennenis, Narbonensis pri-  
ma, Narbonensis secunda, Aquita-  
nia prima & secunda, Novempo-  
pulana, Alpes maritime, Belgica  
prima & secunda, Germania prima  
& secunda, Lugdunensis prima, se-  
cunda, & tertia, Maxima Sequa-  
norum, & Alpes Graeca;* of all  
which, the reader may see a fur-  
ther account in the authors here-  
under quoted (8).

This division, however, was not made by *Julius Cæsar*, since we find it still under the three distinctions in which he left them, when *Augustus* caused the first census to be made in it (9); but was begun towards the latter end of this last's reign, and finished by some of his successors.

(U) It is hardly to be doubted, but the *Gauls*, who did so grievously brook the plundering and insolences of the *Romans*,

and found themselves too weak now to make head against them, did, by some private means, either invite the *Germans* as friends, or hire them as auxiliaries to their assistance; and this seems to have been the first beginning of the colonies of the *Franks*. For those *Germans*, whether defeated by the *Romans*, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to settle on the borders of *Gallia*. For we are told, that *Augustus* transplanted the *Suevi* and *Sicambri*, who submitted to him, into *Gallia*, and assigned them lands along the *Rhine* (1). And of *Tiberius* we read, that he brought forty thousand of those that surrendered themselves, in the *German* war, over into *Gallia*, and settled them on the banks of the *Rhine* (2).

(8) *Anton. itin. S. Ruf. Ammian. Marcell. l. xv.  
p. 491.*

(1) *Sueton. in vit. Aug.*

(9) See before, vol. xiii.  
(2) *Idem in Tiber.*

strict one ; they then began to express an universal inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. We have elsewhere seen how that politic general diverted them from it, by inviting all the *Gaulish* chiefs to assist at the consecration of the temple which the *Lugdunenses* had built in honour of *Julius Cæsar*, and, upon their coming, behaved with such address and complaisance to them, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to *Augustus*, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty *Gaulish* nations, it seems, contributed to the rearing and adorning of this magnificent altar, which was consecrated on the first of *August* ; and games were, at the same time, instituted, in honour of this new kind of deity, not unlike the *Isthmians* and *Nemeans of Greece*<sup>k</sup>.

THIS fulsome flattery to that monarch, which might, probably, be owing to the presence of *Drusus*, did not, however, divert them long from their favourite view of regaining their liberty, whenever fortune should favour them with a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, seem, upon this *Encouragement*, to have exerted themselves to cherish that noble *de- ged by the sign in them*, to prevent any further defection from their ancient religion ; and hence, most likely, arose those frequent revolts, as well as threatening edicts, that came out against them in the succeeding reigns, and of which we have had occasion to speak in a former section : however that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries, which they underwent under *Caligula*<sup>l</sup>, were of themselves sufficient to have spirited up a less warlike nation ; — though that reign was not long enough to ripen their design, and under the next they either

<sup>k</sup> Vide STRAB. I. iv. Sueton. in *August.* Liv. &c. & supra, vol. xiii. p. 527. <sup>l</sup> See vol. xiv. p. 293.

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor *Probus*, in whose reign above sixty cities had revolted from the *Romans*, and made a bold push to regain their liberty. This prince, says he (3), marched with a vast army into *Gaul* ; which, after *Pothinus's* death, was all in commotion ; and, when *Aurelian* was killed, was, in a manner, possessed by the *Germans*. There he gained so many victo-

ries, that he recovered from the barbarians sixty of the most noble cities of *Gallia* ; and whereas they had overspread all *Gaul* without controul, he slew near four hundred thousand of those, who had seated themselves within the *Roman* territories, and transplanted the remainder of them beyond the rivers *Neckar* and *Elbe* : but of this we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the subsequent volume.

Vindex's  
revolt in  
Gaul.

enjoyed more respite, or, which is as likely, were more narrowly observed. But in that of *Nero*, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave and noble *Julius Vindex* (W), at that time governor of *Celtic Gaul*, declared his resolution to free his country from slavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As soon as his design was known, the *Gauls*, harassed and reduced to beggary by intolerable imposts, flocked to him from all parts to assist him in it; so that, tho' he had no *Romans* under his command, yet he soon saw himself at the head of one hundred thousand armed men.

Nero's  
strange be-  
haviour.

When *Nero* heard the news of this revolt, he appeared quite glad at it, as it would afford him occasion for fresh extortions and cruelties. What he seemed most affected with was, that *Vindex*, in some of his edicts against him, among other contemptuous language he had given him, had called him a bungling harper; so that, instead of making proper preparations to oppose him, he only strove to display his skill in music, to wipe off the scandal, as he thought it, that was thrown upon him. But when messengers came to him in large numbers, and acquainted him with the progress *Vindex* had made in *Gaul*, and with *Galba*'s revolt in *Spain*, he left *Naples*, in a fright, and repaired to *Rome*: however, a frivolous, but lucky omen, as he imagined it, having dispelled his fears, he returned again to his musical amusement, without taking one step to suppress either revolt. We shall not need repeat here the unworthy behaviour, and dreadful end, of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volume<sup>m</sup>: all that needs be recapitulated here concerning the ill success of our *Gaulish* general is, that his army having been surprised by that of *Rufus Virginius*, who was marched against him, whether by treachery or accident, is not agreed, the *Gauls* were defeated, with the loss of twenty-two thousand men, who were killed on the spot; upon which, *Vindex*, in a fit of rage and despair, laid violent hands upon himself, and the rest dispersed themselves for want of a leader.

Vindex's  
ill success,  
and death.

*Galba*'s  
success, and  
tyranny.

*Galba* had much better success, and was soon after raised to the empire<sup>n</sup>; but the *Gauls* were

<sup>m</sup> *Ibid.* p. 455—460.

<sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* p. 461, & seq.

(W) He was descended from the antient kings of *Aquitain*, and bore a natural aversion to all tyrants. Upon his first resolution of revolting, he sent to persuade *Galba*, then in *Spain*, to do the same; who neither followed his advice, nor betrayed

his design; though some other governors, to whom he wrote on the same subject, sent his letters to *Nero*: but *Galba*, upon receiving a second letter from him, actually raised a revolt there (4).

(4) *Plut.* in *Galb.* *Div.* 1, lxxii. *Sueton.* in *Ner.* *Tacit.* 1. i. c. 16.

so heavily oppressed by him, and so loaded with taxes, that they dared not undertake any thing against him. In the great struggle between his two successors, *Otho* and *Vitellius*, though they heartily hated them both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by *Fabius Valens*, who, in his march through their territories towards *Italy*, whether he was leading a gallant army, committed the greatest plunders and extortions. This threw the nation into such a terror, that every province and city sent their ambassadors to meet him, and bribe him *plied to by* with large presents, to prevent their towns from being either *the Gauls.* plundered or burnt (X).

THEY did, however, recover themselves so far, notwithstanding all these oppressions, as to make several bold pushes *with Ves-*  
*tor* for their liberty, especially in the reign of *Vespasian*. We *pasian.*  
 have given an account of it in a former volume <sup>o</sup>, as well as  
 of the peace that emperor thought fit to clap up with them,  
 rather than to exasperate them to turn their arms against him  
 at that juncture <sup>p</sup>. In *Adrian's* time this province was visited  
 by that emperor in his progress through the empire, and as it  
 had been greatly oppressed and impoverished during the former reigns, he left, wherever he passed through it, some tokens of his pity and munificence to that nation, and built  
 some stately edifices there, especially a sumptuous palace, in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan's* widow. He forgot not, at the same time, to repair all the *Roman* towns and fortresses in that country, to keep them in subjection <sup>q</sup>, as it actually did, no considerable revolt happening during his, and some of the succeeding reigns. All this while they seem to have made a remarkable figure, and borne a great sway; since, in that famous contest between *Severus* and his competitors, the *Gauls* having first saluted him emperor, their example was followed by almost all the provinces in *Europe*, and he was every-where acknowledg'd and received with the loudest acclamations <sup>r</sup>. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, *Christians* at least to the Christians in this country, having raised a bloody *in Gaul* persecution against them, instigated thereto by his favourite persecuted.

<sup>o</sup> See vol. xv. p. 13, & seq.  
 p. 162, 163.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 15.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. p. 293, paill.

(X) Amongst those that suffered the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of *Vienne*, against which that of *Lyon* had instigated him, as having aided the late noble *Vindex* in his revolt. They were therefore forced

to buy their pardon "from him by an immense sum, besides a donative of three hundred sesterces, the surrender of all their arms, and furnishing his army with provisions.

**Gaul again made the scene of war.** *Plautianus*, who took occasion of a soldier's refusing to wear a crown as a donative, to seize on the estates of all the Christians of rank and quality, and to put a great number of them to death, and amongst them *Irenæus*, the worthy bishop of *Lyons* <sup>1</sup>. *Gaul* was again made the scene of war, in the famed contest between *Gallienus* and *Posthumius*, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the *Germans*, under which it had groaned for some time, and for which he had been acknowledg'd emperor, both there, and in *Spain* and *Britain*, of which we have already given a full account in the *Roman history* <sup>2</sup>. The latter having been murdered by his soldiers, for debarring them from the plundering of *Mentz* <sup>3</sup>, *Lollianus* got himself proclaimed emperor of that part of it which borders upon the *Rhine*; whilst *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumius* had taken for his colleague, governed over the rest. Both these being soon after murdered, as we have there related, and the son of the latter, then an infant, being named his successor, the *Gauls* murdered him likewise, and set up in *A. Marius* his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, formerly an armourer, emperor. but a man of extraordinary courage and strength; but he being likewise run through by a soldier, who had been formerly his journeyman, and with a sword, as himself told him, of his own making, *P. Pivæsus*, or *Peuvius Tetricus*, a man of senatorial and consular dignity, was proclaimed in all this province, and soon after acknowledg'd in *Spain* and *Britain*. *Tetricus* did not long enjoy his dignity, before the constant jars and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor *Aurelian*, who had restored peace in all other parts of the empire, and was marching to reunite *Gaul* and *Britain* to it, made him wish to be fairly rid of it. There is even some reason to suspect, that he invited him into *Gaul*; and though he made a faint opposition against him at the battle of *Chalons*, yet, upon the first onset, he yielded himself to that emperor; so that the *Gaulish* troops, for want of a leader, were intirely cut off, and this province again reduced to its former obedience <sup>4</sup>. In *Constantine's* time, who is supposed to have been the person who first divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceses, and each of these four parts put under the government of a distinct *præfector prætorio*, which was before only under two, *Gaul* was made one of those dioceses, and had its provinces assigned to it. We have already had occasion to say something of them at the beginning

*A new division of Gaul under Constantine.*

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 312, & seq.  
<sup>2</sup> Ibid. & seq.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 427, & seq. & p. 442.  
<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 458, & seq.

of this chapter, and in a former volume<sup>x</sup>, but shall be obliged to subjoin them here in their due order, for the sake of what is to follow; and only add, with respect to this prefectship, that it then included *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain* under it, and A.C. 330. that *Gaul* contained seventeen provinces, six of which were styled consular, and the rest under certain presidents, who resided in the capitals of each; all which are as follow:

Provinces.	Consul or governor resided at
1. <i>Narbonensis Prima</i> ,	<i>Narbonne</i> in <i>Languedoc</i> .
2. ——— <i>Secunda</i> ,	<i>Aix</i> in <i>Provence</i> .
3. <i>Viennensis</i> ,	<i>Vicune</i> in <i>Dauphiné</i> .
4. <i>Alpes Graiae &amp; Penninæ</i> ,	<i>Monestiers</i> in <i>Savoy</i> .
5. <i>Alpes Maritimæ</i> ,	{ <i>Ebrodunum</i> , now <i>Embrun</i> , in <i>Dauphiné</i> .
6. <i>Lugdunensis Prima</i> ,	<i>Lugdunum</i> , now <i>Lyons</i> .
7. ——— <i>Secunda</i> ,	<i>Roan</i> in <i>Normandy</i> .
8. ——— <i>Tertia</i> ,	{ <i>Cæsarodunum</i> , now <i>Tours</i> , in <i>Touraine</i> .
9. ——— <i>Quarta</i> ,	<i>Sens</i> in <i>Champagne</i> .
10. <i>Sequania</i> ,	<i>Bezanson</i> in <i>Franche Comté</i> .
11. <i>Aquitania Prima</i> ,	<i>Bourges</i> in <i>Berry</i> .
12. ——— <i>Secunda</i> ,	<i>Bordeaux</i> in <i>Guyenne</i> .
13. <i>Novempopulania</i> ,	{ <i>Auscorum</i> , now <i>Aux</i> , capital of <i>Gascony</i> .
14. <i>Germanica Prima</i> ,	<i>Moguntia</i> , now <i>Mentz</i> .
15. ——— <i>Secunda</i> ,	<i>Colonia</i> , now <i>Cologn</i> .
16. <i>Belgica Prima</i> ,	<i>Civitas Treviorum</i> , now <i>Tricrs</i> .
17. ——— <i>Secunda</i> ,	— <i>Durocortorum</i> , now <i>Rheims</i> .

BESIDES the governors of the above provinces, the same emperor appointed *comites*, or counts, in the cities, and *duces* in the frontier-towns, to administer justice according to the *Roman* laws. This was the state and government of *Gaul*, when the *Goths* got footing into the southern part, which was then called *Narbonensis*; it having been granted to them by the emperor *Honorius*, upon their quitting *Italy*<sup>y</sup>. Some services they did afterwards to the empire, obtained to them a fresh settlement in *Aquitania*. After this came the *Burgundi*, a great and warlike people, seated on the other side of the *Rhine* (they had been called in by *Stilicho*, to defend the *Gaulish* borders from the *Franks*, which were on their march to invade it on that side), and seized on all the south-east part of it, was from them called *Upper* and *Lower Burgundy*<sup>z</sup>. This did not,

<sup>x</sup> See vol. xvi. p. 141, 142 (L).  
sest. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. sest. 6.

<sup>z</sup> See hereafter, ch. xxviii.

*The maritim provinces  
shake off  
the Roman  
yoke.*

A.C. 412.

however, hinder the *Franks*, a fierce and warlike nation of *Germany*, from entering and settling themselves in that part of *Gaul*, which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Wefer*, and extending themselves from the river *Mayne*, on the south, quite to the *German ocean*, on the north ; and were a compound of various nations, such as *Sicambri*, *Bruuteri*, *Salici*, *Cberusci*, and some others of lesser note. We shall have occasion to speak more of their origin, names, fierceness, swift conquests, and history, in a subsequent chapter <sup>a</sup>, and refer to what we have already said of them in a foregoing one, concerning their treachery and severe punishment under *Constantine the Great* <sup>b</sup>. All that we shall add here, is, that they assisted some of the maritim Gaulish provinces, especially those of *Britany*, *Normandy*, *Flanders*, and *Picardy*, to shake off the *Roman* yoke ; by which means they possessed themselves also of the *Germania Prima* and *Secunda*, and of the two *Belgiae* above-mentioned, and obliged the *Romans* to consent to it. Soon after this, they chose *Pharamond* for their king ; who was the founder of the *French* monarchy ; in whose reign the *Romans* beat the *Franks* out of *Gaul*, a little before his death. His successor *Clodion* endeavoured to regain it, but was defeated in the attempt ; and it was under *Meroveus*'s reign, who caused himself to be chosen king in his stead, that the *Huns* poured in their numerous hosts into *Gaul* ; of which expedition we shall speak in its proper place <sup>c</sup>. As for the reigns of *Pharamond*, and his successors, as he is generally esteemed the founder of the *French* monarchy, we shall begin our modern history of that kingdom from him.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. sect. 5.      <sup>b</sup> See before, vol. xv. p. 538.      See hereafter, ch. xxviii. sect. 1.









